

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## NOTES ON TWO ORRERY MANUSCRIPTS

Professor Allardyce Nicoll in his *History of Restoration Drama*<sup>1</sup> states that the Earl of Orrery's *The Generall* exists in two manuscripts—one at Worcester College, Oxford, and the other at Plymouth—and that the latter manuscript was printed by Halliwell-Phillipps in the *Plymouth Library Catalogue* (1853). However, the Librarian of the Proprietary Library, Plymouth (formerly the Public Library), vouchsafes the information that no manuscript of *The Generall* has ever been seen there during his term of thirty years in office! Apparently Professor Nicoll assumed the presence of a manuscript of *The Generall* in the archives of the Plymouth Library from the fact that Halliwell-Phillipps printed the play in the same volume with a catalogue of the manuscripts in that library (not indeed the "Plymouth Library Catalogue," as Professor Nicoll erroneously calls it). Still the title-page of the volume in question makes perfectly clear that the inclusion of *The Generall* has nothing to do with the contents of the Plymouth Library, for the full title reads thus: *A Brief Description of Ancient and Modern Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Library, Plymouth: to which are added, Some Fragments of Early Literature Hitherto Unpublished*.<sup>2</sup> The table of contents shows, furthermore, that *The Generall* was one of six extraneous pieces of literary miscellany published along with the manuscript catalogue. The play is listed as the third item, and described as "a tragi-comedy, attributed to Shirley, now first printed from the original MS."

A first glance at the Worcester College manuscript would lead one to believe that it was "the original MS" from which Halliwell-

<sup>1</sup> P. 97 n.

<sup>2</sup> Only eighty copies of this work were printed.

Phillipps printed his text. There are no important or significant differences, with the one exception to be hereafter mentioned, between the printed and the manuscript text. The numerous minor variations could be explained as careless omissions or the mistakes of a blundering copyist. To be sure, Halliwell-Phillipps printed a list of "The actors,"<sup>3</sup> whereas no *dramatis personae* appear in the Worcester manuscript. The editor, however, probably made up this list in view of the modern traits it bears, and then inserted no note to that effect, after the same manner in which he modernised the spelling and punctuation of his entire text without editorial comment of any kind.

The lines of the printed text in two instances particularly cause one to think that Halliwell-Phillipps had copied the Worcester College manuscript. The first instance is a line which runs in the manuscript thus:

All formall plots I therefore did decline.<sup>4</sup>

Halliwell-Phillipps prints the same line with the amusing phrasing:

All form, all plots I therefore did decline.<sup>5</sup>

The reason for his version seemed to be explained at once on glancing at the manuscript again. There the word "formall" appears somewhat split between the "m" and the "a," while the last down stroke of the "m" has a rather deep flourish at the end. Hence a hasty reading of the word might well catch it as two distinct words, "form" and "all," with a comma between them.

The second instance is a line which seems to offer even more pronounced evidence of apparent copying from the Worcester College manuscript by Halliwell-Phillipps. Exactly as it stands in the manuscript, so is it printed:

Memnor and Clatus, and more men of name.<sup>6</sup>

Now the list of *dramatis personae* and all other citations of the names of these two characters throughout the printed play give their names as Memnon and Clautus. The peculiar spelling of the two names at this point only in Halliwell-Phillipps' version would appear at first thought to be due to a copying of the line

<sup>3</sup> *A Brief Desc.* etc., p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> f. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *A Brief Desc.*, etc., p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64; Ms., f. 5.

directly from the Worcester manuscript without editorial tampering.

The minor variations between the printed text and the Worcester College manuscript, can be readily interpreted as careless slips in editing. A few of the more notable instances of this sort are cited here with the obviously incorrect version of the printed text in brackets:

- 1) *Monasin*: An even lay! I thought [the wager] thee wiser grown <sup>7</sup>
- 2) *Filadin*: Our [feeling] fooling for awhile let's throw away <sup>8</sup>
- 3) *Thrasolin*: But [wishly] wisely look, than only [wishly] wisely speak <sup>9</sup>
- 4) *Clorimun*: A flame [the] ore which death's coldness cannot reign

Since it outbraves her [more] most disdain.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, one important and significant variation does occur between the texts of the printed play and the Worcester College manuscript, and it proves beyond doubt that Halliwell-Phillipps did not edit from that manuscript despite the many indications. Careful study reveals that the printed text has two consecutive speeches, comprising six lines of dialogue altogether, which are omitted entirely from the Worcester College manuscript. The passage omitted by the latter is as follows:

*Candace*: Perhaps all are but threatenings which he swore.

*Altemera*: What would become of me should they be more?

To lose life certainly is much more fit

Than hazard chastity by saving it.

Show me the truth of what you have profess'd

In not denying me my last request.<sup>11</sup>

The last two lines of Altemera's speech, it is important to note, are to be found in the shortened and revised version of the play made by Charles Boyle, Orrery's grandson, and published in 1702

<sup>7</sup> *A Brief Desc.*, etc., p. 66; Ms., f. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75; *ibid.*, f. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *A Brief Desc.* etc., p. 139; cf. Ms., f. 46.

under the title of *Altamira*.<sup>12</sup> Presumably, then, Charles Boyle and Halliwell-Phillipps had the same text at hand, though not necessarily the same manuscript. Clearly Halliwell-Phillipps did not therefore derive the text which he published in 1853 from the manuscript of *The Generall* now reposing in the Worcester College Library, but from a second manuscript the whereabouts of which is not at the moment evidently known. Whether Halliwell-Phillipps really had at hand the original manuscript, as he states, is doubtful, for *The Generall*, after performance in Ireland as *Altamira*, was altered somewhat before its London production.<sup>13</sup> Probably the manuscript he used, as well as that at Worcester College, is a copy of the text employed for the London performance of the play. Certainly neither were the original prompt book copies. The Worcester manuscript is written practically without correction or notation of any sort, and in two distinct hands. These alternate with each other during the first two acts, but in the last three acts the second hand alone appears. So closely identical on the whole are the two existent texts of *The Generall*, that either they would seem to be based on the same original manuscript, or the Worcester College copy derived from the now unlocated Halliwell-Phillipps specimen. In either case the omission of the two brief speeches in the Worcester College manuscript obviously is to be regarded as only the result of an unwitting oversight on the part of the copyist.

Another play by the Earl of Orrery, *Zoroastres*, has never been printed and exists in an unique manuscript at the British Museum.<sup>14</sup> This manuscript was originally in the famous collection owned by Sir Thomas Browne and later by his grandson, Sir Richard,<sup>15</sup> and thence came into the hands of Sir Hans Sloane. It would be interesting to know by what channel it passed from the Orrery family to the noted author-physician, or his grandson. *Zoroastres* was first described by Montague Summers in 1917, but his remarks concerning the manuscript are not altogether complete nor entirely correct.<sup>16</sup> The title-page of the manuscript bears the inscription

<sup>12</sup> Orrery's *Dram. Works* (1739), Vol. 2, p. 192.

<sup>13</sup> *R. E. S.*, vol. 2, p. 459.

<sup>14</sup> Sloane Ms. 1828, ff. 46-79.

<sup>15</sup> See Bodl. Mss. Rawlinson 390, No. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XII, 24 ff.

"The Tragedy of Zoroastres"; on the next line, in the same hand, "MS 1677"; on the third line, a Latin motto now undecipherable. Both the second and third lines have been subsequently cancelled with crosses and dashes. Underneath, a second hand has added two lines:

Written by the right honourable / the late Earl of Orrery.

Then follow in the same hand the two Latin mottoes which Summers has noted. Obviously these additions to the title-page were made after Orrery's death. The hand which wrote them is not observable elsewhere in the manuscript.

The phrase "Written in 1676" does not appear on the title-page at all, as Summers states,<sup>17</sup> but on the reverse of that folio leaf beneath the list of *dramatis personae*. It is written in still a third hand, evidently as a mere notation. The list of *dramatis personae* and the greater part of the play text are in the same hand as the title and the manuscript date. Despite the assertion of Summers,<sup>18</sup> the only fresh hand in the text proper would seem to begin in the early part of the fifth act and continue to the end.<sup>19</sup> These five concluding pages appear to have been penned by the afore-designated third hand, probably at a later date than the rest of the manuscript. The dialogue still continues in a rimed verse which is indeed slightly more halting than that of the previous acts, but is clearly not blank verse, as Summers would call it.<sup>20</sup>

The final pages in the fresh hand contain almost no corrections or additions in marked contrast to the major portion of the manuscript which is plainly the original draft with the usual numerous emendations. The draft may well have been written by Orrery himself, for it is a rough specimen of penmanship in keeping with a gouty man of fifty-five. One of the most striking emendations is the elaborate stage directions, quoted by Summers,<sup>21</sup> which stand at the beginning of Act I. These were written on a separate slip of paper and then pasted over the description for the opening scene which had been set down in the manuscript originally. This same process is discovered elsewhere, when parts of speeches have been rewritten and placed over the rejected passages.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.    <sup>19</sup> *Ms.*, pp. 63-68.    <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.    <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

An interesting stage direction in the third act points to the possibility that *Zoroastres* was intended by Orrery for eventual performance at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden. The direction read:

King sits down—soft musik above.<sup>22</sup>

Now the orchestra at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane was situated in the front of the pit by the stage. Only the Duke's Theatre had a music room over the stage platform.<sup>23</sup> Of course this difference in the musical arrangements of the two theatres was well known to Orrery; but whether the phrasing of his stage direction actually can be taken to indicate his anticipation, at the time of composition, of the play's future production in the Duke's playhouse is somewhat open to question. Yet for Orrery to add "above" to his stage direction, if that word had no real theatrical significance, is not a procedure to be expected from him especially, because, as Summers says in another connection, Orrery among Restoration playwrights was notably careful in the wording of stage directions to his plays.

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## BEN JONSON AND RABELAIS

The aim of the present article is to bring together the evidence we have for Ben Jonson's acquaintance with Rabelais. This has never been done, and I am able to point out several unrecorded borrowings, one of which is a *dramatis persona* (§ h). I hope to consider the implications of this material in a book now in preparation, and shall therefore here simply present it chronologically.<sup>1</sup>

(a) In *The Case Is Altered*, usually regarded as the earliest of the plays (1597), Juniper, the cobbler, refers to Jacques, the miser, as 'the old *Panurgo*,' meaning 'the old villain.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ms., p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> *The Development of the Theatre* (Nicoll), p. 165.

<sup>1</sup> My quotations from Jonson conform to the text of the Gifford-Cunningham edition London, 1875, 9 vols.; from Rabelais to that of the edition by Louis Moland, Librairie Garnier, 2 vols. Italics are everywhere my own.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV, Sc. iv. Noticed by A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1908), 242.



(b) Downright, in *Every Man In His Humour* (1598), defies Bobadil, saying, 'I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your *Gargantua* breech cannot carry it away so.'<sup>3</sup> In view of the other references to Rabelais, and of the tone of this remark, and its context, there can be little question that Jonson is thinking of Rabelais's *Gargantua*, not him of the chap-book.

(c) In *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599) Carlo Buffone remarks to Sogliardo, 'Debt! why that's the more for your credit, sir,'<sup>4</sup> thus recalling Panurge's eulogy of debt in Book III, Chapter iii of Rabelais. Carlo's argument should be compared with Panurge's in full, for the correspondence is close.

(d) A figure seems to be borrowed in *Volpone* (1605), where Volpone declares that his panacea 'seats your teeth, did they dance like virginal jacks.'<sup>5</sup> Rabelais, in the prologue to Book II, says of the pocky and gouty persons to whom he recommends his work that 'les dentz leur tressailloyent comme font les marchettes d'un clavier d'orgues ou d'espinette, quand on joue dessus. . . .'

(e) There is what appears to be an allusion to an anecdote of Rabelais's in the opening scene of *The Alchemist* (1610). Face says, 'Sirrah, I'll strip you—' and Subtle replies, 'What to do? Lick figs Out at my—' This recalls Rabelais's account of Barbarossa's odd punishment of the Milanese for insulting the Empress.<sup>7</sup>

(f) There is another possible reminiscence in the same scene in Face's taunt that he first encountered Subtle 'at Pie-corner, Taking your meal of steam in from cooks' stalls.' Rabelais has a

<sup>3</sup> Act II, Sc. i. Noticed by Gottlob Regis in the notes to his *Gargantua und Pantagruel aus dem Französischen verdeutscht* (Leipzig, 1832-41), II, p. clxxi.

<sup>4</sup> Act I, Sc. i. Noticed by A. H. Upham, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> Act II, Sc. i. Noticed by J. D. Rea in his edition of *Volpone* ("Yale Studies in English," Yale Press, 1919), p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Noticed by Gifford in the G.-C. edition, vol. IV, p. 12, footnote. Upham cites an allusion to the same passage by Nashe, in *Have With You to Saffron Walden*: 'He . . . will, like a true Millanoys, sucke figges out of an asses fundament or do anything' (Upham, *op. cit.*, p. 235).

<sup>7</sup> Book IV, Ch. xlv.

story of a 'Faquin' who enjoyed a similar meal, and was made to pay for it with the clink of his coin.<sup>8</sup>

(g) Borrowing occurs in the following passage from *The Devil Is An Ass* (1616).<sup>9</sup> Pug, 'the less Devil,' is succeeding poorly with his mischief in the world of men, and, homesick for hell, invokes his master:

O CALL me home again, dear chief, and put me  
 To *yoking fowes, milking of he-goats,*  
*Pounding of water in a mortar,* laving  
 The sea dry with a nut-shell, gathering all  
 The leaves are fallen this autumn, *drawing farts*  
*Out of dead bodies,* making ropes of sand,  
 Catching the winds together in a net,  
 Mustering of ants, and numbering atoms; all  
 That hell and you thought exquisite torments, rather  
 Than stay me here a thought more: *I would sooner*  
*Keep fleas within a circle, and be accomptant*  
*A thousand year, which of them, and how far,*  
*Out-leap'd the other,* than endure a minute  
 Such as I have within. [that is, such people as are in Lady  
 Tailbush's house.]

All the italicized items are taken directly from Rabelais's account of the occupations of the officers of the Quintessence, Book v, Chapter xxii. The availability of the text of Rabelais makes it unnecessary to quote here the five paragraphs involved. For the rest, 'laving the sea dry with a nut-shell,' and 'catching the winds together in a net,' are proverbial expressions, but in the present instance were doubtless suggested to the writer by the nearest equivalents in the Rabelais passage, namely 'Autres . . . puisoient l'eau avec un rets,' and 'Autres chassoient au vent avec des rets, et y prenoient Escrevices Decumanes.' Jonson returned to the second figure when he made Lovel say, in *The New Inn*, 'I will go catch the wind first in a sieve.'<sup>10</sup> 'Drawing farts out of dead bodies' was, in precisely those words, to be used again by Jonson as an accomplishment of 'the brotherhood of the Rosie Cross' in *The Staple of News* (1625).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Book III, Ch. xxxvii. I owe this reference to H. C. Hart; see his edition of *The Alchemist* (London, 1903), p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> Act V, Sc. ii.

<sup>10</sup> Act IV, Sc. iii.

<sup>11</sup> Act III, Sc. i.

(h) The Comus of Jonson's masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1619) is closely modelled on Rabelais's Messere Gaster. The reader should consult the full account of the visit of Pantagruel and his men to Gaster's island.<sup>12</sup>

The masque opens with a 'Hymn,' a merry drinking song, by the 'full chorus.' It calls the Belly (i. e. Comus) 'Prime master of arts,' 'the founder of taste,' and the inventor of various foods, and of certain agricultural implements for harvesting and milling grain and of kitchen equipment for baking bread and meats. All this is taken from Rabelais, who calls Gaster 'le noble maistre es ars' (Bk. iv, Ch. lxi). He says,

Des le commencement il inventa l'art fabrile, et agriculture pour cultiver la terre, tendant à fin qu'elle luy produisist Grain. . . . Il inventa les moulins à eau, à vent, à bras, à aultres mille engins, pour Grain mouldre et reduire en farine; le levain pour fermenter la paste; le sel pour luy donner saveur . . . , le feu pour le cuire, les horologes ed quadrans pour entendre le temps de la cuycte de pain, créature de Grain.

Gaster's foods, detailed in the preceding chapter, form one of Rabelais's most imposing catalogues.

After the 'Hymn' the Bowl-bearer in a long speech describes the 'belly-god.' Maurice Castelain says of this speech, with more literal truth, doubtless, than he suspected, that it has a 'certaine crudité toute rabelaisienne.'<sup>13</sup> In the first place Comus has not heard the 'hymn' which was sung to him, 'for where did you ever read or hear that the belly had any ears?' Rabelais's Gaster 'sans aureilles feut créé.'<sup>14</sup> The classical Comus, so far as we know, was never represented thus.<sup>15</sup> Hunger, again, one of Comus's former retainers, 'was turn'd away for being unseasonable; . . . and now is he, poor thin-gut, fain to get his living with teaching of starlings, magpies, parrots and jackdaws, those things he would have taught the Belly.' In Rabelais it is Gaster himself who teaches the same birds 'ars desniees de Nature': 'Les Corbeaulx, les Gays, les Papegays, les Estourneaulx, il rend poëtes: les Pies il

<sup>12</sup> Book iv, Chs. lvii-lxii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ben Jonson, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre* (Hachette, 1907), p. 711.

<sup>14</sup> Book iv, Ch. lvii.

<sup>15</sup> See W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1890 ff.), under *Komos*, and the references there given.

fait poëtrides, et leur aprent language humain proferer, parler, chanter. Et tout pour la trippe.’<sup>16</sup> Thus it is hunger which is the motive, though it is not separately personified. The Bowl-bearer says of Comus, ‘Beware of dealing with the Belly.’ Rabelais says of Gaster:

A loy aulcune n’est subjecte, de toutes est exempte. Chacun la refuit en tous endroitz, plus toust s’exposans es naufrages de mer, plus toust eslisans par feu, par mons, par goulphres passer, que d’icelle estre apprehendez.<sup>17</sup>

Comus ‘was the first inventor of great ordnance.’ Gaster avoit inventé recentemente Canons, Serpentine, Coulevrines, Bombardes, Basilics, jectans boulets de fer, de plomb, de bronze. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Comus ‘does all by signs.’ Gaster ‘. . . ne parle que par signes.’<sup>19</sup> There are other echoes of Rabelais in the masque, but those cited will suffice for present purposes.

We have seen above under (g) one Rabelaisism in *The Staple of News* (1625); there are two others.

(i) Lickfinger, the master-cook, asks, ‘What news of Gondomar?’, and the barber, Thomas, replies,

A second fistula,  
Or an excoriation, at the least,  
For putting the poor English play, was writ of him,  
To such a sordid use, as, is said, he did,  
Of cleansing his posteriors.

And Lickfinger cries, ‘Justice! Justice!’<sup>20</sup> Friar John, in Rabelais, tells of suffering in a similar manner for putting the Fifth Collection of Decretals to the same use, and Homenaz, the Papimane, declares, ‘ce feut evidente punition de Dieu.’<sup>21</sup>

(j) Jonson mentions the ‘Oracle of the Bottle’ in the same play. Madrigal, the jeerer, says,

The perfect and true strain of poetry  
Is rather to be given the quick cellar,  
Than the fat kitchen.

<sup>16</sup> Book iv, Ch. lvii.

<sup>17</sup> Book iv, Ch. lvii.

<sup>18</sup> Book iv, Ch. lxi.

<sup>19</sup> Book iv, Ch. lvii.

<sup>20</sup> Act III, Sc. i. Noticed by Gifford in the G.-C. edition, v, 233-34 n.

<sup>21</sup> Book iv, Ch. lii.

Lickfinger replies,

Heretic, I see  
Thou art for the vain Oracle of the Bottle.<sup>22</sup>

The next line is also a reminiscence of Rabelais:

The hogshead, Trismegistus, is thy Pegasus.

Panurge, in the xlv<sup>th</sup> chapter of Book v, calls the oracle 'la Bouteille trimegiste.' 'Trismegistus,' of course, means simply 'thrice great.'<sup>23</sup> The quotation from the play occurs in a passage taken over with little or no change from the author's masque, *Neptune's Triumph For The Return Of Albion*, written for the Twelfth Night entertainment at court the previous year (1624).

(k) Lovel, in *The New Inn* (acted 1629), explains that the studies of his master, Lord Beaufort, have been in classical, not in romantic literature,

He had no Arthurs, nor no Rosicleers,  
No knights o' the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,  
Primalions, *Pantagruels*, public nothings.<sup>24</sup>

(j) Jonson mentions the 'Oracle of the Bottle' in the same play. The Host says to the Nurse, who has let Frank escape,

. . . where is your charge? . . .  
Go ask the oracle  
Of the bottle, at your girdle, there you lost it:  
You are a sober setter of the watch!<sup>25</sup>

(m) Another borrowing is found in *The Magnetic Lady* (1632). Doctor Rut prescribes for Placentia as follows:

Give her a vent,  
If she do swell. A *gimblet* must be had;  
It is a *tympanites* she is troubled with.  
There are three kinds: the first is *anasarca*,  
Under the flesh a tumor; that's not her's.  
The second is *ascites*, or aquosus,  
A watery humour; that is not her's neither.  
But *tympanites*, which we call the drum,

<sup>22</sup> Act IV, Sc. i. Noticed by Gifford in the G.-C. edition, v, 251 n.

<sup>23</sup> Gifford fails to note that *Trismegistus* is from Rabelais.

<sup>24</sup> Act I, Sc. i. Noticed by A. H. Upham, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>25</sup> Act IV, Sc. iii.

A wind-bombs in her belly, must be unbraced,  
 And with a *faucet* or a *peg*, let out,  
 And she'll do well: get her a husband.<sup>26</sup>

Rabelais tells of a nearly identical cure, achieved by a doctor of the Quintessence:

Un autre je vy hydropiques parfaitement guarir, *timpanistes*, *ascites*, et *hyposargues*, leur frappant par neuf fois sus le ventre d'une besaguë Tenedie [= a double bitted hatchet from Tenedos] sans solution de continuité.<sup>27</sup>

*Gimlet*, *faucet*, and *peg* are all names of the phallus used by Gargantua's nurses; that is, *teriere*, *dille*, and *bondon*, *bouchon*.<sup>28</sup>

(n) An allusion to a proverb which was a favorite of Rabelais's occurs in the same play. Chair, the mid-wife, attempts to reconcile the quarrel of Gossip Polish and Nurse Keep by saying:

No more rehearsals; repetitions  
 Make things worse: the more we stir—you know  
 The proverb, and it signifies—a stink.<sup>29</sup>

Rabelais several times uses variations of the expression 'movere Camarinam'; the 'Camarina' being a proverbially foul marsh in Sicily.<sup>30</sup>

(o) It is evident that Jonson was particularly struck with the Oracle of the Bottle, since, as we have seen, he alludes to it in two different plays. He must have had it in mind when he wrote the famous lines placed over the door of the Apollo room in the Old Devil Tavern at Temple Bar,

Welcome all who lead or follow,  
 To the Oracle of Apollo—  
 Here he speaks out of his pottle,  
 Or the tripes, his tower bottle. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Did he give the room its name? We cannot say; but it is interesting to observe that in chapter xx of book v of Rabelais, Pantagruel says that the Queen's formula for announcing her

<sup>26</sup> Act II, Sc. i.

<sup>27</sup> Book v, Ch. xxi.

<sup>28</sup> Book I, Ch. xi.

<sup>29</sup> Act IV, Sc. ii.

<sup>30</sup> See Book II, Ch. xxxiii; Book III, Ch. xiv; Book v, Ch. vi.

<sup>31</sup> G.-C. edition, ix, 73.

feasts is symbolic of good cheer, and is comparable to the expression 'En Apollo' used by Lucullus 'quand festoyer vouloit ses amis singulierement, . . . ainsi que quelques fois faisoient Ciceron et Hortensius.' To suggest that the namer knew this passage does not, of course, preclude our supposing that he knew its source independently, i. e. Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*.

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## ANOTHER SHAKSPERE FORGERY

When Alexander Dyce edited *Kempes nine daies wonder* (1600) for the Camden Society, in 1840, his attention was attracted to a passage on page 21 which he thought might have value in regard to the question of the date of *Macbeth*. The passage is this: "I [Will Kemp] met a proper vpright youth, onely for a little stooping in the shoulders, all hart to the heele, a penny Poet, whose first making was the miserable stolne story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat, for I am sure a Mac it was, though I never had the maw to see it." Commenting on this, the editor pointed out that "this mention of a piece [*i. e.*, a play] anterior to Shakespeare's tragedy on the same subject has escaped the commentators."

John Payne Collier, who could always be trusted not to agree with Dyce, thought<sup>1</sup> the inference of an older "piece" doubtful, "as it is obvious [said he] that Kemp did not mean to be very intelligible; his other allusions to ballad-makers of his time are purposely obscure." From Kemp's remark that he never had the "maw" to see the "stolne story" it is all but certain that he meant a play, or, at least, a jig.

Seventeen years later Collier announced to the world that he had found good reasons for changing his opinion about the significance of Kemp's remark about the "miserable stolne story of Macdoel." "It may admit of doubt," he said, "whether there was not a considerably older drama on the story of Macbeth, for we meet with

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare's Works*, London, 1841. This was the first edition containing Collier's elaborately forged manuscript emendations.

the following entry in the Registers of the Stationer's Company; the notice of it is, we believe, quite new, and we quote the very words of the register:

'27 die Augusti 1596. Tho. Millington—Thomas Millington is likewise fyned at ijs vjd for printinge of a ballad contrarye to order, which he also presently paid. Md. [Memorandum] the ballad entitled *The taming of a shrew*. Also one other Ballad of *Macdobeth*.'

This shows the existence of a so-called ballad on the subject; and if *The Taming of a Shrew*, which we know to have been a play, were so recorded, it is not unlikely that the *Ballad of Macdobeth* was of the same character. The latter part of the above entry is struck out, but it is not the less probable that the incidents were then known to the stage; and we derive some confirmation of the fact from the subsequent, not very intelligible, passage in *Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder*."

No one, so far as I can discover, has ever questioned Collier's veracity with regard to the alleged entry in the Stationers' Registers. Furness quotes it in his edition of *Macbeth* (p. 359) without questioning its authenticity. This is true also of Mr. E. K. Chambers. Mr. Bond, the editor of the Arden Shakespeare *Macbeth* (p. xxix), also accepted it without question. So did William J. Rolfe in his edition of the play; and so did the editors of the *First Folio Edition*. So does Mr. G. Wilson Knight in a recent letter (August 2, 1928) to the *London Times Literary Supplement*. The reason for this general acceptance of this item, which I shall show to be a forgery, is in all likelihood the fact that Edward Arber said nothing about it when he published his volumes of the *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers in London, 1564-1640*.

Acquaintance with Collier's technique had long ago made me suspicious of the notation about the "Ballad of Macdobeth." The statement about the deletion of the last few words in the entry in the Register seemed unlikely and sounded too much like an attempt to explain why no one else, *e. g.*, Malone, had said anything about that item. Experience had taught me that all Collier's "discoveries" must be looked upon with suspicion and must never be accepted without verification. A recent discussion about



the possibility of an early play on the subject of Macbeth, by Shakspeare or another, decided me to investigate Collier's statement, fully expecting to find that the words about the "Ballad [*i. e.*, play] of Macdobeth" were either a fraudulent addition to the entry or had no existence whatsoever.

Naturally, the first thing I did was to go to the pages of Arber's matchless *Transcript* for his version of the memorandum in question. To my amazement I discovered no trace of any such memorandum, not a word about a "Ballad of Macdobeth," and not a word about Thomas Millington's being fined 2s. 6d. on August 27, 1596, or at any other time, for printing a ballad of "The taming of a shrew!" It was all a fabrication, another Collier forgery!

To make assurance double sure, especially in view of the fact that Arber says that he was not permitted to transcribe certain pages of the Registers, I communicated the above facts to my friend Mr. William B. Kempling, of London, the author of *Shakespeare Memorials of London*, and asked him to examine the Stationers' Registers themselves for evidence on the subject. On September 11, 1928, he wrote me as follows: "I will take my oath that the *Stationers' Registers* contain no such entry." The Assistant Clerk at Stationers' Hall very kindly got me the volumes [after certain fees had been paid]. I went inside the strong room (a giant safe) and had them down. I then carefully covered all the period you named: August-September, 1596, and more. There is nothing in the nature of a fine or charge of 2s. 6d., or of any amount, for anything relating to the *Taming of a shrew* or to *Macdobeth*."

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#### AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF BALZAC

The Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses the originals of two letters of Honoré de Balzac. The first of these Spoelberch de Lovenjoul listed in 1899 in a tentative bibliography of the novelist's correspondence,<sup>1</sup> with the request that someone

<sup>1</sup> Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Autour d'Honoré de Balzac*, pp. 269-270.

go and make a copy of it for him; it belongs to the Dreer Collection and is addressed to Charles Falkenstein, Librarian of the Royal Library of Dresden. This letter was copied and dated by Professor Walter Scott Hastings, who published it in *MLN.*, April, 1916.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, a second manuscript of Balzac's has come into the possession of the Library. It is unpublished and its existence is evidently unknown. It was brought to my attention by the Librarian of the Manuscript Department, whose courtesy I have pleasure in acknowledging. The manuscript was acquired by the Library in 1917, and belongs to the Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz. It is a letter to Louis Desnoyers, to whom the novelist wrote five letters in 1839 and another in 1840, probably after March 1st, all six of which are to be found in the *Correspondance* (1876). The paper on which it is written much resembles that of the Falkenstein letter (a thin sheet of faded light-blue paper, 26.8 by 21.1 centimetres, folded in two); the ink has yellowed, but the hand remains quite legible. The text is as follows:

Paris ce 1r. mars 1840

Mon cher Desnoyers

En apprenant que vous citiez en police correctionnelle un homme de lettres qui vous accusait de gagner sur le prix des articles que vous insérez dans le feuilleton du *Siècle*, et comme je trouve cette accusation ridicule à force de fausseté, je me mets à votre disposition pour témoigner de l'excessive délicatesse de nos rapports, et de mon étonnement d'une semblable imputation

tout à vous

de Balzac

On the verso is the address:

Monsieur Desnoyers  
Chez Mr de Navarin.

The relations of Balzac with the *Siècle* need not be dwelt upon at any length here, since they are quite well known. On November 19, 1836, the novelist signed a contract with an anonymous association according to which he engaged to produce annually a determined number of books, on condition that he receive one-half of the sales profits after deducting the expenses of publication, and be paid 50,000 francs in cash, together with a monthly pension increasing from 1,500 francs the first year to 4,000 francs the

<sup>2</sup> Professor Hasting's dating of the letter as 1845 is borne out by the new series of *Lettres à l'Etranger* which appeared in 1920.

third, this arrangement to be valid for thirteen years. Accordingly, his works were thenceforth published in the newspapers, particularly *La Presse*, *Le Siècle*, *Le Constitutionnel*, and *Le Journal des Débats*. Balzac had become a *feuilletoniste*.<sup>3</sup> It is evident from the tone of this letter to the literary editor of the *Siècle* that he felt at times not displeased with his arrangements.

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DAVID OWEN EVANS.

### IMMERMANN AS A BLACKSMITH

The first seven paragraphs of Immermann's *Der Oberhof* constitute a *locus classicus* in German literature. In this short space Immermann depicts the Hofschulze with a clearness that remains unforgettable. The Hofschulze repairs a tire on a wagon wheel; and when he is through with the job, the reader knows precisely what manner of man he is. The description however of what the old farmer does is wholly incorrect.

A piece of the tire had been broken off; to judge from Vautier's<sup>1</sup> authorized illustration, about six inches (*Ein Stück Schiene war abgebrochen*). Having arranged his tools, the Hofschulze put some stones under the wheel to be repaired and thereby held the wheel fast (*festigte das Rad in seiner Stellung*). But these stones would not hold the wheel in position; they would merely give it solidity that it would not have if it rested on the ground. Having heated the piece of iron to be welded on to the tire until it was red-hot (*glutrotlich*), the Hofschulze put it in place and welded it to the rest of the tire by two powerful strokes (*mit zwei gewaltigen Schlägen*). This is an utterly impossible method of procedure. For two pieces of iron to be welded together, both have to be brought up to a white, or welding heat. However hot one piece may be, it cannot be welded to another piece that is stone cold. The Hofschulze then took his hammer and drove nails through the piece that had been welded on, it being possible to do this because the

<sup>3</sup> With further reference to this subject, see Frederick Lawton, *Balzac*, p. 154, and André le Breton, *Balzac, l'homme et l'œuvre*, p. 34.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. original edition of *Der Ober-Hof. Aus Immermann's Münchhausen. Mit Illustrationen*. By B. Vautier. Berlin: Hoffmann. No year. Vautier belonged to the Düsseldorf school; his engravings are to this day among the best German literature knows.

iron, while still hot, was soft (*Nägel, welche es in seiner weichen Dehnbarkeit noch immer leicht hindurchliess*).

The inaccuracy of all this as epic description is further aggravated by the fact that the two bystanders are so impressed by the Hofschulze's skill that they congratulate him, telling him that he could make his living as a professional joiner or cabinet-maker; that is, he could do much finer work. No, says the Hofschulze, he tried his hand once at making a cupboard and the thing was so lopsided when it was done that he has preserved it as an object lesson (*mich vor Versuchung künftig zu wahren*).

This slip on Immermann's part never appealed to me as being of sufficient importance to justify a note even as brief as this one, until now. In his *Der Weg zur Form*<sup>2</sup> Paul Ernst, in the chapter entitled *Episch und Dramatisch*, pays a tremendous tribute to Immermann's skill in the opening paragraphs of *Der Oberhof*. He calls it the most beautiful passage in the entire book, says it introduces us at once to life on the upper-farm, and gives us a picture of the Hofschulze that remains stamped on the mind throughout all the rest of the story.

This is true; but Ernst refers to the *Oberhof* paragraphs by way of contrasting them with Schiller's weak effort in the Tell—Hedwig—Walter—Wilhelm domestic scene at the beginning of the third act of *Wilhelm Tell*. He contends that Schiller's dramatic description (*dramatische Schilderung*) is bad: Tell cannot really drive a nail in the paling of the gate with the back of the axe; Hedwig has no room on the stage to manipulate her washtubs, and so on, but Immermann's descriptions, Ernst contends, leaves nothing to be desired. Ernst closes with the injunction to the dramatist to beware of descriptions, or stage settings, and to make his drama dramatic.

Paul Ernst, born in 1866, is at present the author of 10 volumes of narrative works, 3 volumes of dramas, and no fewer than 6 volumes of critical works. The contrast he draws here between Immermann's epic skill and Schiller's dramatic bungling places a strain on our faith in his powers of imaginative observation.

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ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Der Weg zur Form*. By Paul Ernst. München: Georg Müller, 449 pp., dritte Auflage, 1928, pages 312-317.

TIMOTHY KENDALL'S TRIFLES AND NICOLAS  
BOURBON'S NUGAE

Professor Lathrop's recent study of the relations of Turberville and Kendall to Cornarius' *Epigrammata Graeca* once more demonstrates that, if we would understand the ways of many an English versifier in the sixteenth century, we should turn to the neo-Latin poets.<sup>1</sup> This is not only true for English verse, but also for French, Spanish, and to some degree for Italian.

Lathrop rightly defends Kendall, and on the right grounds, against the charge of plagiarism in the *Flowers of Epigrams* where he lays no claim to originality; yet it must be allowed that, by our standards, Kendall errs in not distinguishing his own work as translator from that of others whose English versions he adopts.

Kendall's book, as it was published in 1577, is divided into two parts, each having a title-page of its own. The first part is *Flowers of Epigrammes out of sundrie the moste singular authours selected*; the second, *Trifles by Timothe Kendal devised and written (for the moste part) at sundrie tymes in his yong and tender age*. From these titles it would seem that he looked for the reputation of originality from the *Trifles*, though not from the *Flowers*. Accordingly, Bullen<sup>2</sup> and Whipple<sup>3</sup> speak of the *Trifles* as if they were original in our ordinary sense of the word. The closing lines

<sup>1</sup> H. B. Lathrop, 'Janus Cornarius's *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca* and the Early English Epigrammatists,' *MLN.*, XLIII (1928), 223-229. Lathrop still misses one poem of Turberville's that comes from the Anthology (unless it be referred to on p. 225, where, under 'Turberville, p. 205,' the quotation is wanting—I regret that I cannot refer to the edition of Turberville used by Lathrop); this is *The Epicure's Counsell* (Chalmers, *English Poets*, ii. 615), an elaboration of *Anth. Pal.*, 7. 325, well-known from the Latin of Cicero, *Tusc.*, 5. 101; on p. 616 (Chalmers), Turberville has a second poem in reply to this.

A few *lapsus calami* should be corrected in Lathrop's article: on p. 227, whatever the intermediary Latin epigram, *The Cittyes* 7 is ultimately from *A. P.*, 9. 366 (not 127); on p. 228, *Timocritus a warrior* should be referred to *A. P.*, 7. 160 (not 250), *The frounyng fates* to *A. P.*, 7. 308 (not 9. 308), *It makes no matter* to *A. P.*, 10. 3 (not 7. 288), and *Shunne thou the seas* to *A. P.*, 7. 650 (not 668).

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B.

<sup>3</sup> T. K. Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*, Berkeley, Calif., 1925, p. 322.

of the poem introductory to the *Trifles* mark the author's modest feeling of greater responsibility for them than for the *Flowers* preceding:<sup>4</sup>

Now, reader, lend thy listnyng eare,  
and, after syngyng Larke,  
Content thy selfe of chattyng Crowe  
some homely notes to marke.

In the opening lines of this poem, Kendall names two poets who have preceded him in the writing of 'trifles':

Borbon in France beares bell awaie  
for wrytyng trifles there;  
In Englande Parkhurst praysed is  
for wrytyng trifles here.

Parkhurst had supplied Kendall with one large section of his *Flowers*; but Bourbon, though one of the better-known and more prolific of the neo-Latin epigrammatists, finds no place there.<sup>5</sup> He finds a place, though his presence is not acknowledged, in the *Trifles*, the title of which is obviously transferred from his *Nugae*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Likewise in the list of 'authors out of whom these Flowers are selected' (p. 2 of the Spenser Society's reprint) it is implied that what follows Fo. 113 (p. 243) belongs originally to Kendall exactly as what follows Fo. 38 belongs originally to Politian.

<sup>5</sup> He is mentioned for his fame together with his friend Salmon Macrin, and with Muret, in Kendall's epistle 'To the Reader' (reprint, p. 8).

<sup>6</sup> *Nicolai Borbonii Vandoperani Nugae*, Paris, 1533; *Nugarum libri octo*, Basel, 1540. Parkhurst's epigrams had for title, *Ludicra sive epigrammata juvenilia* (London, 1573).

The elder Nicolas Bourbon (1503-1550) needs a better biography than the notices in the *Biographie Universelle* and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, both of which are taken from Niceron. Much of Bourbon's verse is autobiographical; yet these notices of his life make nothing of the imprisonment he complains of in a series of poems, or of what seems to follow it, his residence in England at the Court of Henry VIII. I have seen no clearer account of Bourbon's career than the brief note by Edmund Lodge, accompanying Holbein's portrait of Bourbon in the *Facsimiles of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty for the Portraits of Illustrious Persons of the Court of Henry VIII*, published by John Chamberlaine, London, 1884. He addresses Anne Boleyn in a poem on his release from prison (*Nug.*, 1540, p. 418); other verses are to the Duke of Richmond, Sir William Butts, Cranmer, Latimer, and Cromwell. The biographers mention J. C. Scaliger's adverse criticism of Bourbon, but fail to account for Bourbon's apparently subsequent

The extent to which, in the *Trifles*, Kendall levies upon Bourbon is expressed in the following table:<sup>7</sup>

Kendall	Bourbon
p. 252: As water cleare. No stabbyng glave.	p. 55: Sordida stagnina est. p. 149: Quaeris quid timeam.
p. 254: By riches none.	p. 74: Pulchra (Dei donum).
a) p. 255: The churlishe chuffe. The ayre, the yearth.	p. 224: Mularum vitam vivit. p. 32: Aer, terra, fretum.
p. 257: This' silver coine.	p. 328: Aes, ferrum, argentum.
p. 258: Tyme bringeth lurking. The cursed play.	p. 442: Profert in lucem. p. 173: Filia avaritiae.
p. 260. Who dyes in Christ.	p. 235 (cf. p. 330): Qui moritur Christo.
This age hunts. The bowe that bended.	p. 124: Haec aetas venatur. p. 264: Amittit vires qui.
b) p. 261: Loves rigorous rage.	p. 96: Compescit rabiem.
p. 268: The fem, the floud.	p. 100: Foemina, flamma, fretum.
c) His first wife.	p. 368: Vixdum in marmore.
p. 269: To combersome a clog. A husband of his wife.	p. 369: Res uxor nimis est. p. 369: Commoda tum demum.
p. 277: My Titus, if.	p. 310: Tu si vales, Pucri.
p. 281: Learned thou wast. My front well framd.	p. 292: Scribere quur. [?] p. 350 (or again at end of the volume): Corporis effigiem.
d) p. 284: Mark miser yesterday.	p. 27: Marcus avarus heri.
p. 296: Take in good parte.	p. 22: Sic studium. [?]
p. 302: Post cineres virtus.	Quoted from <i>Nug.</i> , p. 74; second line of the epigram trans- lated by Kendall on p. 254.

The epigrams above marked a, b, c, d, ultimately come from the Greek Anthology: (a) *A. P.*, 11.399; (b) 9.497; (c) 9.133; (d) 11.169.<sup>8</sup>

Though it was the convention to ascribe such verse as Kendall's to the writer's 'yong and tender age,' and though even in this statement Kendall could be echoing Bourbon (*Nug.*, p. 21 *et*

epigram in praise of Scaliger (*Nug.*, 1540, p. 465, not in the edition of 1533).

<sup>7</sup> Pages of Kendall according to the Spenser Society's reprint (1874); pages of Bourbon according to the *Nugae* of 1540.

<sup>8</sup> Bourbon owes some 85 epigrams to the Anthology, Kendall, through several media, about 90. The epigram marked (c) he elsewhere (p. 137) takes from another intermediary, Cornarius.

*passim*), the courteous reader will take him at his word. It is not necessary to think that Erasmus and 'good old Mantuan' were the only neo-Latin authors employed in English schools; and it is possible that Kendall there became acquainted with Bourbon's *Nugae*. The sources of many of the remaining 'trifles' surely are likewise to be sought in popular neo-Latin writers; perhaps some of them in Parkhurst's *Ludicra*, a book at present inaccessible to me and, I suppose, to most others. We may hope that the persons who give us reprints of books like Kendall's *Flowers* and Weever's *Epigrammes* will in time present us with reissues of influential books such as Walter Haddon's *Poemata* and Bishop Parkhurst's *Ludicra*, or even with a readable edition of John Owen's *Epigrammata*.

With some real knowledge of the professedly original part of Kendall's book, we can more fairly judge him, understanding his own view of what he was doing in the whole. He plainly regards the *Flowers of Epigrams* merely as an anthology of translations; perhaps he supplies some, but in general he takes them where he finds them. The *Trifles*, on the other hand, are his own; perhaps he has translated the greater part of them from the Latin poets old or new, but in Kendall's time—and not in England only—what a man had translated was his own.

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## AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROYAL THEATER IN SWEDEN

A short drive from Stockholm, alongside the royal château of Drottningholm, is an eighteenth-century theater, which appears to be unique in that its stage machinery and some thirty different stage sets are still preserved intact. This theater, housed in a separate building, was constructed in 1764-1766 by the Court Architect C. F. Adelcrantz for King Adolph-Frederick (1710-1771) and his masterful consort, Louisa-Ulrica (1720-1782), the sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia and the occasional correspondent of Voltaire. The stage is unusually deep even in comparison with those of modern times. The scenery could be very quickly changed by four men turning wooden windlasses below stage and after



slight restoration during the last five years these windlasses are again in working order. This theater is quite a revelation of the extent to which stage settings and stage machinery had been developed during the eighteenth century, even in this relatively remote corner of Europe. Here the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, as well as the lesser known tragedies, comedies, and operas of the seventeenth, and particularly of the eighteenth, centuries were performed, evidently with much care for scenic effect. Stage costumes and devices, supplemented by an extensive collection of prints and pictures, are on exhibition in neighboring rooms of this theater-building and are here in the proper setting to be most enlightening regarding the methods of the stage at this period.

The auditorium is not large, especially in comparison with the size of the stage. It was intended only for the small court circle and invited guests. Carefully preserved place-marks still indicate the seating arrangement in order of rank from front to rear. It seems a bit of rather remarkable liberalism for the time (or was it only care to fill the auditorium?) that the "Royal Economy" (the kitchen staff) and "His Majesty's second valets and barbers" were not forgotten and were allotted their places high up on uncomfortable benches in the back rows.

The energetic young curator of this theater, Mr. Agne Beijer, with great care and fidelity to the original arrangement has directed the work of needed restoration during the last five years after the long period of neglect during the nineteenth century and is still pushing this work forward to completion. In due course of time he plans to publish a detailed account of his findings, which will no doubt be of very great interest to students of the drama. Mr. Beijer is entirely *au courant* of the contributions of Lanson, Lancaster, and others to our knowledge of stage settings and effects during the *ancien régime*, but will, in all probability, be able to add to them in unusually specific and concrete fashion. Meanwhile, any one interested in this subject should not fail, if fortunate enough to be in Sweden, to visit this theater and talk with Mr. Beijer, to whom the present author is indebted for a most courteous reception and much expenditure of time in competent guidance. Let us hope that it may soon be possible to witness at Drottningholm an occasional revival of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plays with their original settings, costumes, and scenic effects.

# A NOTE ON CHAPTERS 89-95 OF THE *HAMBURGISCHE DRAMATURGIE*

Chapters 89-95 of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* comprise an elaborate discussion of the following proposition found in Diderot's *Troisième Entretien Sur Le Fils Naturel*:

Le genre comique est des espèces, et le genre tragique est des individus. Je m'explique. Le héros d'une tragédie est tel ou tel homme: c'est ou Régulus, ou Brutus, ou Caton; et ce n'est point un autre. Le principal personnage d'une comédie doit au contraire représenter un grand nombre d'hommes. Si, par hasard, on lui donnait une physionomie si particulière, qu'il n'eût dans la société qu'un seul individu qui lui ressemblât, la comédie retournerait à son enfance, et dégénérerait en satire.<sup>1</sup>

This proposition, Lessing notes, seems to conflict with the principle of universality established by Aristotle in the *Poetics*. But, he surmises, there must be a contradiction in appearance only, particularly since Hurd, a critic for whom he confesses the highest respect, agrees with Diderot, and it is hardly to be supposed that these eminent thinkers should be at odds with such an authority as Aristotle. Hurd's statement reads:

Comedy makes all its Characters *general*; Tragedy, *particular*. The *Avare* of Molière is not so properly the picture of a *covetous man*, as of *covetousness* itself. Racine's *Nero*, on the other hand, is not a picture of *cruelty*, but of a *cruel man*.<sup>2</sup>

To establish Hurd's point of view Lessing translates two long passages from the English critic's treatise *On the Provinces of the*

<sup>1</sup> Assézat, *Oeuvres Complètes de Diderot* (Paris, 1875 ff.) VII, 138. Cited by Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann-Muncker (Stuttgart, 1886 ff.), X, 153. For the sake of antithesis Diderot, it should be noted, makes his distinction too drastic.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Horatii Flacci *Epistolae ad Pisonem et Augustum*, 5th. ed. (London, 1776), II, 183. Cited by Lessing, X, 173. A later qualification is important. "I have said, the characters of just comedy are *general*. And this I explain by the instance of the *Avare* of Molière, which conforms more to the idea of *avarice*, than to that of the real *avaricious man*. But here again, the reader will not understand me, as saying this in the strict sense of the words. I even think Molière faulty in the instance given; . . ." (II, 185). Hurd, in contrast to Diderot, explicitly indicates that the distinction he has drawn is relative. "My meaning is, they (tragic characters) are *more particular* than those of comedy" (II, 183).

*Drama* and his notes to Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones*. He then attempts by an analysis of the term "general" to reconcile this attitude with the *Poetics*. He concludes that Hurd (and very likely Diderot), when he attributes generality to comic figures alone, is using "general" in the sense of "synthetic" (*überladen*) but that, when he also attributes it, as he does, to tragic as well as to comic figures, he is using "general" in the sense of "ordinary" (*gewöhnlich*), "nicht zwar in so fern der Charakter selbst, sondern nur in so fern der Grad, das Maass desselben gewöhnlich ist." (x, 187.) But this analysis leads Lessing into further difficulties, and after raising a number of queries he concludes:

Das ist die Schwierigkeit!—Ich erinnere hier meine Leser, dass diese Blätter nichts weniger als ein dramatisches System enthalten sollen. Ich bin also nicht verpflichtet, alle die Schwierigkeiten aufzulösen, die ich mache. Meine Gedanken mögen immer sich weniger zu verbinden, ja wohl gar sich zu widersprechen scheinen: wenn es denn nur Gedanken sind, bey welchen sie Stoff finden, selbst zu denken. Hier will ich nichts als *fermenta cognitionis* austreuen (x, 187-188).

In this case, however, Lessing's *fermenta* are confusing rather than stimulating. His formidable discussion unnecessarily complicates the problem and, by introducing a set of additional questions, singularly fails to furnish an enlightening suggestion as to what Diderot and Hurd may naturally have had in mind. As a matter of fact, their distinction between tragic and comic characters is, strictly considered, neither to be established nor refuted on the basis of Aristotle's principle of universality. Before considering this distinction let us turn to the latter principle, which is stated in a passage of the *Poetics* cited and interpreted by Lessing. Aristotle writes:

Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular. By the universal I mean how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attaches to the personages. The particular is—for example—what Alcibiades did or suffered. In Comedy this is already apparent: for here the poet first constructs the plot on the lines of probability, and then inserts characteristic names;—unlike the lampooners who write about particular individuals. But tragedians still keep to real names, the reason being that what is possible is credible: what has not happened we do not at

once feel sure to be possible: but what has happened is manifestly possible: otherwise it would not have happened.<sup>3</sup>

In these lines universality is clearly and succinctly defined: "By the universal I mean how a *person of a certain type* will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity." It is essential to recognize that two factors are involved, not merely *character* but also *situation*, or *plot*. It was by limiting his consideration to the first factor that Lessing was led into difficulties. And in restricting his attention he was primarily prompted by an examination not of Aristotle's principle but of the clause that is attached: "it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attaches to the personages." The defense of this clause induced Lessing 1) to overlook an inconsistency in the text of the *Poetics*, as it has been preserved, 2) to claim a like universality for dramatic personages irrespective of plot.

As regards comedy, the generality of the characters is, as Aristotle states, apparent, "for here the poet first constructs the plot on the lines of probability and then inserts characteristic names." This argument is eloquently supported by the prevalence of such names as Parmeno, Pamphilus, etc., in later Greek comedy. But, as regards tragedy, the demonstration of the *Poetics* is decidedly less sound. In support of Aristotle, Lessing claims that the tragic poet clings to actual names for a twofold reason:

einmal, weil wir schon gewohnt sind, bey diesen Namen einen Charakter zu denken, wie er (der Poet) ihn in seiner Allgemeinheit zeigt; zweytens, weil wirklichen Namen auch wirkliche Begebenheiten anzuhängen scheinen, und alles, was einmal geschehen, glaubwürdiger ist, als was nicht geschehen. Die erste dieser Ursachen fliesst aus der Verbindung der Aristotelischen Begriffe überhaupt; sie liegt zum Grunde, und Aristoteles hatte nicht nöthig, sich umständlicher bey ihr zu verweilen; wohl aber bey der zweyten, als einer von anderwärts noch dazu kommenden Ursache. Doch diese liegt itzt ausser meinem Wege, und die Ausleger insgesamt haben sie weniger missverstanden als jene (x, 171).

Now, Lessing by constructing the first reason, is guilty of a practice for which he had previously in the *Dramaturgie* censured the French commentators, Corneille and Dacier: he is stating not what Aristotle wrote but what he might or should have written. The only reason presented by the latter is the second, and if

<sup>3</sup> Butcher, *The Poetics of Aristotle*, 4th ed. (London, 1922), pp. 35-37. Cited by Lessing, x, 161.

Lessing had examined this reason, instead of summarily dismissing it, he would surely have noted not only that it was essentially unsound—as he, in fact, had already done in 1759 with regard to the Fable<sup>4</sup>—but that it also conflicted with other more fundamental principles of the Poetics.

Aristotle's whole argument is explicitly stated in a single sentence. "But tragedians still keep to real names, the reason being that what is possible is credible: what has not happened we do not at once feel sure to be possible: but what has happened is manifestly possible: otherwise it would not have happened."<sup>5</sup> Yet, after the same chapter has claimed that poetry is higher and more philosophical than history is there any point in summoning the latter, the mere actuality of an occurrence, in support of poetic plausibility? Particularly since the text goes on to state that "even subjects that are known are known only to a few"? (p. 37.) What Aristotle demonstrates is not that the authors of tragedy by adopting real names achieve probability; he simply shows that they are dealing with possibilities. However, in a later passage he announces that "the poet should prefer probable impossibilities to improbable possibilities" (p. 95) and properly insists again that the ultimate standard of plausibility is neither history nor external

<sup>4</sup> "*Aristoteles* sagt, die historischhen Exempel hätten deswegen eine grössere Kraft zu überzeugen als die Fabeln, weil das Vergangene gemeiniglich dem Zukünftigen ähnlich sei. Und hierin, glaube ich, hat sich *Aristoteles* geirret. Von der Wirklichkeit eines Falles, den ich nicht selbst erfahren habe, kann ich nicht anders als aus Gründen der Wahrscheinlichkeit überzeugt werden" (VII, 445-6). Did Lessing consciously neglect to recall this sound criticism in order not to undermine his polemic against Corneille, which was based on the contention that the Aristotelian decrees were infallible?

<sup>5</sup> Lessing translates: "Bey der Tragödie aber hält man sich an die schon vorhandenen Namen; aus Ursache, weil das Mögliche glaubwürdig ist, und wir nicht möglich glauben, was nie geschehen, da hingegen was geschehen, offenbar möglich seyn muss, weil es nicht geschehen wäre, wenn es nicht möglich wäre" (x, 161). Yet in his effort to account for the hypothetical first reason he ignores this text when he claims: "so ist auch blos (!) der Begriff des Charakters, den wir mit den Namen Regulus, Cato, Brutus zu verbinden gewohnt sind, die Ursache, warum der tragische Dichter seinen Personen diese Namen ertheilet," and flatly contradicts it when he continues: "Er führt einen Regulus, einen Brutus auf, nicht um uns mit den wirklichen Begegnissen dieser Männer bekannt zu machen" (x, 170).

fact but the inherent art of the poet. "If he (the poet) describes the impossible, he is guilty of an error; but the error may be justified if the end of the art is thereby attained. For example,—not to know that a hind has no horns is a less serious matter than to paint it inartistically."<sup>6</sup>

The application of a questionable clause, however, in no wise affects the validity of the fundamental law of universality. The latter, it has been noted, pertains to the action of a "person of a certain type" on a certain "occasion,"—with a given character and a given situation the action must be so and not otherwise.<sup>7</sup> Now, what do Diderot and Hurd claim? Simply that in comedy the given character as such is more typical or representative than in tragedy.

As far as Hurd is concerned, he proceeds from Aristotle's own concept of tragedy, which subordinates character to plot. "That is, the *end* of Tragedy does not require or permit the poet to draw together so many of those characteristic circumstances which show the manners, as Comedy. For, in the former of these dramas, no more of *character* is shewn, than what the course of the action necessarily calls forth."<sup>8</sup> A specific example of a tragic personage, Electra, is cited in an earlier passage. "The poet had to paint in the character of this princess, a virtuous, but fierce, resentful woman; stung by a sense of personal ill treatment, and instigated to the revenge of a father's death by still stronger motives" (I, 257). Surely not a character representative of a great number of women! Why? Because,—to apply Hurd's argument—she is not the example of a fierce, resentful woman at large, but of one who is required by the plot to avenge the murder of a parent.

On the other hand, comedy, according to Hurd, is less con-

<sup>6</sup> P. 99. This is thoroughly consistent with the claim that "it is Homer who chiefly taught other poets the art of telling lies skilfully" (p. 95).

<sup>7</sup> According to Hurd, universality consists in perceiving "clearly and certainly how far, and with what degree of strength, this or that character will, on particular occasions, most probably show itself" (I, 256).

<sup>8</sup> II, 183. "Whence," he adds, "it appears that in calling the tragic character *particular*, I suppose it only *less representative* of the kind than the comic; not that the draught of so much character as it is concerned to represent should not be general" (II, 184).

strained by the exigencies of plot. It deals primarily with characters, and, inasmuch as the purpose of comedy is a humorous revelation of prevalent foibles or vices, he agrees with Diderot that this end is "attained most perfectly by making those characters as *universal* as possible" (II, 185).

That this distinction was observed by traditional comedy and tragedy can hardly be gainsaid. Pamphilus in Terence's *Andria* is typical *per se*. His mentality and habits are those common to hundreds of Roman youths. But Orestes, son of Clytaemnestra and stepson of Aegisthus, is a highly individualized figure of Greek tradition. His demeanor and actions are representative only of a youth confronted by an exceptional situation. A French audience in the days of Louis XIV would hardly have revealed a single woman who deserved to be called Phèdre (not that there were not many who would have acted as Phèdre did *under the same conditions*); it contained "précieuses ridicules" by the score. Scarcely an inhabitant of the kingdom warranted the name Polyeucte; almost every village contained a George Dandin. The distinction may well be illustrated by a figure Lessing himself summons. The Socrates of Aristophanes, he notes, is representative of a whole class, the Sophists. But, it should be added, Socrates as a subject of tragedy, the philosopher calmly dying for his doctrines, is with all his pre-eminently human qualities a figure unique in history.

Lessing, it is true, tends to preclude such a distinction by maintaining that in tragedy we "abstract" character from actual events:

es folgt aber doch daraus nicht, dass uns auch ihr (the heroes') Charakter wieder auf ihre Begegnisse zurückführen müsse; es kann uns nicht selten weit kürzer, weit natürlicher auf ganz andere bringen, mit welchen jene wirkliche weiter nichts gemein haben, als dass sie mit ihnen aus einer Quelle, aber auf unzuverfolgenden Umwegen und über Erdstriche hergeflossen sind, welche ihre Lauterheit verdorben haben. In diesem Falle wird der Poet jene erfundene den wirklichen schlechterdings vorziehen, aber den Personen noch immer die wahren Namen lassen (x, 171).

But, whereas a fundamental principle of the *Poetics* definitely subordinates character to plot, Lessing would first abstract representatives heroes and then construct the plot on the basis of such

characters. It is Lessing's argument at this point, rather than the proposition of Diderot and Hurd, that may be called un-Aristotelian.

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### A REVEREND ALTERER OF SHAKESPEARE

In the same month in which Colley Cibber's adaptation of *King John* stirred up such a clamor in the newspapers that he took the copy from the prompter's desk and walked off with it, refusing to let the play be presented lest it be damned, there was acted at Drury Lane a play called *The Universal Passion*, an alteration of *Much Ado about Nothing*, written by James Miller, a clergyman. It was fairly successful. Its opening night was Monday, February 28, 1737, and it was repeated March 1, 3, 14, 21, 24, and 28.<sup>1</sup> The next week was Holy Week and no plays were advertised. After that *The Universal Passion* was apparently not given again.

As an alteration of Shakespeare (with an addition taken from Molière) this play did not escape criticism, however. One contemporary critic used it as a horrible example of the affectation of such alterings. His letter, signed *Philo-Shakespear*, and printed in the *Daily Journal* of March 5, 1737, is so interesting as an example of eighteenth-century criticism of the habit of altering Shakespeare's plays that it seems to me worthy of preservation.

The "Occasional Prompter," to whom the letter is addressed, heads his column with these pertinent (or impertinent) couplets:

So have I seen a deep, sagacious, hound  
(To whose full Voice th' awaken'd woods resound)  
Lead the gay Field, while impotent and base,  
In yelps the parson's cur, and foils the chase.

After developing this allegory he gives place to his correspondent, *Philo-Shakespear*, whose letter, in part, follows.

To the Occasional Prompter.

SIR,

. . . I observe first, in the *Reverend Alterer*, a total change of Names,

<sup>1</sup> Dates are taken from advertisements in the *Daily Post* (in the files of the British Museum).



tho' I am at a loss to conceive any Necessity for it; *Claudio* being just as good as *Bellarion*, and *Hero* as pretty as *Lucilia*—*Beatrice* and *Benedick* convey as much to the Understanding as Lord *Proteus* and *Delia*; and so of the rest.

The Affectation of altering Names in *Shakespeare* is something too ridiculous to be gravely noticed; for which reason I shall pass on to a new Character, by Name *Joculo*, introduced for no Purpose in the World, but to say a good deal of *Common-place* Satire; even below *common Discourse*: But to shew what an infinite Void of Invention there is in our Bard, and how much he covets his Neighbour's Goods (contrary to one of ten Commandments he should particularly be observant of) he has robbed *Moliere* of the character of *Moron*, in a dramattick Entertainment called, *Les Plaisirs de l'Isle Enchantee*, or *La Princesse d'Elide*, quite necessary and diverting in the French Poet, to form a most stupid Jester, who has nothing at all to do in the English. Nor does his felonious Disposition stop in stealing a character only; he has stole the hunting Match, and the Incident of the Father's being saved, and has affected to make *Joculo* as useful in forwarding the Love Intrigue as *Moron*, tho' it is very evident, none of them wanted a Cast of his Office.

The next alteration is the blending of two Characters in one, and by that means wronging his Original, and making a *Sovereign* appear scarce equal to a *Subject*, in receiving an Injury of so near a Concern, and not resenting it as a *Sovereign* should. *Leonato* indeed might measure his Resentment in proportion to the Respect due to a *Prince*; but why a *Prince* himself should be so tame, and let *Bellarion* go off without instant Revenge for an Aspersions so triflingly founded, is not reconcileable to *Propriety* of character; and as it is productive of no Sentiment, or Incident of new Beauty, is an Alteration injurious to *Shakespeare*, and shews the Poverty of the Alterer's understanding.

His Love of altering shews itself with the same Delicacy in shifting the Scene from *Messina* to *Genoa*; for I believe no one Person in the Audience could find any Reason for it: But this, it seems, is called altering *Shakespeare*, changing the Names of the Drama, and Scene of Action; leaving out one or two characters necessary to the Fable, and adding one that has nothing to do with it.

His Usage of *Benedick* is abominable; and of a gay young Lord that laughs at Love, from a *Sprightliness* of Temper, he has formed a Character that has more of *Severity* and *Flout* in it, than *Mirth* or *Pleasantry*: He has made a rough, gallant Soldier of the fine Gentleman of those Days.

The Under-plot of making *Benedick* and *Beatrice* in love with each other, as well as the principal Part of the Fable that relates to *Claudio* and *Hero*, he has indeed condescended to preserve; and to these scenes, mangled as they are, and the excellent Performance of the Actors in general, must be attributed the Town's Indulgence in seeing *Shakespeare*, whom they would not suffer to be murdered in the Person of *King John*, most miserably hacked and defaced (notwithstanding the Act against Maiming, &c.) by more cruel, as well as unskilful, Hands.

I cannot conclude without expressing some Surprise at the Name under which it now appears. *Shakespear*, in that which he gave to it, seemed to acknowledge (which indeed is true) that the Fable, or Subject, was, making *Much Ado about Nothing*, and pretended to no more. But why this Comedy should be called, *Love the Universal Passion*, any more than any other Piece that has Love in it, can only be accounted for by the present Rule for *altering Shakespear*, hinted at above. I am,

SIR, Yours,

PHILO-SHAKESPEAR.

CHARLES WASHBURN NICHOLS.

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## UN INÉDIT DE BALZAC

Lorsque nous préparions notre étude sur *l'Europe littéraire*,<sup>1</sup> journal cosmopolite qui s'attira, en 1833, la collaboration active de Balzac, nous y avons relevé et identifié, grâce à la courtoisie serviable de M. Marcel Bouteron, un article anonyme du romancier français. Vu la rareté du recueil où se trouve cet inédit,<sup>2</sup> nous croyons qu'il serait intéressant de le publier, avec un court résumé du rôle qu'a joué Balzac à la rédaction de *l'Europe littéraire*.

Bien que son nom ne figure pas dans les listes des rédacteurs et collaborateurs au nouveau journal qui ont paru dans les prospectus et dans les annonces publiées dans d'autres périodiques, Balzac ne tarda pas à quitter, pour *l'Europe littéraire*, la *Revue de Paris*, à laquelle il avait assuré, pourtant, sa collaboration exclusive.<sup>3</sup> Cette prompte adhésion à *l'Europe littéraire* s'explique par plusieurs considérations: la rémunération accordée à ses collaborateurs par la nouvelle entreprise prima de beaucoup celle que ses concurrents se croyaient en mesure d'offrir; Balzac devait s'y trouver en compagnie distinguée, la rédaction n'ayant épargné aucun effort pour s'attirer toutes les sommités du jour; l'envergure

<sup>1</sup> T. XXXII, Bibliothèque de la R. L. C., Paris, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> La seule collection complète de *l'Europe littéraire* que nous connaissions appartient à la Collection Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, à Chantilly; celle de la Bibliothèque Nationale, bien que incomplète, comprend le numéro dont il est question ici.

<sup>3</sup> Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Une page perdue de Honoré de Balzac*, Paris, 1903; p. 105.

du projet imaginé par Bohain (qui aurait fourni à Balzac le modèle de son Mercadet <sup>4</sup>) a dû éveiller les sympathies du spéculateur qu'était Balzac; le caractère "européen" de l'entreprise y attira celui qui voulait "gouverner l'Europe intellectuellement." <sup>5</sup>

Le 9 août 1833, tombée dans des difficultés financières occasionnées, en grande partie, par les folles dépenses des rédacteurs, *l'Europe littéraire* se vit dans l'impossibilité de continuer sa publication. D'où vente aux enchères pour liquider les obligations courantes, groupement de quelques-uns des anciens rédacteurs dans une société nouvelle, transfert du bureau dans des locaux moins coûteux, enfin nouvelle disposition typographique du journal. C'est après ce branle-bas que Balzac s'est intéressé le plus activement à *l'Europe littéraire*. Le seul morceau signé qu'il y avait publié jusque-là est un chapitre de son *Médecin de campagne*, intitulé: *la Veillée, histoire de Napoléon contée dans une grange par un vieux soldat*; <sup>6</sup> entre le 15 août et le 19 septembre parurent: sa *Théorie de la démarche*, dont il avait repris les épreuves à la *Revue de Paris*, *Persévérance d'Amour* et le premier chapitre d'*Eugénie Grandet*.<sup>7</sup> Mais les efforts du romancier pour assurer le succès du périodique ne s'arrêtèrent pas là. Devenu actionnaire,<sup>8</sup> il est bien possible, vu l'article que nous allons reproduire plus bas, qu'il ait fait partie de la commission de rédaction—jusqu'au 1<sup>er</sup> octobre, quand, par suite d'un différend avec Capo Feuillide,<sup>9</sup> Balzac se sépara du journal définitivement.

Entre le 11 et le 15 août, parut un *Avertissement* anonyme, envoyé aux abonnés et incorporé dans le premier numéro de *l'Europe littéraire* réorganisée.<sup>10</sup> Or, la dernière page du manuscrit

<sup>4</sup> Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Un roman d'amour*, Paris, 1896, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> C'est surtout cette dernière considération, selon M. F. Baldensperger, qui amena Balzac à collaborer à *l'Europe littéraire*. Cf. Baldensperger, *Orientations étrangères chez H. de Balzac*, Paris, 1927; et "Balzac sur les pas de Goethe l'Européen," *Revue de Genève*, mars 1927.

<sup>6</sup> 19 juin 1833; I, 194-196.

<sup>7</sup> I, nouv. série, 15-18, 34-40, 83-88, 155-161; et 183-192, 244-256.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondance de H. de Balzac*, Paris, 1876; II, 249. *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, Paris, 1906; I, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Un dernier chapitre de l'histoire des œuvres de H. de Balzac*, Paris, 1880; et T. R. Palfrey, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> I, nouv. série, 5-6.

de cet article (à partir de "Par une sage prévision. . .") a été identifiée par M. Bouteron comme étant de l'écriture de Balzac.<sup>11</sup> Le paragraphe qui commence par "La *Revue de Paris*, dont le prix . . ." suffirait, à lui seul, à confirmer cette identification. Rappelons que Balzac, brouillé avec Amédée Pichot, avait quitté la *Revue* pour porter sa collaboration à *l'Europe littéraire*: il n'hésita donc pas à faire un parallèle entre les deux revues et à donner l'avantage, bien entendu, à *l'Europe*. De plus, dans la nature même de cette comparaison, toute hérissée de chiffres, par laquelle est démontrée la supériorité de *l'Europe littéraire*, "d'un tiers dans la production littéraire et d'un septième en moins dans le prix," nous reconnaissons les préoccupations matérielles et financières de l'auteur de la *Comédie humaine*, pour lequel la statistique a toujours exercé un attrait irrésistible.

#### Avertissement

L'ancienne société de *l'Europe littéraire* est dissoute. Le journal, abandonné par ses actionnaires, a été racheté par ses rédacteurs et par quelques fondateurs restés fidèles à sa pensée.

En toute entreprise, et les entreprises basées sur les productions de l'intelligence sont les plus chanceuses, il faut des essais.

L'exigence d'une nation devenue aussi grave qu'elle est spirituelle, et à laquelle des spéculateurs ont persuadé pour un temps, que le talent, que les connaissances devaient descendre dans la rue, et y lutter avec le génie des almanachs à deux sous, avait peut-être été trop méconnue par les premiers fondateurs de *l'Europe littéraire*. Ils essayèrent de rendre éclatant l'organe des sciences, des arts et de la littérature. De là ce luxe typographique, de là cet appel à toutes les capacités européennes, qui signalèrent l'apparition de *l'Europe littéraire*. Da là, surtout,

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<sup>11</sup> Ce document (mentionné au n° 14 du catalogue V. Lemasle, n° 195) m'a été communiqué par M. Marcel Bouteron, auquel M. Victor Lemasle, expert en autographes, avait donné, le 17 août 1924, l'autorisation de le copier. En tête du manuscrit, barré de deux lignes diagonales et séparé de ce qui suit par une ligne horizontale, se trouve le passage suivant: "appartient (barré) l'universalité des connaissances qui sont du domaine de la critique littéraire (barré) mais nous ne prenons pas l'engagement de parler des œuvres qui n'ont aucun caractère littéraire, et notre silence sera, dans quelques occasions, de (barré) une critique plus naturelle (ces trois mots barrés) critique toute naturelle." Au verso: "A. M. Everat, copie des deux 1<sup>res</sup> pages de *l'Europe littéraire*." Adolphe Everat et Cie, rue du Cadran, n° 16, imprimèrent le journal jusque vers la fin de sa publication.

cette profusion de moyens, pour attirer l'attention publique sur une entreprise tout artistique.

Mais les caprices des hommes de talent, mais l'impatience d'un public exigeant, mais la base trop large de l'entreprise elle-même, ont jeté *l'Europe littéraire* hors des voies rationnelles de l'exploitation, et force a été d'y rentrer. La faute en est aux circonstances, et non aux hommes.

Aujourd'hui les nouveaux propriétaires se voient en présence d'un problème difficile à résoudre, et tentent généreusement d'en trouver la solution. De là des combinaisons nouvelles.

Ils ne veulent mentir à aucune des promesses précédemment faites; ils veulent maintenir le luxe de la publication, diriger leurs efforts contre la plus odieuse des puissances, le fleau de la littérature périodique, le Timbre, et employer en améliorations intellectuelles les produits de cette économie.

*L'Europe littéraire* doit actuellement à ses abonnés quarante-huit pages par semaine; elle les donnait précédemment en trois numéros; elle publiera maintenant ce même nombre de pages en deux livraisons, de 24 pages chacune, jusqu'au jour où tous ses engagements seront remplis. Le journal paraîtra le jeudi et le dimanche.

Cette nouvelle disposition typographique a l'avantage d'offrir aux abonnés une plus grande quantité de matière imprimée, en caractères plus gros, qui ne varieront pas, et *l'Europe littéraire* sera désormais et un journal et un beau livre.

En prenant pour terme de comparaison le meilleur des recueils et le plus connu, les nouveaux propriétaires de *l'Europe* feront facilement sentir la supériorité matérielle de leur entreprise sur toutes celles de ce genre.

La *Revue de Paris*, dont le prix d'abonnement est de 90 fr. pour les départemens, ne peut offrir que de quatre-vingt à cent mille lettres dans sa livraison la plus ample; tandis que *l'Europe littéraire*, dont l'abonnement sera de 72 fr., à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> septembre prochain, contiendra, dans ces deux livraisons, cent trente mille lettres, différence d'un tiers dans la production littéraire, et d'un septième en moins dans le prix.

Ainsi, tout en présentant un rabais sur le prix d'abonnement, une plus grande valeur matérielle de rédaction, *l'Europe littéraire* trouvera, dans l'économie faite sur les droits du timbre et de la poste, les moyens de continuer à récompenser, plus généreusement que tout autre journal, les écrivains, dont elle réclame les talens.

Ces explications sont une honte pour nos lois et non pour la littérature. Nous sommes forcés de les donner pour rassurer les personnes que la vente de *l'Europe littéraire* aurait pu tromper sur la vitalité de l'entreprise.

Cette vente a été nécessaire pour scinder les intérêts commerciaux, de même qu'une nouvelle disposition typographique nous a paru indispensable pour obéir à de justes réclamations sur la finesse des caractères employés; mais le papier et le format restant les mêmes, les abonnés pourront à volonté continuer leur collection, ou en commencer une nouvelle.

Par une prévision sage, l'existence du journal a été largement assurée pendant deux années. Si nous avons le succès que nous sommes en droit d'obtenir par ces nouveaux efforts, l'*Europe littéraire* ne renonce pas à l'espoir de paraître tous les deux jours.

Les nouveaux propriétaires ne feront ici ni promesses, ni théories: pour un journal comme pour un homme, la question de sa vie est dans son mouvement.—Nous marcherons.

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### THE COMEDY *LINGUA* AND SIR JOHN DAVIES'S *NOSCE TE IPSUM*

Thomas Tomkis's comedy, *Lingua*, was so successful in its attempt to "teach severe Philosophy to smile" that before the Restoration it went through six English editions and was translated both into German and into Dutch.<sup>1</sup> The "distinguishing excellence" of this comedy, as Professor Boas has stated,<sup>2</sup> "is the style, or variety of styles, in which it is written. . . . In the few verse passages where the author aims at a serious effect,<sup>3</sup> he writes with scholarly grace." It has not, however, been pointed out to how considerable an extent Tomkis is indebted for his "variety of styles," and for his "scholarly grace" in the verse passages where he aims at a serious effect, to passages that he has borrowed from popular poems of his day.

In previous articles I have shown the indebtedness of *Lingua* to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*<sup>4</sup> and to Du Bartas's *La Sepmaine*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The German translation was made by Johannes Rhenanus in 1613, and the Dutch by Lambert van den Bosch in 1648.

<sup>2</sup> *University Plays*, by F. S. Boas, in the *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, VI, 355-356.

<sup>3</sup> The verse passages where the author aims at a serious effect are more numerous than these words indicate, especially in the first four acts of *Lingua*. In the fifth act, however, after the Five Senses have drunk of Acrasia's wine and are bereft of their senses, "most of the metrical speeches are in a vein of burlesque." Somnus's serious speech in this act (V, xvi), which is a translation of a passage in Du Bartas, is a notable exception.

<sup>4</sup> "The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*," *MLN.*, XLII, 3 (March, 1927).

<sup>5</sup> "The Comedy *Lingua* and Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*," *MLN.*, XLII, 5 (May, 1927).

Here I wish to point out the indebtedness of this play to Sir John Davies's *Nosce Teipsum*.

The passages borrowed from Davies's poem are found in the fourth act of *Lingua*, in which the characters Olfactus, Tactus and Gustus, following Visus and Auditus, appear before Queen Psyche's judges to present their "objects," and to describe their "houses or instruments." In the fourth and sixth scenes of this act, Tomkis makes use of Davies's three verses on "Smelling" and of his same number of verses on "Feeling," to work them into Olfactus's and Tactus's descriptions of their "houses." In these two instances Tomkis borrows all that Davies writes on "Smelling" and "Feeling" in *Nosce Teipsum*. In his third instance of borrowing from this poem, however, he uses only one of Davies's two verses on "Taste," which he puts, not into the mouth of Gustus in describing his "house," but gives it to Anamnestes in his quarrel with Heuresis (IV, ii). In each of these three instances of borrowing from *Nosce Teipsum*, Tomkis makes such changes in the wording and metre of the original passages as seem to him suitable for his use in *Lingua*. In each case, however, he retains enough of Davies's thoughts in the order in which they occur in *Nosce Teipsum*, and, especially, enough of Davies's *original wording*, to enable us to recognize without doubt their source. The evidence of Tomkis's borrowings from *Nosce Teipsum* follows.

Of the twenty-five lines of Olfactus's description of his "house" in *Lingua* (IV, iv), lines 12-22 are derived from the three verses on "Smelling" in *Nosce Teipsum*:

<i>Nosce Teipsum</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>Lingua</i> <sup>7</sup>
Next, in the nostrils she [Soul] doth vse the smell:	Olfactus. Where [in the nostrils], I, conducting in and out the wind,
As God the breath of life in them did giue,	Daily examine all the air inspir'd By my pure searching, if that it
So makes He now this power in them to dwell,	be pure, And fit to serve the lungs with
To iudge all ayres, whereby we breath and liue.	lively breath: Hence do I likewise minister per- fume[s]
This sense is also mistresse of an Art,	Unto the neighbour brain—perfumes of force

<sup>6</sup> *Nosce Teipsum*, s. v. "Smelling," in *The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies* (ed. A. B. Grosart, 1876), I, 69.

<sup>7</sup> *Lingua*, in *Dodsley's Old English Plays*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, IX, 422.

Which to soft people sweete per-  
fumes doth sell;  
Though this deare Art doth little  
good impart,  
"Sith they smell best, that doe of  
nothing smell."

And yet good sents doe purifie the  
braine,  
Awake the fancie, and the wits  
refine;  
*Hence old Deuotion, incense did  
ordaine  
To make men's spirits apt for  
thoughts diuine.*

To cleanse your head, and make  
your fancy bright,  
To refine wit and sharp invention,  
And strengthen memory: *from  
whence it came,  
That old deuotion incense did or-  
daine  
To make man's spirits more apt  
for things diuine.*

The second verse quoted above from Davies's description of "Smelling" is also the source in *Lingua* (IV, iii) of Phantastes's comment to Olfactus on Odour's praise of "ointments sweet and excellent perfumes":<sup>8</sup>

*Phantastes.* Olfactus, of all the Senses, your objects have the worst luck; they are always jarring with their contraries; for none can wear civet, but they are suspected of a proper bad scent; whence the proverb springs, *He smelleth best, that doth of nothing smell.*<sup>9</sup>

The second considerable borrowing from *Nosce Teipsum* in *Lingua* is found in lines 10-22 of the thirty-nine lines in which Tactus (IV, vi) pictures his "house":

*Nosce Teipsum*<sup>10</sup>

Lastly, the feeling power, which is  
Life's root,  
Through euery liuing part it selfe  
doth shed;  
By sinewes, which extend from head  
to foot,  
And like a net, all ore the body  
spred.

*Lingua*<sup>11</sup>

*Tactus.* I am the root of life,  
spreading my virtue  
By sinews, that extend from head  
to foot  
To every living part.  
For as a subtle spider, closely sit-  
ting  
In centre of her web that spreadeth  
round,

<sup>8</sup> *Lingua*, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix, 420.

<sup>9</sup> The author of *Lingua* was sensitive to the dramatic value of proverbs, as is shown throughout the play. Again, as I point out later (see note 14), he seizes upon a proverb used by Davies in describing "Taste," to give it to Anamnestes.

<sup>10</sup> *Nosce Teipsum*, s. v. "Feeling," in Grosart's Davies, I, 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Lingua*, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, ix, 427.



Much like a subtile spider, which doth sit	If the least fly but touch the small- est thread,
In middle of her web, which spreadeth wide;	She feels it instantly; so doth my- self,
If ought doe touch the vtmost thred of it,	Casting my slender nerves and sundry nets
Shée feeles it instantly on euery side. <sup>12</sup>	O'er every particle of all the body, By proper skill perceive the differ- ence
By Touch, the first pure qualities we learne,	Of several qualities, hot, cold, moist, and dry;
Which quicken all things, hote, cold, moist and dry;	Hard, soft, rough, smooth, clammy, and slippery:
By Touch, hard, soft, rough, smooth, we doe discerne;	Sweet pleasure and sharp pain pro- fitable,
By Touch, sweet pleasure, and sharpe paine, we try.	That makes us (wounded) seek for remedy.

Tomkis's third borrowing from *Nosce Teipsum* is found in the second verse of Davies's on "Taste," which is the source of a speech addressed by Anamnestes (IV, ii) to Heuresis:

*Nosce Teipsum*<sup>13</sup>

This is the bodie's nurse; but since  
man's wit  
Found th' art of cookery, to delight  
his sense;  
More bodies are consum'd and kild  
with it,  
Then with the sword, famine, or  
pestilence.<sup>14</sup>

*Lingua*<sup>15</sup>

*Anamnestes.* And last and worst,  
thou foundest out cookery, that  
kills more than weapons, guns,  
wars, or poisons, and would de-  
stroy all, but that thou invented'st  
physic, that helps to make away  
some.

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<sup>12</sup> Davies here is perhaps recalling Du Bartas's comparison of the soul to a spider. See *The Complete Works of Josuah Sylvester*, ed. Grosart, I, 8, 1010-1014:

Or (almost) like a Spider, who confin'd  
In her Web's centre, shak't with every winde;  
Moves in an instant, if the buzzing Flie  
Stir but a string of her Lawn Canapie.

<sup>13</sup> *Nosce Teipsum*, s. v. "Taste," in Grosart's Davies, I, 69.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the classical proverb, "Plures occidit crapula quam gladius."

<sup>15</sup> *Lingua*, in Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 414.

## A NOTE ON WILLIAM WARNER'S MEDIEVALISM

The first two books of Warner's *Albion's England* (1586) narrate classical "history" from Saturn to Brute in a medieval manner sufficiently accounted for by the fact of "our English Homer's" almost complete reliance upon Caxton's *Recuyell*. Further illustration of medievalizing is provided by the short prose work, "a Breuiate of the true Historie of Aeneas," which Warner appended to his second book.

In the poem Aeneas, in accordance with a venerable tradition, is banished from Troy. In the first sentence of the prose appendix Warner repudiates that tradition concerning Aeneas, "howsoever by some authorities noted of disloyaltie towards Priam."<sup>1</sup> After this we expect an outline of Vergil. Instead we have only a few borrowings from Vergil, while most of the material is summarized from Caxton's *Eneydos*, which in turn is of course more than one remove from the *Aeneid*.

The summarizing process is of some interest. Warner begins with the departure of Aeneas from burning Troy; so, after telling the brief story of Polydorus, does Caxton. In both Ascanius is twelve years old—a realistic detail of the sort beloved by Dares and Dictys and their redactors. Countless parallels in detail might be cited, but they may be skipped in favor of more significant ones. Warner's short account of the voyage follows Caxton's abridgement of Vergil's long narrative;<sup>2</sup> he frankly avows his desire to reach the love-story. After two speeches by Dido and Anna, Warner brings on, with expedition, the fateful hunt; both Warner and Caxton refer to the party as "knights." Instead of following Vergil and Caxton in having Mercury sent to deliver the divine message Warner, who frequently inserts sceptical phrases, puts the warning in the mouth of "a noble Troian."

Events from the death of Dido to the arrival in Italy are summarized in a paragraph, which may be based on Vergil or Caxton. Vergil thus describes the presents given to Latinus:

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' *British Poets*, iv, 653. Miss E. Nitchie, *Vergil and the English Poets* (Columbia University, 1919), pp. 97, 129 ff., though remarking that "there are some curious turns in the narrative," takes it as "a fairly full abstract of the *Aeneid*."

<sup>2</sup> Caxton's *Eneydos*, *E. E. T. S.*, 1890, pp. 39-40.

hoc pater Anchises auro libabat ad aras;  
 hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum iura vocatis  
 more daret populis, sceptrumque sacerque tiaras  
 Iliadumque labor vestes.

Caxton says:

A riche mauntelle, & a crowne of fyne golde all sette wyth precyouse stones, and a cepter royall, that kyng pryamus dyde bere. . . .

Warner follows Caxton:

A most rich mantell or robe, with an inualuable crowne of golde enchased with precious stones, with the late royall scepter of king Priamus, and with other treasures.<sup>3</sup>

Warner's sentence about Amata seems to be taken from *Aen.* vii. 341 ff. The two children whose pet Ascanius shot are, in Caxton, those of Turnus; Warner follows Vergil in making them the children of Tyrrhus, and the phrases describing Tyrrhus are based on *Aen.* vii. 485-6. Warner takes from Vergil the story of the fight between the party of Ascanius and the Latins. His "breuiate" closes with speeches by Aeneas and Turnus, their combat, and a brief sketch of "history" up to Brutus. The reign of Ascanius and his handing over of the kingdom to Sylvius Posthumus come from Caxton, pp. 164-5.

Thus Warner, in following and modifying Caxton, treats the material precisely as Chaucer did in his *Legend of Dido*, mixing classical and medieval sources, adding realistic and chivalric details, expanding and altering speeches, slighting epic and emphasizing romantic elements, and rationalizing the supernatural. It is one more instance of the medieval habit of the Elizabethan mind.

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DOUGLAS BUSH.

### AS YOU LIKE IT, III, ii

Lines 69-70, Act III, scene ii, of *As You Like It*, have given some trouble to commentators. Touchstone, after a clash of wits with Corin, says to him: "Wilt thou rest damn'd? God helpe thee shallow man. God make incision in thee, thou art raw." Grant White said that the expression "God make incision in thee" had

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* vii. 245-8; Caxton, p. 125.

not been satisfactorily explained, but that it evidently had a well-known colloquial significance. Wright said the reference was to the old method of cure by blood-letting.

I believe this expression refers to a method of hastening the thorough cooking of meat over an open fire which is familiar to every cook. It is the method called, in Shakespeare's time, "carbonadoing"—the method that Kent threatened to use on Oswald, in *King Lear*. The clause, "Thou art raw," seems necessarily to bear out my interpretation. When meat is being broiled over an open fire, it is almost essential that it be slashed and cut, that it have incisions made in it, if it is to be thoroughly cooked inside. The expression of Touchstone seems perfectly analogous to our modern "half-baked." The lines seem also to be a reflection of lines 36-37 in the same scene, "Truly thou art damn'd, like an ill roasted egge, all on one side"; the idea of roasting in connection with damnation still holding sway in Shakespeare's mind and suggesting the idea of incision to prevent ill roasting.

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#### ANOTHER PLAGIARISM IN SHELLEY'S 'ORIGINAL POETRY BY VICTOR AND CAZIRE'

This earliest volume of Shelley's verse is known to contain under the title 'Saint Edmond's Eve' one of the *Tales of Terror*, published nine years before (1801). It is only too likely that if time could be found to investigate the cheap kind of literature which had such a strange attraction for the unfledged poet, more borrowings of the sort would be discovered.

Here is a case, which I think has not yet been observed, and which came to my notice by mere chance, as I happened to find on the shelves of the Widener Library—misplaced, I suppose (*felix culpa!*), side by side with the works of Shelley and his wife—a little book without its title-page, but which claims to be the third edition (1806) of the *English Lyrics* of William Smyth.

Shelley—or is it his sister Elizabeth?—has in the *Original Poetry* of 1810 a 'Song' which purports to be "translated from the Italian," and which begins

Oh! What is the gain of restless care,  
 And what is ambitious treasure?  
 And what are the joys that the modish share,  
 - In their sickly haunts of pleasure?

This is lifted bodily from another 'Song,' p. 104 of the afore-said edition of *English Lyrics*, with changes quite insignificant—one is apparently a misprint

Oh! what is the gain of restless care,  
 And what is ambition's treasure?  
 And what are the joys which the modish share,  
 In their haunts of sickly pleasure?

The eight lines which follow in Shelley's book have nothing in common with the twelve of William Smyth; but even the mere "conveyance" of the first quatrain was more than a wise person would have done, considering the popularity, in his own day, of poor old forgotten Smyth: a fourth edition, 1815, is in the Widener Library; a fifth appeared as late as 1850 (Dict. of Nat. Biog.).

I have an impression that other echoes of these lyrics could be detected in the early work of Shelley. But art—bad art especially—is too long, and life is too short . . .

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## NOTA SOBRE MANUEL DEL PALACIO

Entre las *Poesías escogidas* de Manuel del Palacio, publicadas en 1916 por la Real Academia Española, figura indebidamente como original el soneto titulado *Una Eva*, pobre imitación de otro de Stecchetti que empieza "Penelope sei tu che il ciglio china." La idea es la misma y algunos versos están literalmente traducidos. Donde el poeta italiano dice:

Tu non sembri di carne. Iddio t'ha dato  
 La sacra maestà d'una regina.

el autor de *Fruta verde* transcribe:

No pareces de carne: Dios te ha dado  
 La majestad sagrada de una diosa.

El terceto final, tan ripioso como el anterior, está copiado también:

Y más siendo verdad, y no reproche,  
Que la virtud que tejes por el día,  
Vuelves a destejerla por la noche.

Stecchetti dijo mejor:

Penelope sei tu che tesser sai  
A mezzogiorno la tua bianca tela  
E meco a mezzanotte la disfai.

Manuel del Palacio confesó otras veces haberse inspirado en el autor de *Le Rime*, con quien tiene varios puntos de contacto. Uno y otro coinciden a menudo en los temas, en la técnica y en la intención política de algunas composiciones. No sería extraño que de una comparación minuciosa resultara ser Stecchetti el modelo preferido del poeta español.

JOSÉ ROBLES.

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## REVIEWS

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*Ben Jonson*, Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON.  
Volume III. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1927. Pp. xv + 608.

The frontispiece of the third volume of this great edition of Jonson reproduces Vaughan's portrait, the history of which is discussed on p. ix. The plays given are *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Case is Altered*, *Every Man in his Humour* (two texts, the Quarto of 1601 and the Folio of 1616), and *Every Man out of his Humour* (Folio text; an appendix contains the text of the different Quarto endings of this play). A large number of title-pages are reproduced in facsimile, and each play is provided with an introduction dealing with the text.

In a brief section, headed "The Text: Introductory Notes" (pp. xi-xii), the editors state the general principles governing their treatment of the text. They point out that Jonson "wrote a clear hand" and that he "edited much of his work," so that little scope is afforded the "conjecturalist." They believe what indeed no careful student of Jonson can disbelieve, that he proof-read the 1616 Folio and that its text is consequently of palmary authority for its contents.<sup>1</sup> Other statements in this section are less satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> Special attention is devoted to this matter in the introduction to *Every*

How can the editors say that "no problem arises in editing the first two plays"? It is admitted that *A Tale of a Tub* first appears in F<sub>2</sub> (1640), that a few passages "are confused," and that "there are a number of misprints." It is admitted that *The Case is Altered* (never acknowledged by Jonson) appeared in a "bad Quarto," and that "the editor has to correct many misprints and to adjust the verse." The editors are careful to point out that the "pioneer work was done by Whalley and Gifford," and that their text, though more conservative than Gifford's, "accepts most of his readjustments." When we add to all this the fact that there is no special ground for presuming this play to have been printed from Jonson's MS., we are strongly inclined to believe that problems in connection with the text of these two plays do arise and that there is no small scope for the conjecturalist.<sup>2</sup>

Since this section is clearly intended to give a general statement of the principles governing the treatment of the text and since *A Tale of a Tub* first appears in F<sub>2</sub>, it is somewhat illogical to postpone remarks on the text of F<sub>2</sub> to a later volume.<sup>3</sup>

The variant readings, the editors tell us, are full with respect to the Quartos, F<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>2</sub>, and include variants in spelling and punctuation, since these "often give a clue to Jonson's own practice." Variants in F<sub>3</sub> (1692) that have an historical value in reflecting seventeenth-century usage are included. A selection is given from the variants in Whalley and Gifford. All other variants are omitted.

As is to be expected in these days when so much interest is taken in the bibliographical and typographical side of Elizabethan literature and when so many conclusions of importance are based on a minute study of the evidence thence derived, the editors of Jonson have not been satisfied to examine only one or two copies of each play, although they have not been careful to give the exact number in each case. For *A Tale of a Tub* they compared six copies of F<sub>2</sub> besides attending to the collations of three other copies given in modern editions of the play. For *The Case is Altered*, seven copies of Q were collated. For the first text of *Every Man in his Humour* were compared all the copies in the B. M., the Bodleian, and the Dyce libraries (the number is not stated), and attention was paid to the collations in two important modern editions. No statement appears to be made as to the number of copies of F<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>2</sub> examined for *Every Man in his Humour*. Five

*Man out of his Humour*, and on p. xii we are promised a survey of the whole volume from this point of view.

<sup>2</sup> On pp. 95 and 96, the editors say that the printing of the Quarto of *The Case is Altered* is "so vile that it is certain that Jonson did not see it through the press" and that the text "may be described as thoroughly bad."

<sup>3</sup> Occasional remarks on the text of F<sub>2</sub> are to be found, e. g., p. 417.

copies of  $F_1$  were examined for *Every Man out of his Humour*, but the statement as to  $F_2$  is not clear. At least one of the copies of  $F_2$  examined for *A Tale of a Tub* was not examined for *Every Man out of his Humour*, as is seen by comparing pp. 4 and 418. With regard to the copies of the three Quartos of *Every Man out of his Humour*, two copies of  $Q_2$  were examined, but the statements as to  $Q_1$  and  $Q_3$  are not precise. Why this lack of system? If importance is attached to the collation of different copies of the same edition, then every copy collated should be clearly identified, and the number of copies exactly stated. If six copies of  $F_2$  are accessible and are collated for one play, it would seem reasonable to collate the whole six for *all* of their contents. Remarks such as these may seem hypercritical, but I make them here in some detail to illustrate the interesting fact that this long awaited edition of a very great dramatist has not the scholarly finish and the expository completeness that ought to be found in an edition of Jonson, of all writers. In making these collations attention was paid to the slightest differences in type, punctuation, number of lines per page, etc., and especial interest was shown in the corrections made during printing. Several complete lists of such differences are given and they lead to interesting, if not always important conclusions. An unquestionably important result to be derived from work of this particular character lies in the fact that it sometimes, as the editors show, enables us to distinguish between a printer's correction and one by Jonson himself. The work has apparently been done with the greatest care, but with regard to most of it I am of course not in a position to test its accuracy. I have made some short comparisons of selected passages of the text with my own copies of  $F_1$  and  $F_2$ , and have not found even the most trivial error.

Critical and explanatory notes are reserved for the last volumes of the edition. This fact, as I pointed out in my notice of volumes I and II, somewhat embarrasses the reviewer, since a portion of the evidence on which some questions depend for answer is not before him.

I regret that the editors should have been led to print *A Tale of a Tub* at the head of Jonson's plays. My objection to this proceeding is, in one sense, purely sentimental, but it can be supported by sound reasoning. What do we *know* about the date of this play? That Jonson produced it almost at the end of his activity, that it was printed after his death, that it contained material that was only appropriate to the latter part of his life. What do we *believe*? That there is good evidence for thinking that it was a very early play (perhaps his first) revised. If the revision was at all thorough-going, we have just as much right to call the play, *in its extant form*, a late play as to call it an early one. Was the revision thorough-going? The editors say (p. 3): "*A Tale of a*



*Tub*, in the form in which it has come down to us, consists therefore of (1) the original play, written about 1596 or 1597, clear traces of which survive in the extant text, (2) the 1633 reissue of this discarded work, in which Jonson inserted his satire on Inigo Jones and—in all probability—recast the original prose passages in verse form, (3) the final touches of revision forced upon him by the Censor. As much as he could save of Vitruvius Hoop was clumsily attached to In-and-In Medlay; and it is possible that the flat and colourless epitome of the play, which now constitutes the ‘motion,’ replaced something more pungent of which Inigo may have had reason to complain.” But almost certainly Jonson did at least a little more than what is stated in this passage, for into the opening lines of the play he incorporated (a point not hitherto noticed, I believe) several phrases from the first stanza of Donne’s Epithalamion on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which of course belongs to 1612/13. See in support of this view, Vol. I, pp. 284-289, and, in particular such remarks as “much rarer examples” (p. 285), and: “Such passages do not however, form the staple of the play. On the contrary, there are everywhere examples of a style which in homely and colloquial vigour, in rustic raciness and uncouthness, Jonson never surpassed” (p. 287). In other words, Professor Herford seems to think that, in general, the style of the play belongs to Jonson’s last period. The revision, then, may be described as thorough-going, the play might with equal correctness have retained its old place, and Jonson might have been spared the indignity of being introduced to the public in the standard edition of his works by one of his dotages. Scholarship ought no doubt to do justice, *ruat coelum*. But in a case like this, what is justice? For myself, I wish what I have no doubt that Jonson himself now wishes, namely, that this play had been irretrievably lost.

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*The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. An Attempt to Determine Their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others.* By E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927. Pp. xvii + 553.

Professor Oliphant’s book on the authorship of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays takes its place at once as the most authoritative statement on that perilous subject. The author’s first study of the plays goes back to a time, nearly forty years ago, when the busy conjectures of Boyle were still fresh from the press. Since then he has maintained his interest and an open mind, so that the

present volume, representing as it does a seasoned judgment, deserves an unusual measure of respect. His manner of approach is, moreover, an enlightened one. He can make sufficient use of the "Ye-You Test" and the "Enclitic Do Test," can recognize Field's liking for that notable monosyllable "pish," without coming to regard such things as talismanic. Similarly, though parallel passages find a place in his method, he is on his guard against exaggerating their importance. "For one to be able to say that such parallels are of value," he writes in connection with a cluster of them offered by Mr. Sykes, "one needs a knowledge of the literature of the time which it is safe to say no one possesses—not even the encyclopædic Mr. J. M. Robertson. So many of these things are common property that the results one obtains by searching merely through the work of a single dramatist are apt to be exceedingly misleading" (p. 480). Verse tests of sundry kinds are employed in the course of his inquiry, but Mr. Oliphant pleads for something better, a perception of the different rhythmical effects produced by the verse of the different poets, though such "appreciations of poetical cadences" are of course "practically incapable of exact proof" (p. 2). His own sensitiveness to stylistic values comes out admirably in his remarks on Fletcher's verse; and he is very right in his choice of a writer's mature performances as the place where his characteristic qualities should be sought: "in his early stages a writer is always more or less imitative, not having developed a manner of his own" (p. 27).

Less can be said in praise of Mr. Oliphant's general criticism. Thus, I am heartily in accord with him when he recognizes the suitability of Fletcher's verse "for the comedy and farce for which other dramatists found prose necessary" (p. 35), but I believe that he underestimates the excellence of the comedies themselves. The women who figure in them are to him "hare-brained virgins and lascivious ladies." Professor Saintsbury found one group of them "pleasant English girls not too squeamish, not at all afraid of love-making . . . but true-hearted, affectionate, and of a sound, if not very nice morality." As for his comedy heroes, if Dryden was right in praising their naturalness, then, says Mr. Oliphant, "may the Lord have mercy on the souls of the gentlemen of that time, for the men whom Fletcher produces as fit to engage our sympathy are nothing less than disgusting in their profligacy" (pp. 42, 43). What Mr. Oliphant must think of the gentlemen of Etherege and Congreve is painful to imagine. Finally, Fletcher's plays show "a woeful lack of concentration and compactness"; they "are more like novels than those of any of his contemporaries, and I cannot help thinking he would have made (with care) a greater novelist than dramatist" (pp. 44-45). From one who has read Miss O. L. Hatcher's analysis of Fletcher's technique such a view is, to say the least, surprising.

A wise conservatism is apparent in Mr. Oliphant's respect for external testimony—"one school of critics," he remarks, "seems to imagine that inclusion in a collection means nothing" (p. 468). He is not inclined to multiply unduly the number of authors to whom he ascribes a play, preferring when in doubt "the minimum to the maximum" (p. 164). Yet he seems over-ready to suppose that a play has suffered revision; his listed "second versions" are some two-score strong, with a half-dozen "third versions" thrown in. There is little doubt that in a number of these cases he is right, but one wonders whether such things as the silence of a character during a scene or two, or mere inconsistencies of detail, may not be explained in other ways. Thus, in *The Wild-geese Chase*, he gives as "positive signs of alteration" the fact that "one of the characters is 'Lugier, alias Laverdure'; but in V. 2 another individual, who does not appear, is called by the latter name. In the 1652 quarto the stage direction of III. 1, has 'Enter Laverduce, Lugier,'" (p. 149). Now the Leverdure (or Laverduce) alias is found only (twice) in a scene in which Lugier appears disguised, and though at the time of its first occurrence his disguise has almost certainly not yet been put on, that is not an insuperable difficulty. The fifth act reference to a second Leverduce is careless, of course, but not necessarily more than that: it may or may not be a sign of alteration; it is scarcely a "positive" one.

Among the more startling of Mr. Oliphant's conclusions are that parts of *Julius Caesar* are by Beaumont, and that Theobald's *Double Falsehood* is based on the old *Cardenio*, by Shakespeare and Fletcher. For the latter play he makes a good enough case so that I fancy some of us will be rereading it with interest.

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE.

Harvard University.

*The Adventures of Five Hours.* by SIR SAMUEL TUKE. Edited by A. E. H. SWAEN. Swets and Zeitlinger, Amsterdam, 1927. Pp. liv + 261.

*Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage.* By ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. Harvard University Press, 1926. Pp. xx + 299.

*The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy.* By KATHLEEN M. LYNCH. (University of Michigan Publications) The Macmillan Company, 1926. Pp. 242.

In the three volumes here grouped, three universities—Amsterdam, Michigan, and Harvard—make important contributions to the

steady stream of scholarly investigations of Restoration drama. The Dutch scholar, Professor Swaen, who long ago edited the Mermaid Vanbrugh, now presents an elaborate critical edition of Sir Samuel Tuke's sole play, *The Adventures of Five Hours*. The inclusion of the full text of the Spanish source-play, with elaborate analysis of its complicated plot and of the textual changes in Tuke's English adaptation, is a definite aid to study of the influence of the bustling Spanish comedy of intrigue upon early Restoration drama in England. The course of other influences, French and English, is more broadly reviewed in the work of Miss Lynch and Dr. Sprague. Both of them prove anew that even the dramatic interregnum failed to break the essential continuity of the English dramatic tradition. Miss Lynch urges effectively the unbroken connection between the serious Platonic drama of Suckling's day and Restoration comedy; Dr. Sprague shows conclusively the continued popularity of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, both in revival and in adaption, on the Restoration stage. Thus the three volumes under present notice happily combine to add to the definite knowledge of the influences, both Continental and English, which earlier drama brought to bear upon that of the Restoration.

With the publication of Professor Swaen's Variorum edition of *The Adventures of Five Hours*, the whirligig of time has brought in his revenges. "August 20th, 1666. To Deptford by water, reading 'Othello, Moore of Venice,' which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read 'The Adventures of Five Hours,' it seems a mean thing." That passage of Pepys has hitherto been cited to prove the near-sightedness of Restoration critical vision. Now, perhaps, Pepys may appear as a prophet not without honor or foresight. Tuke himself hardly merits the heroic proportions of his stately sarcophagus, but all will admire its costly design, structural skill, and monumental labor. Professor Swaen gives the full text of both the 1663 Folio and the "third impression" of the play, revised by Tuke in 1671, when to please a lady he inserted a song in one scene and to please himself made other amendments. The added song was not needed to prove his ineptitude as poet. Throughout the play the verse, often rhymed and oftener blank, limps stiffly even on its pedestrian levels, and the moral maxims are hardly heightened by the italics which accentuate them in the revised edition. The action, however, when freed of its initial burden of crude exposition, settles down into the rapid run of adventures compressed into Tuke's "Five Hours" from the more leisurely Spanish "six." It bewilders its participants with "Riddles to pose an Oedipus," and disasters "so new, and strange, They sever Truth from Credibility," but the mirthful cowardice of a servant who hates to be killed in his own presence helps to relieve the tension. *The Adventures of Five Hours* is a good

example of the "cloak and sword" play, but it takes an indulgent editor to stress its appeal "to the heart and the mind." Its relations to the Spanish play of intrigue and to English heroic drama, rather than its own independent merits, best justify Professor Swaen's scholarly devotion and achievement.

Miss Lynch's brief reference to Tuke's play might well have noted his stanza beginning, "If the Platonicks prove Souls without Bodies love," for she is intent on seeking the Platonic formula in English drama. Her resolute and eager quest proves especially rewarding in her findings as to the court influences affecting English drama during the reign of Charles I. Her later pursuit of parallels between the serious Platonic drama of Suckling's time and Restoration comedy is vigorous, but not always equally judicious. The initial sense of the salient differences between "Platonic drama, with its solemn philosophy and its tedious rhetoric," and Restoration comedy, with its "cynical gaiety and rapid flow of wit" and distinctive social code of gallantry, becomes somewhat obscured in the ardor of the argument. Whether all the facts fit her formula as well as Miss Lynch ultimately concludes remains questionable. The course of English drama never did run smooth, and it is hard to segregate precisely various component sources which commingle as they contribute to the broadening stream. In the main, Miss Lynch makes out a good case, but her tone sometimes suggests the special pleader rather than the impartial judge. Her clear and cogent style and evident familiarity with seventeenth-century drama and recent historical and critical investigation combine effectively in the presentation of her resourceful and suggestive study.

Dr. Sprague's well-informed and admirably illustrated volume is a full and valuable study, first of the stage history of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays on the Restoration stage and, next, of their extensive alterations and adaptations. This strict two-fold limitation of subject excludes investigation of the broader influences of the Elizabethan collaborators upon the method and style of later dramatists. Such influences, however, have already attracted considerable scholarly interest, in Professor J. W. Tupper's important review of "The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher," published in 1905, and in the critical attention given by others to the pervasive influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on interregnum "drolls" and to kindred topics. Within his set limits Dr. Sprague has made thorough and detailed investigation of thirty-nine plays of his authors produced in the half-century from 1660 to 1710, and of a score of Restoration altered versions. The first impression of precise accuracy is slightly marred by occasional slips, especially in the transcript of names and of text, which (to borrow one odd perversion of Colley Cibber on page 60) show

"frequent Opportunities of putting the Expiration (for "Expiation") of their Frailty, into the like Execution." In the main, Dr. Sprague's work is conceived clearly and carefully performed. Its profuse detail, admirable for purposes of special reference, suits less the ease of consecutive reading. It remains rather a scholarly contribution of distinct value and special significance to the close student of Restoration drama.

GEORGE H. NETTLETON.

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*Robert Eyres Landor: a biographical and critical sketch.* By ERIC PARTRIDGE. London: Fanfrolico Press, 1927. 10 s. 6 d.

*Selections from Robert Landor.* With an introduction by ERIC PARTRIDGE. The same. 7s. 6d.

*Nine Poems by V.* (By MRS. ARCHER CLIVE.) With an introduction by ERIC PARTRIDGE. London: Scholartis Press, 1928.

In the first two of these attractive volumes Mr. Partridge's purpose is to awaken interest in a writer who has been undeservedly neglected, and to prepare the way for a complete edition of his works. During his life Robert Landor was overshadowed by the fame of his elder brother Walter. It can scarcely be said that his books have been forgotten, since they were never widely known. His obscurity was in part at least the result of his own deliberate choice. He published his books anonymously, acknowledging them only to prevent their gaining success through being attributed to more famous authors. When "Count Arezzi" was believed to be Byron's, and was consequently much in demand, Landor with characteristic proud humility refused to profit by the popular mistake, and the sales of the book promptly fell off. He took the same action with the same result later when "The Fawn of Sertorius" was generally attributed to his brother Walter. He was content to live and die in the quiet of a country parsonage, writing his poems, plays, and novels chiefly for his own satisfaction.

Mr. Partridge's attempt to rescue him from neglect is well worth making, but it cannot honestly be described as skilful or happy. The biography, which occupies only about twenty-five pages of the volume first listed above, is a jumble of facts with little attempt at interpretation. Such an impression of the man as the reader may receive will depend on his diligence in overcoming the handicap of the author's bungling treatment. The remaining three-quarters of the book are devoted to a critical survey and analysis of Landor's writings. This contains a good deal of valuable material, in the

form of quotations from contemporary reviews and from later critics. The author's own judgments do not inspire much confidence. A sentence from his concluding paragraph will illustrate his critical vocabulary and style: "Robert Landor indeed, invests the whole of his writing with an atmosphere that grips and stirs, charms and moves, appeals now with a calm, compelling breadth, now with depth of insight, and yet again with a felicitous treatment of the more ordinary things." The incompetence of such writing is painfully obvious.

The volume of "Selections" includes one or more specimen extracts from each of Landor's works. The plan is not a happy one, if the editor's object is to win a public for Landor. The quotations from the early writings (the "Essay on Socrates," "Guy's Porridge Pot," and the "Letters to the Courier") should certainly have been omitted to make room for fuller selections from the plays or novels. The best way of directing public attention to Landor, I think, would have been to offer an abridged edition of his best book, "The Fawn of Sertorius." This noble and beautiful novel cannot be judged by a few pages of extracts, and the space Mr. Partridge gives to it is therefore wasted. The next best way would have been a volume including selections from "The Impious Feast" (Landor's best poem), one of his tragedies entire, and the first part of "The Fountain of Arethusa," which is a piece of very delightful narrative.

As a poet Robert Landor is second-rate. He is at his best in sententious moralizing and in descriptive passages. Now and then he writes a good snatch of song; but his best passages are likely to recall some other poet,—Shakespeare, or Milton, or Thomson, or Byron. As a dramatist he is comparable, at his best, with Browning. At times he is as obscure; he is as fond as Browning of philosophizing, and his characters, though at the moment their lives may hang by a hair, are always ready to indulge in moralizing soliloquies or discussions. He has little gift of characterization through dialogue, and no sense of the stage. But his plays contain lofty and eloquent scenes, and many "sentences climbing to the height of Seneca his style." His prose is far superior to his verse, and in some respects, at least, it is superior to Walter Landor's; it is more flexible, and shows a greater talent for sustained narrative. (This last trait does not appear in Mr. Partridge's scanty extracts from the novels.) "The Fawn of Sertorius" is almost a great novel, of a type extremely rare in English, at once historical and philosophical. It is comparable to "Marius the Epicurean," but has considerably more plot interest. The first part of "The Fountain of Arethusa" illustrates by contrast Robert Landor's range; a tale of fantastic adventure written in colloquial style, it moves rapidly and entertainingly, and is lighted by a quaint and lively humor. Readers

who are encouraged by Mr. Partridge's selections to get acquainted with these two books will have good cause to be grateful to him.

Mr. Partridge's other choice of an author to revive has less to commend it. Mrs. Archer Clive was a minor Victorian poet and novelist. In spite of sympathetic introduction and handsomely printed text, her poems, with one exception, refuse to "come alive"; they are merely respectable exercises. I quote the concluding lines of the exception, which has the uncommonly commonplace title, "Written in Health."

I'd die in battle, love, or glee  
With spirit wild and body free,  
With all my wit, my soul, my heart,  
Burning away in every part,  
That so more meetly I might fly  
Into mine Immortality;  
Like comets when their race is run  
That end by rushing on the sun.

HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE.

Wesleyan University.

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*Shakespearean Character Interpretation: The Merchant of Venice.*

By SAMUEL ASA SMALL. Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe X. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1927. Pp. 126.

*The Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI.* By ALLISON GAW, University of Southern California Studies, First Series, No. 1. Los Angeles; 1926. Pp. vii + 179.

In each of these two studies an American scholar attempts by new methods to solve long-standing problems of a particular Shakespeare play. Though earnestness of purpose and zeal in the study of past endeavor to solve these questions are not wanting in either case, one may doubt whether the final judgments do more than darken counsel.

Professor Small's work, apparently a Johns Hopkins dissertation, has the double purpose of chronologically surveying the past character-criticism of *The Merchant of Venice*, and then presenting a fresh interpretation in accord with the principles of the "historical realists," that is, after the school of Stoll and Schücking. The preliminary survey occupies a little more than half the volume, leaving the fifth and last chapter for the more significant part of the thesis, the author's "original interpretation according to the sixteenth century mind." This disproportionate stress on background, together with the abrupt ending of the thesis in consideration of



a minor character, gives the inevitable impression of hasty composition. Bearing this out is the careless proof-reading, particularly in quotations from Shakespeare. and not a few syntactical blunders of less pardonable nature.

The author has no difficulty in proving the inadequacy of much previous comment on the play. This was marked by indiscriminate worship of Shakespeare, blindness to obvious flaws in the characterization, and romantic speculation as to the thoughts and action of individuals during their absence from the stage. Clearer understanding of mental processes and dramatic method has produced today a saner critical attitude. No ghost need now come from the grave to tell us that Shylock is a villain, Bassanio a conventional lover, Portia a sentimental heroine, and Nerissa a mere shadow of her mistress. As for Gratiano one can find his replica in Mercutio of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Yet in properly objecting to hero-worship Dr. Small sways backward. Even more frequently than Stoll, his acknowledged master in Shakespearean criticism, he leaves the impression of captious fault-finding. With full sense of superiority of the modern, he charges Shakespeare with "crudity," "neglect," "improbability," "primitive methods," "inconsistency of treatment," "inappropriateness in the scene." But in at least one observation Small seems to be guilty of what he terms "subjective criticism" in others. Noting that Gratiano, in referring to Jason's winning the fleece, echoes an earlier line of Bassanio, Dr. Small comments: "Oddly enough Gratiano was not in the latter scene to overhear Bassanio's reference to Jason. It indicates confusion of characters" (p. 108). A simpler explanation of the echo is that Shakespeare was present on both occasions.

As a whole, the study is not well written or thought-provoking in its criticism. *The Merchant of Venice* has a highly improbable plot in which, by the mere force of its romantic fancy as we read or hear the intensely lyric lines, the unreal is made to seem real. That the characters, with their traits properly magnified for stage presentation, still assume reality to the modern student or spectator, no one who has taught the play or seen it adequately acted in this twentieth century will deny.

Professor Allison Gaw in considering the date and the authorship of the *First Part of Henry VI*, harks back to Fleay, treating certain suggestions of that erratic genius with unwonted reverence. Painstakingly he sums up the labor of his forbears, and studies with no less care new bits of external and internal evidence which might throw light on the origin of this play. By searching he finds that the Rose Theatre underwent repairs early in 1592, and that an apparently new play of "harey the vi" was performed in that theatre March 3, 1592. Gaw argues that the repairs included the building of "the first turret in an Elizabethan theatre," and that

this novel architectural feature and the view of London therefrom are unmistakingly identified in the account of the deaths of Salisbury and Gargrave, 1 *Henry VI*, Act I, scene iv. All this the reader will acknowledge to be ingenious and interesting if true, but the topographical evidence presented does not carry inevitable conviction.

Concerning the composition of the original play, Professor Gaw adds confirmation to the theory first proposed by Henneman that an older play of Henry VI with Talbot as hero was revised by Shakespeare. He plausibly reasons, as does Brooke, that Peele bore at least some responsibility for the older play. Less plausible are his arguments, based on the questionable evidence of metrical testing, that Marlowe, probably Greene, and possibly Nashe, were co-authors of this earlier version. Gaw successfully attacks, as other critics have done, the older interpretation of Greene's allusion to the "tiger's heart" line; namely, that it involved a charge of plagiarism. More recent studies by Baldwin as to Shakespeare's fellow-actors render improbable the theory upheld by Gaw of a connection of Shakespeare with Pembroke's company before he joined Strange's men.

Generally speaking, the latter part of the book is marred by too much dependence on metrical evidence, too much faith in the strength of the case presented. One must praise this portion of the book as a skilful massing of material not to be dismissed lightly, but somewhat more as a brave scholarly venture into the realms of the unknown.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

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*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, herausgegeben im auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 63 (N. F. iv). Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1927. Pp. v + 315.

*Studies in Shakespeare*. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Hogarth Lectures No. 3. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928. Pp. 168.

The *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* is primarily a record; its register of Shakespearean performances, its accounts of meetings and festivals, with the discourses there pronounced by distinguished scholars, tell the story for the year of Shakespeare in Germany. Its bibliographies and book reviews are more inclusive and furnish a guide to the recent Shakespearean work throughout the world. These are its characteristic features; occasional contributed articles fill out a substantial volume which inevitably bears a close resemblance to its predecessors. During 1926, there were 1683 performances

of twenty-eight of the plays. *Twelfth Night* is distinctly the most popular, with 236 performances. Then come in order *Taming of the Shrew*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hamlet* and so on to *Richard II* with but one performance. *Troilus and Cressida* had three.

Addressing the Weimar meeting of the Society on Shakespeare's view on tragedy, Professor Hans Hecht deplored a recent tendency to read into the tragedies contemporary political situations. At the Shakespeare Week at Bochum, Professor Wolfgang Keller dwelt on the value of the chronicle histories and Professor Josef Schick spoke eloquently of Shakespeare's many-sided genius.

Among the special articles Julia Engelen continues a detailed examination of the distribution of parts among the players in Shakespeare's company. A separate table for each play shows the actors required for each scene. The smallest company required is ten adults and three children, but frequently as many as twelve adults and five children are called for. Sir Denys Bray finds additional support for his rearrangement of Shakespeare's sonnets (his *Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1925, is skeptically reviewed by Reinecke on p. 215) in an Elizabethan device of linking the sonnets of a sequence not merely by the repetition of lines, an obvious bit of mechanism, but more subtly by the repetition of groups of two or three rhyming words (rhyme links) and more subtly still by rhyme-echoes. As an illustration of the rhyme-echo, Sonnet 42 has lines ending with *face* and *deeds*; so has 83; Sonnet 43 has *gain* and *alone* as rhyme words and so has 84; 44 has *foes* and 85 has it too; 45 has *got* and 86 has *forgot*. These rhyme-echoes appear to confirm the arrangement of the sonnets already made on the basis of rhyme links. The contributed articles close with a brief study by Helene Richter of Stefan Zweig's modernization—and amoralization—of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*.

Professor Nicoll's little volume contains six lectures in Shakespearean tragedy; specifically, on *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *Lea*r. Although seeking to make Shakespeare agreeably intelligible to a large public, rather than to scholars, Professor Nicoll is always careful to say only those things that the text permits him to say and he is always aware that Shakespeare intended the plays to be acted in some form or other before an audience. Among these various interests—the lecturer's own audience, Shakespeare's audience and the full and unforced meaning of the text—Professor Nicoll maintains a nice adjustment. Adopting the position of a thoughtful spectator of the play, an observer of a group of a people vanquished by Destiny, indeed, but valiantly vanquished, Professor Nicoll's constant concern is with the effect each was intended by the god-like manager of the show to have upon the audience. Such effect is produced not only by what the characters say, but also by what

they do not say, their silences, their indications of an inner struggle, their disappearances from the stage and their return with clear evidence that in the interval they have been thinking, talking, living, and come on once more in some respects altered from the persons who had previously left the stage—the effect of “depth,” that is, which Shakespeare is often at so much pains to give to the action. To the spectator’s equipment Professor Nicoll constantly adds a check-up on the sources as evidence of the effect Shakespeare designed. The good results of this method are most noticeable in *Hamlet*—they appear in *Othello*, *Lear* and *Macbeth* in descending scale. His study of the relations of Hamlet and Horatio, indeed, amounts to a genuine contribution. More than a mere confidant, Horatio plays the part, if I might so put it, of Reason, counselling moderation to the overwrought Amant; and in the end, since Hamlet’s problem is wider than that presented by the Amant, Horatio seems to conclude that he has erred in his too-long insistence upon restraint. Hamlet, on the other hand, justly doubtful of his own self-control and of the purity of his own motives—maybe he *is* ambitious—is appealing to common sense in the person of Horatio and delays not so much from irresolution as from a desire to convince Horatio that the grounds for action are valid.

Altogether these lectures not only admirably served their immediate purpose, but form an excellent introduction to the sound appreciation of Shakespearean tragedy.

HARRY MORGAN AYRES.

*Columbia University.*

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*Mediaeval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis.*

Editor not named [R. S. LOOMIS], 1927. Paris, Champion.

New York, Columbia University Press. Pp. xi + 535.

This handsome volume reflects credit on the industry and devotion of its editor. It contains twenty-nine papers by a widely selected and imposing list of writers. The papers make a stronger impression than those of some other memorial volumes, perhaps because there is considerable unity of subject matter since different writers seem to centre about problems suggested by Arthurian romance. The contributors are as follows: Martha Beckwith, O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, D. S. Blondheim, A. C. L. Brown, J. D. Bruce, E. Brugger, L. Foulet, J. Fraser, C. Grandgent, G. L. Hamilton, Laura Hibbard, Eleanor Hull, D. Hyde, H. G. Leach, Louise R. Loomis, R. S. Loomis, F. Lot, Myrrha Lot-Borodine, W. A. Nitze, F. Patterson, Rose J. Peebles, Pio Rajna, F. Ranke, M. Roques, A. Thomas, J. Vendryes, E. Vinaver, R. Weeks.

In the limits of this review it is possible to discuss only a few of these papers which seem especially interesting. First, because it makes accessible an Irish mythological text never before printed, and any book which does that deserves perpetual commendation, I put the contribution of O. J. Bergin, "How the Dagda got his Magic Staff." 'The Dagda borrowed the staff from three men whom he met, and the first thing he did was to kill them by its mysterious power. That magic treasures are sometimes obtained from rather stupid giants is a Märchen commonplace.<sup>1</sup> Does the occurrence of this incident in this fourteenth century Irish MS. show that it belonged to Irish mythology, or is it a later intrusion from Märchen? To the staff one end of which kills and the other restores to life, may be compared<sup>2</sup> the sword, a wound from which could be cured only by striking it with the flat.

R. I. Best prints from the same MS. (*Yellow Book of Lecan*) the immediate source of a pleasing romantic tale retold by Keating, called "The Birth of Brandub."

Douglas Hyde prints from the *Book of Lismore* a story which relates that Antechrist has no knees.

Miss Martha Beckwith compares Punjab folk-tales and Arthurian romances. She notes trifling resemblances in plot, and ignores great differences in background, so that nobody will follow her in thinking that Arthurian romances were constructed out of Oriental hero tales. Perhaps, however, the parallels which she observes between the Red-Knight-witch-uncle episode of the *Perceval* romance and the Andromeda type of folk-tale are not entirely imaginary. Is it possible that the grail story with its enchanted land belongs to the same formula as the Andromeda story, where there is also a waste land? In this way might be explained the vague parallelism of incident which Miss Beckwith has noticed, without supposing (as she does) any connection in historic times.

Miss Eleanor Hull shows that additional parallels can be collected in Irish to the Scandinavian Helgi story. Her parallels are convincing, although one might wish that she had pointed out briefly the differences as well as the likenesses between the stories she summarizes.

W. A. Nitze has put together in a clear way all the evidence that connects the name of the Fisher King, *Brons*, *Hebron*, with the Welsh, *Bran*, Irish, *Brion*.

Miss Rose Peebles seeks to prove that two children seen in a tree are an important part of the grail story, and, following a bad method usual with those who think that the grail is wholly of Christian origin,<sup>3</sup> she builds her discussion round a late version,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, 1913, I, 360.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 230 f.; Mrs. Hibbard-Loomis, "Arthur's Round Table," *P. M. L. A.*, xli (1926), 772 f.

the Didot Perceval. Everyone knows that the prose versions are full of Christian and monkish symbolism. They show what the grail became; not how it began. Her oldest version, Wauchier's *Perceval*, mentions but one child in a tree who points out the way to the grail castle. Since this castle has obviously the setting of the Other World, this child may be a later substitution for such more primitive indicators of the road<sup>4</sup> as are usual in Irish and Welsh otherworld stories. Wauchier's child in a tree, therefore, has little value as proof that life symbolism was ever an integral part of the formula of the grail story.

R. S. Loomis collects evidence to prove that the Arthurian sculpture at Modena was executed at the beginning of the twelfth century. The knights in this sculpture wear triangular helmets which he cannot find in use after 1109. He writes: "After extensive researches I have not found a single helmet with the profile of an isosceles triangle in any MS. or monument of the twelfth century definitely assigned to a date later than 1109." This seems solid evidence for dating the sculpture early, and, on account of the importance of the date, readers would be glad to have a list or a description of the drawings and carvings consulted as a basis for this negative statement.

G. L. Hamilton, J. Vendryes, C. Grandgent, and others, have contributed papers upon which I make no comment except to add a word of praise.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

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*Liturgical Dictionary.* By ALEXIUS HOFFMANN. Liturgical Press: Collegeville, Minnesota, 1928. Popular Liturgical Library, III, No. 1. Pp. iv + 187.

Anthony Trollope's father spent many years compiling an ecclesiastical dictionary. His success was not preëminent. It is not an easy thing to do; we still need a full and carefully presented liturgical dictionary in English. Material is available in the older collections of J. A. Schmidt and of F. A. Zaccaria, and in two more recent Anglican volumes: *A Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, by F. G. Lee, 1877, and *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*, by J. S. Bumpus, 1910. On a much larger scale, the monumental *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* by Dom F. Cabrol, begun in 1903, is authoritative; and Joseph Braun's *Liturgisches Handlexikon*, Regensburg, 1922, of about the same scope as Dom Hoffmann's Dictionary, is adequately convenient. For some reason none of these works is listed among

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Huet, *Romania*, XLIII (1914), 99 f.

Dom Hoffmann's "Sources" (p. 187). In comparison with Braun's lexicon Dom Hoffmann's seems to contain more entries, but is less generous in definition. Unnecessarily, one might suppose, it includes many "place-names and names of persons" from "the Bible, Missal, and Breviary," the "names of the Saints who have a special feast, and of those solemnly canonized by the Apostolic See since the tenth century," and "also all the existing residential episcopal sees, with special reference to those of North and South America." On the other hand, Braun has not limited his terms to Latin; and one notes that he occasionally adds Latin terms not found in Hoffmann's collection, such as "tabula altaris," "tabula sacrata," "altare authenticum," "altare capitaneum," "altare cardinale."

Hoffmann's definitions are often unsatisfactory, sometimes for the uninitiate who might chance to use the book, sometimes on a basis of precision and clearness for anybody. For example: "actio" is "the principal part of the Mass beginning with the Canon; also the entire service," whereas "canon" is (in part) "the Canon or principal part of the Mass"; "collecta" is the "collect or oration at Mass," whereas "oratio" is "a discourse; a prayer"; "Missa" is "the Mass, or Sacrifice of the New Law." All too often the explanations depend on the modern English equivalent of the words; a few times the modern form is not given at all. One might also complain of the general appearance of the book; of the apparent dropping of some words; of the inconsistent following of the abbreviations. It is really not a finished product though a brave start at a collection. One would like to see it used as the beginning of a much fuller treatment, with ample definitions, including references and terms from older usage of interest to the historian.

HOWARD R. PATCH.

*Smith College.*

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*The Post-War Mind of Germany and other European Studies.* By C. H. HERFORTH. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. 248.

*Ausgewählte Reden von Walther Rathenau.* Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by JAMES TAFT HATFIELD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. Pp. xxiv, 162.

*The Post-War Mind of Germany*, written by a scholar venerable not only for his ripe sagacity but for his deeply ethical belief in a world of ideas and ideals, is a stirring proclamation of faith in the spiritual rebirth of a people. The author discerns the nascent

movements in historical perspective, tracing them to their sources and defining their aims, while individuals are characterized only so far as they voice the whence and the whither.

As stabilizing forces in the upheaval after the war Professor Herford recognizes the well grounded German tradition in administration, technology, and an autochthonous spiritual culture. Following Baldensperger's method applied in analyzing the mind of the French émigrés after the Great Revolution, he distinguishes two groups, conflicting in ideals, yet partly basing their postulates on the same national inheritance, in which Goethe and Nietzsche are the polar opposites. Revolt against the spirit of mechanism (Spengler!) is common to both groups; repudiation of imperialism, of racial discrimination, and the striving toward a new humanity characteristic for the younger generation, represented by the Youth Movement and the poets of Expressionism (Toller, Unruh, Pinthus and others). The way toward a new philosophical synthesis is prepared by such many sided scholars as Troeltsch, Weber, and Dilthey; and the will toward a new interpretation of life is seen in Otto's *Das Heilige*, Keyserling's *Travel Diary*, and Walther Rathenau's sociological writings. But even such touching documents as Rosa Luxemburg's letters, written in prison during the war, find—we gratefully note—a place in the lucid and embracing study.

A more pessemistic mind, emphasizing different aspects of present German life and thought, might reach quite different conclusions; but it is the spirit of youth pervading the new movements, which—it seems to me—justifies Professor Herforth's views and hopes expressed in these words: "a people deliberately left untrained in politics, and accustomed to think in terms of provincial, class, or occupational, rather than national, interests, found itself thrown back upon its own intellectual, moral and cultural resources if it was to be saved from complete disintegration and anarchy. Those intellectual, moral, and cultural resources were, however, immense, and they were finally destined, we may venture even now to say with assurance, not merely to save Germany's integrity, but to restore her greatness." (p. 6)<sup>1</sup>

A rare union of opposite gifts Professor Herforth finds in Walther Rathenau: "the wealth of mind, the quickness of heart and sense, the acuteness and comprehensiveness of imagination which make whatever is abstract, concrete and human and positive; which

<sup>1</sup> Readers may gauge the soundness of Professor Herforth's methods and judgments from the other articles (*Danton and Milton, A Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent, A Russian Shakespearean, The Culture of Bolshevie Russia, National and International Ideals in the English Poets*), the subject of which does not lie in the reviewer's domain.



bring philosophy from the clouds to the service of the state and the factory and the home." The American student may test this judgment for himself from Mr. Hatfield's judicious selection of Rathenau's *Reden* and from the editor's terse and compact introduction, which—authoritative on account of personal acquaintance with Rathenau and of acute study of his works—concurs with Professor Herforth's valuation of the man. There is no sentence in these six political and economic speeches that is not packed with keen thinking and at the same time not vibrating with a feeling of deep responsibility, engendered by the love of the speaker's country and aiming at making this very sentiment fruitful for the peace and progress of mankind. Teachers and students of German owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Hatfield for such a timely as well as practical and scholarly gift.

That Rathenau meant Hölderlin with the 'greatest of all great Suabian singers' on page 100 may be appended here upon the expressed wish of the editor as my modest discovery.

ERNST FEISE.

*The Johns Hopkins University.*

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## BRIEF MENTION.

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*Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400), Interpreted from Representative Works.* By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. New York, Macmillan, 1928. Pp. 321. \$2.50. This volume continues, perhaps completes, the survey begun by Professor Baldwin in his earlier volume *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic*. The two works taken together make a most valuable and a unique program, or syllabus, of a huge process of historical development that continued for about 2000 years without a single radical break from the traditions established in Greek society. But within this process changes and adaptations appeared, as the Pagan and Christian centuries flowed on, which make it about the most formidable of all subjects of literary history. To have found a method of presenting it, even in outline, in two small volumes, is a remarkable achievement; and one may guess that the method which Professor Baldwin has followed has been evolved from many years of enthusiastic experiment in teaching his subject. Hard things are often said about the present state of teaching in our colleges and universities; it is permissible to indulge, on this occasion, a feeling of pride and self-satisfaction in the fact that from a class-room of a large city-university of the modern type emerges a work so learned and so humane.

The method employed is, quite frankly, that of a glorified syllabus, and it is hard to see how any other would have been possible. The subjects of the chapters are some of them chronologically determined, some of them topically; but there proves to be no conflict. First, there is a description of the sophistic rhetoric and style out of which patristic prose developed; then the early Christian theory of preaching, with Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* as the source and text; then the centuries 400-700, and then the Carolingians (the history of accentual Latin verse and a full description of it occupies the major place in these chapters); then the centuries of scholasticism, and the new relation between logic and rhetoric (three chapters); then a sketch of the *ars dictaminis* (a development in style that seems to the present reviewer to deserve more elaborate historical and formal treatment than Professor Baldwin accords it; it is as characteristic a product of medieval culture as Gothic architecture); a chapter on the as-yet neglected subject of medieval preaching; and finally a long chapter, too comprehensive, it may be, yet with a unity of purpose, describing how the medieval theories of poetry worked out in all the vernacular poetries of Europe, from Old Norse epic to Chaucer.

It is in this last chapter that a critic might accuse Professor Baldwin of "catering" to popular or pupil taste inappropriately. Yet it is here that the idea comes out most clearly which dominates the book and gives it a special kind of unity. From the beginning the work has been partly shaped by the idea that the true poetic is always tending to be subordinated to, or submerged in, the sister discipline of rhetoric, or, in other words, that the doctrine of free and creative imagination is always being lost in a formalism of the schools. The section on Chaucer is very illuminating on this theme; and in several places Professor Baldwin has strikingly illustrated it by literary facts of the 18th and 19th centuries. Indeed the whole book is thoroughly alive and modern, though it must be said that a good many readers would wonder to hear it so described.

MORRIS W. CROLL.

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*Studien zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Refrains in der englischen Literatur.* By FRIEDRICH G. RUHRMANN. Anglistische Forschungen, vol. 64. Heidelberg, 1927. Pp. 179. Whatever faults are to be found in this work are to be credited to the character of its subject and its author's too-conscientious view of its requirements, and not at all to deficiencies in his judgment, knowledge, and taste. If he had confined himself to "Studies" of particular problems, or of one of several problems, he might have done more while seeming to do less; but he has actually done less while seem-

ing to do more. The desire for completeness has involved him in a chronological survey which is necessarily shallow in the same degree that it is broad and inclusive. The study of the refrain in English folk-poetry would alone have been more than adequate for a work of this size and character. When it is limited to a chapter of 32 pages it can accomplish no more than a restatement of old controversies and a rehearsing of old arguments. What can be done, for instance, with the refrain as proof of communal authorship of primitive poetry, or with the possible influence of the Latin classics on the refrain in Anglo-Saxon poetry, in half-a-dozen or a dozen pages? And, in the longer chapter on the "poetry of art" the same criticism holds. A more substantial result would have been achieved if the author had devoted his excellent scholarship and his gift of literary criticism to the study, say, of Elizabethan lyric or that of the Victorians.

Having said this, however, a reviewer must correct the balance by adding that Herr Ruhrmann displays an unusual combination of scholarship with literary insight. Even his psychological terms never become pedantic! He knows how to write both clearly and briefly. And at certain points, where his subject allows, he shows himself a critic capable of exquisite interpretations. If it were not too long, a sentence describing the mystical virtue of remembered phrases in Tennyson's spiritual experience would be quoted here in illustration of this statement. In brief, the work is far above the ordinary dissertation level.

MORRIS W. CROLL.

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A new series of German textbooks is being published by F. S. Crofts and Co. under the editorship of A. B. Faust. The first four volumes, well printed and bound and apparently carefully edited, make an excellent impression. Mr. Clifford E. Gates and Mr. Erwin T. Mohme present short stories by Ebner-Eschenbach and Zahn, Mr. Faust a completely revised edition of *Heine's Prose*, which originally appeared in the Macmillan Series, and Mr. and Mrs. Fleissner in their *Deutsches Literatur-Lesebuch* have successfully accomplished the difficult task of telling in a popular and most interesting manner the story of German literature for beginners. Other volumes are in preparation; Goethe's *Faust* has been promised by Mr. Hohlfeld.

E. F.

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*Neues Lesebuch für Oberprima.* Classes de Philosophie et de Mathématiques élémentaires. Par F. MENEAU et L. BELEY. Paris: Henri Didier, 1928. The Kaiser, Nietzsche, the Pan-Germans are

resurrected and killed all over again in the first part of this book and, after hatred and fear have been instilled in the breast of the young Frenchman, he may enjoy the chapters on German Kultur if he have any gusto left for it. Before the war the defeat of 1870 and the lost provinces served as an excuse for such questionable pedagogical practice. What excuse is there now?

E. F.

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*The Cid as a Courtly Hero: from the Amadís to Corneille.* By BARBARA MATULKA (Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1928. 54 pp.). The chief contention of this essay is that the courtly qualities introduced by Castro into the character of the Cid are due in large measure to the episode of Sidonia and Florisel in the *Amadís*. Unfortunately the author does not take into consideration the great difference that exists between philandering Florisel and faithful Rodrigo, between jilted Sidonia, thirsting for revenge, and Ximena, ready to sacrifice her own desires to her father's memory. Nor does Miss M. tell us to what extent she has exhausted the possibilities of Castro's having been influenced by life about him, literary conventions of his day, or earlier romantic tales in Spanish, Italian, or French. Certainly her investigation cannot be considered exhaustive, if she has looked no farther for sources than she has looked for examples in French dramatic literature of the "sword and head" motif, for, though there were many more to be found, the five cases she mentions (pp. 50-1) are taken, with one exception, straight from Dr. Riddle's *Genesis and Sources of Corneille's Tragedies* (pp. 12, 13). Doubtless through haste in correcting her proof, she fails, like Castro, to mention her source.

H. C. L.

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*The Poems of John Philips.* Edited by M. G. LLOYD THOMAS (The Percy Reprints). Oxford, 1927. Pp. lvii + 123. This careful edition of the poems of John Philips is, in fact, more than a reprint. In the *Introduction* the editor gives the known biographical facts about Philips, with new material from manuscripts in the Bodleian, the British Museum, and from the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. A Bibliographical Note aims to describe all editions of Philips's poems up to 1720, although printings of parts of his works in collections from 1713 onwards are not recorded. Each poem is printed from the last and most correct text issued during the author's life, with earlier variants noted where there are any. There are nineteen pages of notes and several interesting appendices. Such careful editing of minor classics has been rare in the field of English literature.

Mr. Thomas makes no mention of the first edition of *Cyder* bound up as an integral part of the second edition of *The Annual Miscellany for the Year 1694*, published by Tonson late in 1708 or early in 1709 (the title-page is dated 1708, but a separate title-page for *Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant* on page 329 is dated 1709). Philips's poem comes at the end of the volume, after page 406, and has not been altered in any way, either in title-page, signatures or pagination, for inclusion in the *Miscellany*. That it was Tonson's own method of marketing remainders of the first edition of *Cyder* (which was issued January 29, 1708), appears from the inclusion of the title of the poem in the table of contents of the *Miscellany*, with the false page reference 407, and from the catch-word *Cyder* at the bottom of page 406.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD.

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*A Journal of Summer Time in the Country.* By R. A. WILLMOTT. The Scholartis Press, London, 1928. Pp. 235. Published in 1849 and not reprinted since 1864, this agreeable volume is well worth the attractive dress which the Scholartis Press gives it. The introduction by Mr. Eric Partridge, who modestly signs himself E. P., is excellent. Willmott was a discriminating lover of nature and of poetry, and his many quotations from minor poets of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century are often worth rescuing from obscurity. Only occasionally are they commonplace. The author has a genuine gift of phrase and a fine enthusiasm of the Hazlittian order, which he generally succeeds in conveying to the reader. Of Milton's indebtedness to Sophocles he says: "The violets of Colonus peep out under the hedges of Milton's 'Eden'." And the following sentence gives as well as any the flavor of the whole book: "Sitting under a tree this evening, with the *Faery Queen* in my hand, it was curious to watch the sunset falling like dewdrops through the boughs, and spotting the page with golden green."

A man who writes like this can hardly be called a literary dilettante. And Willmott, though a clergyman, is only occasionally didactic. He liked to be known as the biographer of Jeremy Taylor; and any man who loves "the Shakespeare of divines," has fed on the sacred dews of poetry. Willmott falls below this level, but his book has something of Taylor's richness of image. And it is often intimately gossipy, as when he tells us that Johnson and Thomson had two feelings in common—a passion for wall-fruit and lying in bed; and that Thomson "delighted to draw down the rich plum, with the blue on it, into his mouth without the help of his hands, which hung listlessly in his pockets." This habit is worthy of Keats. But Keats could translate his sensations much more vividly than either Thomson or Willmott. Yet it is of Keats

that Willmott reminds one—rather faintly, to be sure—in several passages. No reader will escape from this book without a pleasant backward gaze.

HARRY T. BAKER.

*Goucher College.*

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*Bibliography, Practical, Enumerative, Historical. An Introductory Manual.* By HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOSSEN and FRANK KELLER WALTER. Scribner's, 1928. Pp. xvi + 519. \$7.50. The authors of a general treatise on bibliography take all knowledge for their province and essay a hopeless task. To bring into organic unity and a reasonable compass all the multifarious matters that belong in such a work is quite impossible. Yet the attempt must be made, for the apparatus of scholarship grows daily more elaborate and the bibliographical labor preliminary to effective research steadily increases. The result of the present undertaking is a book of such practical usefulness that it belongs in every reference library and deserves mention at the beginning of the year in every graduate seminary.

In the first two chapters the authors introduce their subject and offer helpful counsel as to the beginning, prosecution, and completion of a piece of research. They follow this with four chapters devoted to subject bibliography in general and in the various specific fields of scholarship. Chapters VII to XI take the point of view of the library, passing from a discussion of library science to an account of reference works and bibliographies, both national and universal. This section of the book will be serviceable to librarians in two ways: it will be illuminating to beginners in their own art and mystery and it will give to graduate students and other serious readers such an insight into library methods and difficulties as will make them more tolerant critics of the shortcomings of catalogues and bookstacks. At chapter XII there begins a survey of the history of writing and printing, amply illustrated, followed by a chapter on book decoration, bookselling, and publishing and concluded in Chapter XV with a summary of the history and resources of libraries.

The book is admirably annotated with a bibliographical appendix listing more than sixteen hundred titles, and is efficiently indexed. The character of the material and the original purpose of its compilation, namely, use in courses of lectures given by the authors, are responsible for some incoherence of structure. No part of the book, however, could be spared without loss, and the whole is the product of painstaking and competent scholarship.

J. C. F.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Achtnich, K.—Laughing Teachers and Laughing Pupils: English Humour in three hundred Anecdotes, Sketches and Jokes. *Leipzig*: Emil Rohmkopf, 1928. Pp. 165.

Avery, Elizabeth; Dorsey, Jane; and Sickles, Vera A.—First Principles of Speech Training. *New York and London*: Appleton, 1928. Pp. xxxviii + 518. \$3.00.

Bailey, Marcia Edgerton.—A Lesser Hartford Wit, Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith, 1771-1798 (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 11). *Orono, Maine*: University Press, 1928. Pp. 150.

Baugh, Albert C (ed.).—The Return of the Native by Thomas Hardy (Modern Readers' Series). *New York*: Macmillan, 1928. Pp. xxvi + 455. \$.80. [Excellent type, paper, and binding; a useful biographical and critical introduction.]

Baum, Paul Franklin (ed.).—The House of Life, a Sonnet-sequence by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Harvard University Press*, 1928. Pp. xiv + 242. \$3.00.

Bridges, Robert.—Collected Essays, Papers, etc., II and III. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 31-70. \$1.00.

Chase, Mary Ellen and Macgregor, Margaret Eliot (eds.).—The Writing of Informal Essays. *New York*: Holt, 1928. Pp. vii + 357. \$2.00. [Some fifty essays, mainly contemporary, chosen for the average rather than the exceptional student and arranged according to difficulty.]

Collins, V. H. (ed.).—Selected Letters of Byron. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 166. \$1.50. [An attractive, useful book containing 63 letters, 3 pages of introduction and 18 notes.]

Cooper, Lane.—A Concordance of Boethius, the five Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. *Cambridge*: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1928. Pp. xii + 467. \$5.00.

Cromwell, Otelia.—Thomas Heywood, a Study in the Elizabethan Drama of everyday Life (Yale Studies in English LXXXVIII). *Yale University Press*, 1928. Pp. viii + 234. \$2.50.

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out the nicer distinctions between synonymous words"; the illustrations are drawn from "authors of the last fifty years."]

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Forsythe, Robert Stanley.—A Noble Rake, the Life of Charles, Fourth Lord Mohun, Being a Study in the Historical Background of Thackeray's "Henry Esmond." *Harvard University Press*, 1928. Pp. xviii + 310. \$3.50.

Furness, Clifton Joseph (ed.).—Walt Whitman's Workshop. A Collection of Unpublished Manuscripts. *Harvard University Press*, 1928. Pp. xvi + 265. \$7.50.

Harvey, P. Caspar.—Practice Handbook in English Composition for College Students. *New York*: Macmillan, 1928. Pp. 19 + 350.

Johnson, R. Brimley (ed.).—The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia by Sarah Fielding. *London*: The Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. xlv + 183. 7 s. 6 d.

Lieder, Paul Robert; Lovett, Robert Morss; and Root, Robert Kilburn (ed.).—British Poetry and Prose, a Book of Readings. *Boston*: Houghton Mifflin, 1928. Pp. xxxvi + 1346 + xvi. \$4.50. [An attractive volume more comprehensive though no larger than similar works; from Beowulf through Masefield; with an indexed map.]

Manley, John Matthews (ed.).—*Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. *New York*: Holt, 1928. Pp. x + 721.

Martin, L. C. (ed.).—The Poems of Nathaniel Wanley. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xx + 88. \$2.50.

Meredith, Joseph Arthur and Jack, William Shaffer.—Outline English Grammar for Romanic Language Students. *Philadelphia*: 1928. Pp. 22. \$40.

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Sommer, Paul.—Erläuterungen zu Annette von Droste-Hülshoffs "Die Judenbuche";—zu Konrad Ferdinand Meyers "Die Versuchung des Pescara." [Königs Erläuterungen zu den Klassikern. Bdch. 216, 210.] *Leipzig*: Herm. Beyer [1928]. 48; 48 pp. 60 Pf. each.

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Forgue.—T. Renaudot. *Paris*: Masson, 1927. 31 pp.

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## MARLOWE, BEAUMONT, AND *JULIUS CAESAR*.<sup>1</sup>

It can not but make the judicious grieve to observe that so brilliant and, as a rule, so independent, an investigator in the field of Elizabethan drama as H. C. O. Oliphant should have allowed himself to be misled by the rash assumptions and incorrect statements of such a sciolist as William Wells. I use these words advisedly. In his recent detailed and most valuable study of the work of Beaumont and Fletcher (p. 316) Mr. Oliphant refers to Wells as the "solitary investigator" who has detected the presence of Beaumont's hand in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (William Wells, *The Authorship of Julius Caesar*, 1923) and adds that he believes him "to be right—not wholly so, but sufficiently for the play to be regarded as having a just claim to a place among the Beaumont dramas."

This represents a complete change of view on Oliphant's part. In an article in the *Modern Language Review* (October 1908) he had analysed *Julius Caesar* and come to the conclusion that while there had been curtailment and alteration in the present text and that it included "stuff that manifestly belonged to the early days of the Drama nevertheless the entire play was the work of one man," namely Shakespeare. What is his present view and how has he come to depart from his earlier position?

His present view may be briefly stated as follows. Marlowe somewhere before 1590 wrote a play on Julius Caesar; Shakespeare's play is founded on this early work—large portions of which

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my special obligation in connexion with this study to Professor Tilley of the University of Michigan who called my attention to the appearance of 'Caesar's crow' in Lyly's *Euphues*. The note on the passage in the Croll and Clemons's *Euphues* proved the starting point of my investigation.

are still preserved in the present text. (See the analysis, p. 325). Further Shakespeare's play was revised by Beaumont whose hand appears in the great temptation scene of Brutus by Cassius (1, 2) and in the quarrel scene of the fourth act. In addition—though this is not included in the analysis—he thinks it not impossible that the scenes of Caesar's murder and the speeches of Brutus and of Anthony are based on Marlowe and altered by Beaumont.

This is certainly a radical departure from his earlier and more conservative position. What has caused it? There can be but one answer—the work of “the solitary investigator.” The view of Wells may be summarized as follows: Marlowe wrote a Caesar play in 1589 (p. 19); Shakespeare started a revision of this play, *ca.* 1608 (p. 24)—Wells goes at some length (pp. 28-30) to show that Shakespeare's work may date as late as 1608—but only wrote the first 57 lines of the first act; the rest of the play is Beaumont's revision of Marlowe, an assertion backed up by a number of parallels between *Julius Caesar* and the work of Beaumont, including, by the way, *The Faithful Shepherdess*. Oliphant does not go so far. He assigns Beaumont a much smaller portion of the play. But he does accept Wells's thesis of a Marlowe original and a Beaumont revision. Let us examine the reasons.

In the first place Oliphant takes from Wells (pp. 320-21) a group of allusions to Caesar from early plays by Peele, Greene, and Marlowe himself, which are supposed to show the existence of a play dealing with the murder of Julius about 1589. It may be stated with some certainty, I think, that these allusions show nothing more than a knowledge on the part of the authors of certain incidents connected with the life and death of Caesar. They do not necessarily imply the existence of a play, much less a play by Marlowe, on this subject. But Wells has more positive proof. In Greene's *Never Too Late* (1590) there occurs the following passage (supposed to be addressed by Cicero to the actor Roscius): “Of thyself thou canst say nothing, and if the cobbler hath taught thee to say ‘Ave, Caesar,’ disdain not thy tutor.” “There can be no doubt,” says Wells, “that the ‘cobbler’ is Marlowe, who was the son of a Canterbury shoemaker, and it is clear that Wilson [i. e. the actor, Robert Wilson whom Wells, following Fleay, identifies with the Roscius of this passage] acted in a play written by Marlowe and containing an ‘Ave, Caesar’

speech." This is the "direct reference" of Greene to a Marlowe play containing the phrase "Ave, Caesar" which Oliphant (p. 321) takes over from Wells. Unfortunately for the theory the identification of Marlowe with the cobbler is open to the gravest doubt. In fact, as I shall attempt to show, the reference is to a story drawn from classic sources which had by 1590 become a commonplace with Elizabethan writers, and of which Greene in particular was specially fond.

Macrobius (*Saturnalia*) tells a pleasant story about the Emperor Augustus. It seems that on his return from Actium and his conquest of Egypt several citizens presented him with various birds—a crow, a magpie, and a parrot are mentioned—all taught to greet him with "Ave, Caesar," or some variant of the phrase. All these the pleased conqueror purchased at a handsome price. Now a poor cobbler heard of this and hoping to profit by the Emperor's liberality secured a crow and set himself to teach it the fortune-making phrase. But either the crow was dull or the cobbler a poor teacher, for a considerable time elapsed before the lesson was learned. And in despair the cobbler often exclaimed aloud *Opera et impensa perit*. But at last the task was accomplished and the cobbler hastened to present his crow to the great Augustus. By this time, however, the Emperor had collected a whole aviary of talking birds and he bluntly refused the gift. As the disappointed cobbler turned away the crow, noting his downcast looks, opened his bill and uttered the phrase he had heard so often from his master's lips: *Opera et impensa perit*. Tickled by the appositeness of the words the Emperor relented, accepted the crow, and rewarded the cobbler.

Macrobius might, perhaps, be considered a rather remote source for Greene's allusion even though the Elizabethan was *artium magister utriusque academiae*. But a nearer source was at hand. The tale had been retold by Erasmus in his *Apothegmata* (Lib. iv, 42-43) under the caption *Octav. Caes. August.* as an example of the Emperor's liberality and affability. The *Apothegmata* were translated into English by Udall in 1542. But English humanists did not need a translation of one of the most popular books of the day. In Skelton's *Speke Parrot*, 1520, the phrase "Parrot can say *Caesar, ave*" is probably to be traced to Erasmus. Lyly in *Euphues his England*, 1580 (Bond's edition II, 39), takes

up the allusion in a form nearer to the original: "A crow may cry *Ave, Caesar*." (See note on the passage in Croll and Clemons's edition of *Euphues*). From Lyly, or more likely directly from Erasmus, Greene drew the story. It occurs for the first time in his work in the dedication to *Pandosto*, 1588 (Huth Library edition, III, 231) "Caesar's crow durst never cry *ave*, but when she was peaked in the Capitol." In the dedication to *Orpharion*—licensed Feb. 9, 1588-90—(Huth Library, XII, 5) he introduces the bird's master: "As the poor cobbler durst present his chattering Pye to Augustus for that the Emperor was affable and curteous." Finally in *Never Too Late*, 1590, comes the reference on which Wells bases his assumption that Greene directly refers to a play on Caesar by Marlowe, the Cobbler. And after Greene Nash in *Pierce Penilesse* (McKerrow's edition, I, 174) keeps the ball rolling: "Cobbler's crow but for crying *Ave, Caesar*." Is it not plain that the allusion is one and the same in all these quotations and that the allusion is to the old story and not at all to Marlowe—cobbler's son though he was?

But let us examine the last quotation from Greene more closely. It occurs in one of his many attacks upon the vanity of the players, with whom in his last years he seems to have been on the worst of terms. This vanity, Greene insinuates, has characterized "the quality" from ancient times, and he proceeds to illustrate this by an anecdote of Roscius, the famous actor of Caesar's day. Roscius, it seems, had boasted that he could render any passion in speech as well as Cicero. Provoked by his assumption Tully turned on him with the following words: "Art thou proud with Aesop's crow being pranked with the glory of others feathers? Of thyself thou canst say nothing, and if the Cobbler hath taught thee to say *Ave, Caesar*, disdain not thy tutor." It is plain, I think, that the whole passage has to do with the vainglory of actors who, after all, are decked with "others feathers"—cf. Greene's well-known reference to the actor-playwright Shakespeare—like the crow in Aesop's fable. The mention of this bird recalls to Greene's mind another crow whose story he had told twice before and so he runs on: "If the Cobbler, etc." There is no necessity, or even reason, to identify the Roscius of this passage with the actor Wilson, as Fleay and Wells do, and there is very good reason to reject entirely the identification of the Cobbler with Marlowe, the



cobbler's son. And with this all external evidence for Marlowe's authorship of a Caesar play vanishes into thin air.

We need waste little time on the fanciful theory of Wells that this nonexistent play was meant to tell in a veiled form the story of the assassination of Guise in 1588. "Why Marlowe was unable to treat openly till 1592 (the *Massacre* was performed as a new play in January, 1593) of this, by him, detested personage is a question that perhaps, admits of no satisfactory answer. It would appear, however, that the Elizabethan dramatists had to be very careful indeed to avoid ruffling the feelings of the French court. But while Marlowe might have lost his ears had he written the *Massacre* in 1589, there was nothing to deter him from writing a play then and there upon the Guise and calling it *Julius Caesar*, which is what he appears to have done." A little knowledge is a dangerous thing! Wells appears to have heard that Chapman got into trouble for writing a play that ruffled the feelings of the French court and therefore assumes that Marlowe foresaw and avoided such a fate. But there is a wide difference between Chapman's bringing upon the stage the wife and the mistress of a living French King, a friend and ally of England, and showing the queen closing an acrimonious debate by a hearty box on the other lady's ears, and Marlowe's supposed plan to write a play on the death of Guise, a death ordered by the French King, and heartily applauded in England as a proper punishment for the protagonist of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The suggestion that Marlowe might have lost his ears for writing in 1589 what he did as a matter of fact write in 1592, is, to say the least, simply absurd.

What is the internal, the stylistic, evidence for Marlowe's hand in the present text of *Julius Caesar*? Let us see what Oliphant, a far better connoisseur of Elizabethan dramatic verse than his misleader, has to say: "Though the style is not markedly his, it bears sufficient resemblance to it to be credited to him—I confess to a great unwillingness to father upon him v, 2 and the first twenty-two lines of v, 3—. If I give such intolerable weak stuff to Marlowe, it is with great reluctance and only because I do not like to bring in another author unnecessarily." Surely this is the weakest argument ever advanced to prove the hand of Marlowe in a play in the Shakespeare canon. "I am most certain of him" Oliphant continues "in the five lines preceding the citizens' depar-

ture in, i, i; and in the last four lines of the same scene—and in the first speech of Metellus in ii, 1.” These speeches add up to 15 lines—not very much evidence, after all, for Marlowe’s presence. No reasons of any kind are given; possibly the “conceit” in the first passage, over which Wells makes merry, has offended a better judge; but it might be suggested that such a “conceit” is rather more characteristic of Shakespeare than of Marlowe.

And now to the question of Beaumont’s hand in the present text. Mr. Wells states that Shakespeare began a revision of the hypothetical Marlowe play in 1609 (p. 23), dropped his task after writing the first fifty-seven lines of the first scene, and left the work to be completed by Beaumont whose presence he attempts to demonstrate by a long array of parallels running through most of the play. The statement that Shakespeare wrote the first fifty-seven lines of the play in 1609 may be thrown out of court at once on metrical grounds alone. After the composition of *Macbeth*, ca. 1605-6, Shakespeare’s handling of blank verse changed suddenly and radically. The proportion of light and weak endings, in particular, a device employed to force enjambment and break up the line by line monotony of the verse, increased enormously. There are 99 of these in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 104 in *Coriolanus*, and 130 in *Cymbeline*. But there is not a single one of them in the passage assigned by Wells to Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar* and my count gives only four plainly run-on lines in the whole passage. Certainly if Shakespeare wrote it and on this, at least, Wells, Oliphant, and the present writer agree, he must have done so before his verse suffered its sea-change. Wells’s ear for metre, by the way, may be judged by an emendation he suggests on p. 138.

It would take far too long to discuss in detail the parallels to Beaumont’s work that Wells advances. Most of them are quite unconvincing, and Oliphant, who may be supposed to know his Beaumont as well as any man alive, is so little impressed by them that he states (p. 324): “I should dismiss Mr. Wells’ assertion of Beaumont’s presence were it not for iv, 2 [Oliphant throws scenes 2 and 3 of the received text together as sc. 2]. As far as *Cas. chastisement* (iv, 3, 17) is mainly Shakespeare’s; but thence to the Poet’s exit (iv, 3, 147) is almost entirely Beaumont’s and in the mixed work (i. e. Beaumont’s revision of Shakespeare) that follows there is this passage, which seems to me pure Beaumont”

and he prints the tender lines addressed by Brutus to his sleepy boy. It is on the strength of a single scene then, or rather of a part of a single scene that Oliphant admits of Beaumont's presence in other parts of the play. No reasons are assigned; only one passage is quoted and that from a bit of "mixed" work. The passage, it is true, has much of the simplicity, directness, and sweetness which is characteristic of Beaumont as compared with Fletcher. But are these characteristics foreign to Shakespeare, and did not Beaumont learn something of his art from his great contemporary? Mr. Oliphant certainly accepts this common opinion for he tells us (p. 55, text and footnote) that "at times his (Beaumont's) verse makes a very near approach to that of Shakespeare" and "there can be no doubt that Shakespeare was one of the two great models of Beaumont." In the passage from *Julius Caesar* which Oliphant cites as "pure Beaumont" we may well see, I believe, exactly the sort of Shakespeare work which Beaumont took as his model, Shakespeare at his simplest, directest, and tenderest.

There is yet another consideration which must give us pause before accepting so novel a suggestion as a revision of a Shakespeare play by Beaumont. Every proposer of such an hypothesis is bound, I think, to give at least a plausible suggestion as to the cause and the time of the supposed revision. Let us take, for example, the case of *Macbeth*. It is now generally admitted that this play contains certain passages that have been added in revision (*Macbeth*, III, 5, the songs in III, 5 and IV, 1, and a few lines in this last scene). The author of these passages is believed to be Middleton, and for good reason. Middleton wrote *The Witch* in which the character of Hecate, introduced in these spurious passages, appears, and in which the songs given by title in *Macbeth* are found in full. Middleton wrote for Shakespeare's company in the years between Shakespeare's retirement, ca. 1613, and the publication of *Macbeth* in the Folio of 1623. It seems most reasonable, then, that he should have been called on to touch up *Macbeth* for a revival, and that it was he who anticipated D'Avenant in smartening the grim tragedy by the introduction of those operatic touches of song and dance which elicited the admiration of Mr. Pepys.

Can we find any similar facts to suggest the possibility of a Beaumont revision of *Julius Caesar*? I think not.

The references to *Julius Caesar* in Jonson's *Every Man Out*, played at the Globe in 1599, show that a play containing words and phrases still found in the received text was on the boards at that time. Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, apparently written in 1599 though not printed till 1601, refers distinctly to the speeches of Brutus and of Antony. According to Adams (*William Shakespeare*, pp. 235-6) we have a record of a performance of the play in September 1599. The German who saw it records that it was very well performed. Now 1599 is far too early for a Beaumont revision which, if it took place at all, must be dated within the brief space of his connexion with Shakespeare's company—from 1608 to ca. 1613. During these years Beaumont was at work in the production of a series of masterpieces, *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *King and No King*, to mention no others. It seems at least unlikely that he should have been called on to revise a Shakespeare play. And what need was there for such revision? In spite of modern criticism of the faulty technique and inconsistencies of the work, *Julius Caesar* has been from the first one of the most successful of Shakespeare's plays upon the stage, far more successful than *Macbeth*. And the references of Jonson and Weever show that the high point of the play—the scene containing the speeches of Brutus and of Antony—existed in the 1599 text. Yet it is in this scene that Oliphant suspects, though he does not venture to assert, the revising hand of Beaumont. All that he positively assigns are the temptation scene of the first act and the quarrel scene of the fourth. Now if these scenes needed revision at Beaumont's hand the play was weak at highly important points, the inciting moment and the last great bit of characterization. Revision or re-writing here would be something quite different from Middleton's tagged-on decorations of *Macbeth*. To me at least it seems unlikely that anything in these scenes is Beaumont's and I would ascribe the striking parallels which appear in them to lines in Beaumont's undoubted work to the younger author's close study and frank imitation of a successful play by his great master.

As Oliphant presents the case, then, I find it at least unlikely that Beaumont should have revised Shakespeare's work, and Wells's theory of a Shakespeare start of fifty-seven lines, ca. 1609, and a Beaumont continuation, is, as I have shown, impossible on metrical grounds. We may, I believe, with all the certainty that is possible

in such cases, reject, with regret for Oliphant's aberration, the theory of a Marlowe plus Shakespeare plus Beaumont *Julius Caesar* and return to his more conservative theory of an old play on Caesar re-written by Shakespeare alone, of which, perhaps, some traces still remain. This theory, a far safer one, demands, I believe, a fuller investigation than it has so far received.

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## THE PLOTS OF BEN JONSON

Elizabethan dramatic plots have recently sustained a vigorous attack from critics who admire the craftsmanship of the English school of 1890. This fact illustrates the revaluation of all earlier literature which has become a conscious necessity of our time. It is felt that we cannot be content with praise of poetry in drama, that we cannot accept *in toto* the romantic laudation of the Elizabethans others than Shakspeare. In witnessing a revival of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, we are painfully conscious of creaking, lumbering machinery.

Nevertheless, some of our criticism may fail to appreciate historically the conditions which determined how an Elizabethan audience would understand a play and which accordingly modified the aims of Elizabethan playwrights. If we confine our study of Massinger to the play named above, we neglect his skill in other plays. If we limit our examination of Jonson to his early work most frequently mentioned, we are liable to be unfair.

The situation as to Jonson's plays may be briefly indicated as follows. In general, critics speak of the plotless allegories and plotless "humorous" plays of his early period, and of the three great plots of his "second" period.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, *Every Man in his Humour* is praised and blamed; *Every Man out of his Humour* is condemned; the humorous allegorical group lacks plots; *Volpone*, *Epicoene*, and *The Alchemist* are very strong in construction. *Sejanus* is condemned by one critic<sup>2</sup> and perhaps is praised by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philip Aronstein, *Ben Jonson (Litterarische Forschungen, xxxiv, Berlin, 1906)*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Maurice Castelain, *Ben Jonson, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre* (Paris, 1907), ch. VIII.

another who perceives the relationship in construction to *Volpone* and *The Alchemist* and notes the departure from the customary method of developing the play to a knot of difficulties solved in the last act.<sup>3</sup> The other plays receive sparing mention, except for the "pre-Jonsonian" plot of *The Case is Altered*.

No complete treatment of Jonson's plots seems to have appeared. Many discriminating remarks have been made about them, especially as regards individual plays or those referred to above. But most of the valuable criticism has dealt with his studies of London life, his satire, his part in the War of the Theaters, his theory of humors as a device to reveal or to expose life, his creation of characters, his copious use of studied detail, his classical tendencies.

The present study is not directed at a minute analysis of each plot, such as would explain the function of the Would-bes in *Volpone*. It seeks rather to indicate how far Ben Jonson may have built up a formula for a dramatic plot, and to suggest some of the ways in which he varied any such formula, together with aims that he may have had in mind.

Without an attempt to enumerate the influences on the Elizabethan stage, emphasis may properly be laid on several features that conditioned many of the plays: the division into five acts; the desirability of assembling characters in two or more scenes of the play—for instance, funeral orations, banquets, alarms, plays within the play, duels, weddings, trials, councils of state; Elizabethan interest in the character-sketch that one character may give of his neighbor and thus often, inadvertently, of himself.

Owing to the division into five acts, dramatists found difficulty with the fourth act. If a turning-point came in the third act, how could the fall be delayed or retarded to a fifth act? Shakspeare is held by some judges not to have solved the problem perfectly. Thus they have been wearied by part of the fourth act of *Macbeth*. At times Shakspeare mitigated the hardship by determining the virtual outcome of the play for one of the most prominent characters during the fourth act. The formula suggested by this device, though it does not hold for all his work, may be illustrated by *Antony and Cleopatra*. The death of Antony, which makes memor-

<sup>3</sup> *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, "The Man and his Work" (Oxford, 1925), II, 17; cf. p. 163, concerning *The Devil is an Ass*.

able the fourth act, is an impressive preliminary to the regal suicide of the Queen at the end of the play. The situation in *II Henry IV* is comparable, for the King dies between the fourth and the fifth acts, and thus leaves for the last act the accession of Prince Hal to the throne and the discomfiture of Falstaff. With Massinger, as has been pointed out,<sup>4</sup> the device for coping with the problem is the double plot one part of which is solved in the fourth act and the other in the fifth.

Upon the spectacular and dramatic effects of an assembly of characters, there is no need to dwell. Cordatus, who speaks for Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour*, asks Mitis,

Is it not an object of more state, to behold the scene full, and relieved with variety of speakers to the end, than to see a vast empty stage, and the actors come in one by one, as if they were dropt down with a feather into the eye of the spectators? (end of II, i.)

From the standpoint of technique, the problem is to furnish the characters with motives for gathering and for dispersing. The purpose may be to create atmosphere or to develop stages or conflicts of motivation, or to expose foolish, affected, or hypocritical persons before the social group represented by the other actors.

The formula which Ben Jonson built up to meet the problem of the fourth act and to bring about the assemblage of characters may be briefly indicated as follows. In the early part of the play (first and second acts) he developed at length exposition of characters and situation (if any). In the third act, action, or business, got under way. Then followed, almost uniformly in the fourth act, a solution to the intrigue of the characters and to the project (if any) of reform or exposure. This solution was often unsatisfactory to the moral taste of the audience and was intended to be so. Moreover, it was not sufficiently forcible to bring to an end the activity of all the leading characters involved. Some element in it disturbed the equilibrium of the action, and so incited further activity as to bring about a much more palatable solution in the fifth act. In both acts (and sometimes in the third act) a considerable assembly<sup>5</sup> of personages took place, entailing on the part of the dramatist

<sup>4</sup> T. W. Baldwin, Introd. to his edition of *The Duke of Milan* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 31 ff.

<sup>5</sup> These assemblies did not preclude one or more earlier groupings in the play.

watchful construction. For *Every Man in his Humour* Jonson employed an agent to bring about the assembly, the tricky servant, Brainworm. In other plays, as in *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, and *Sejanus*, the device was better disguised. The reversal from the fourth to the fifth acts involved a turning of the tables. Wickedness—confident, ostensibly about to triumph, perhaps insolent—fell at last. Yet wickedness was not invariably punished with severity or conquered by innocence and virtue. The return of the master Lovewit did not lead to the discharge of Face, the slaying of Sejanus did not consecrate Tiberius.

Such, in brief, was Jonson's formula for handling the problem of the fourth and fifth acts. It differed, as was suggested above, from solutions employed by Shakspeare and Massinger. This application of reversal and of assembly differed also from the methods of Plautus and Terence. Though types such as the tricky servant, the miser, the returning master, Jonson derived from classical comedy and from drama of the Renaissance, he reorganized the plot, the ramification of motives, into a special procedure of his own. From the course of the plots of Aristophanes, Jonson gained little, though the former's influence for theme and situation became evident early as in *Every Man out of his Humour*, triumphed in *Bartholomew Fair*, and operated as late as *The Staple of News* and *The Magnetic Lady*. In previous drama—including the Italian—I have not met with the Jonsonian formula.

Nevertheless Jonson got his ideas from a study of earlier drama and dramatic criticism, and also from considerable early practice in drama and from his observation of human nature. He was of course well acquainted with the neo-classical theory of drama,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Jonson's Discoveries*, ed. Maurice Castelain (Paris, n. d., pp. 127-138, for references to Daniel Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, pp. 133 ff. for comedy and tragedy, "a complete action," etc. A useful survey of Jonson's criticism is contained in David Klein's *Literary Criticism from the Elizabethan Dramatists* (New York, 1910), pp. 81-152. I differ with Mr. Klein in his assertions that with Jonson the plot was of no consequence, that Jonson, instead of padding in the conventional way the fourth act, chose to pad the fifth. If any act is padded by Jonson in this sense, it may be the second. We cannot look for the climax in his third act, when his epitasis begins with that act. As to "disgression," the term appears to mean that expansion of the material which gives ample flesh and blood to the outline; "art" refers to the beauty or cunning of the thought ("gravity and height of elocution, fulness and frequency of sentence").



which divided the play into protasis, epitasis (or business), catastasis, and catastrophe (conclusions). The list is given by the Boy to Damplay at the end of the first act of *The Magnetic Lady*. The epitasis (or business) is announced before Act III in this play, and also in the much earlier but related (cf. the Induction) play, *Every Man out of his Humour*, as well as in *The New Inn*. The exposition, therefore, is likely to last through two acts. The catastrophe, or turning back, which distinguishes the fifth act from the fourth, is explicitly dealt with by Cordatus at the end of Act IV in *Every Man out of his Humour*. He realizes that the alteration may seem at first sight too abrupt: to the sceptic as to "how 'tis possible the current of their dispositions shall receive so quick and strong an alteration," he asserts that therein the poet's "art appears most full of lustre, and approacheth nearest the life."<sup>7</sup> The whole, in the case of comedy, should in effect follow the workable, pseudo-Ciceronian definition:

*imitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis*, a thing throughout pleasant and ridiculous, and accommodated to the correction of manners.<sup>8</sup>

Jonson furnished, therefore, sufficient commentary to warrant us in believing that in addition to a formula of humors, he deliberately invented a special formula for assembling characters and bringing about a reversal in the last two acts.

The following is a brief analysis of his plays, showing how the formula emerged in practice:

1598 *Every Man in his Humour*

- a. IV: assemblies in Kitley's house (sc. i), before Cob's house (sc. viii), and in street (sc. ix); characters, to all appearances, hopelessly at odds
- b. V: hall in Justice Clement's house; reconciliations and settlements

1599 *Every Man out of his Humour*

- a. IV, iv: Puntarvolo's lodgings; seeming incurability of the characters
- b. V, iv: room at the Mitre; cure of the humorists (mainly in this scene)

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. the element of surprise, end of Act IV, *The Magnetic Lady*; at the end of Act IV, *The Staple of News*, Gossip Tattle thinks that the catastrophe has already taken place.

<sup>8</sup> *Every Man out of his Humour*, III, i; substantially repeated before Act III, in *The Magnetic Lady*.

1600 *Cynthia's Revels*

- a. IV: apartment in the palace; assembly for manners; intrigue planned for next act
- b. V: same scene; assembly for contest proper, as anti-masque preceding the double masque of real virtues (sc. iii)

1601 *The Poetaster*

- a. IV, i: room in Albius's house; confidence of the Tucca-group, persisting into  
iii: apartment in palace; first discomfiture of the group; banishment of Ovid
- b. V: apartment in palace; vindication of Horace, exposure of Tucca

1603 *Sejanus*

- a. III, i: Senate-house; prosperity of Sejanus under Tiberius just before turning-point against Sejanus
- b. IV, v: street; the opponents of tyranny uncertain as to whether Tiberius has succumbed to Sejanus
- c. V, x: Senate in the Temple of Apollo; fall of Sejanus encompassed fully

1605 *Volpone*

- a. IV, ii: Scrutineo; Volpone triumphs
- b. V, vi, viii: Scrutineo; Volpone fails

1609 *Epicoene*

- a. IV, ii: in Morose's house; Morose thoroughly victimized
- b. V: in Morose's house; Morose, after suspense, relieved

1610 *The Alchemist*

- a. IV, especially sc. iv: Surly nearly uncovers the cozeners, but fails
- b. V, ii, iii: they are uncovered on the return of the master, Lovewit

1611 *Catiline*

- a. IV, ii: temple of Jupiter Stator; denunciation of Catiline before the Senate; his first fall (he attempts to rise)
- b. V, vi: temple of Jupiter Stator; trial of the conspirators before the Senate (V, iv: temple of Concord; examination of prisoners)

1614 *Bartholomew Fair*

- a. III: the Fair; Justice Overdo in the stocks; reign of "enormity" therefore secure during the next act
- b. IV: groupings inside and outside Ursula's tent
- c. V, iii: assembly before puppet-show; discomfiture of enormity, reconciliations; correction and edification, not ruin and destruction

- 1616 *The Devil is an Ass*
- a. IV, i, iii: Fitzdottrel baffled by Wittipol and Manly
  - b. V, iii, iv: exposure and relief of Fitzdottrel (more serious crisis)
- 1626 *The Staple of News*
- a. IV, i: the Devil Tavern; exposure of some folk by Canter
  - b. V, ii: room in Pennyboy senior's house; reconciliation and saving of all
- 1629 *The New Inn*
- a. II, ii: plan formed
  - b. III, ii: love
  - c. IV, iii: valour; seeming end, without reunion of characters intended to be brought together
  - d. V, i: recognitions, reconciliations
- 1632 *The Magnetic Lady* (formula explicit)
- a. IV: wrong solution
  - b. V: right solution
- 1633 *A Tale of a Tub* (revision of early work?)
- a. IV, iv, v: partial solution (considerable groupings)
  - b. V, ii (cf. iii, v): final solution
- The Case is Altered*
- a. III, iii: prisoners brought in
  - b. V, iv: prisoners released

The table above essentially represents Jonson's application of his formula, and suggests limitations. It was plainly fitted to the great plotted comedies of the second period and to *Sejanus*, and was employed in *The Devil is an Ass*:

No reader of Jonson is surprised to find that this apparent recovery is not final. . . . Hence the fifth act, normally devoted to the untying of the knotted threads of the plot, with Jonson often ushers in a new and unexpected complication. In *Volpone* and *Epicoene* the new development is welded with masterly skill into the plot. But this cannot be said of the possession-feigning scenes of *The Devil is an Ass*.<sup>9</sup>

If we test the formula further, as with *Cynthia's Revels*, we find that it applies, even if this play be so "deliberately denuded of dramatic structure . . . that we with difficulty allow it to be dramatic at all."<sup>9</sup> *Cynthia's Revels* afforded an opportunity for Jon-

<sup>9</sup> Herford and Simpson, II, 163.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 396.

son to compliment the court which he was desirous of entertaining. From this standpoint the play may be considered as a masque aimed to support true nobility of behavior and manners. The genuine type of beauty appears in the masque proper, or fifth act. Jonson, in his masques ever engrossed with the anti-masque—the grotesque foreshadowings or imitations of real delight—provided his drama with a long anti-masque of four acts. Thus the play minimized intrigue, as did much court comedy, and mirrored character and manners in a way not wholly dissimilar to that of *As You Like It*, but with less success. That it also followed the Jonsonian formula is evident from the specific references to the technical terms for classical drama.

The flexibility of the formula, which Jonson seems to have used first in comedy, is notably demonstrated by the tragedy<sup>11</sup> of *Sejanus*. The theme is a classical subject adapted by Jonson despite his close following of historical sources—to the tragic scheme of Marlowe. This is not the occasion to develop the significance of Marlowe's Machiavellian motif, which the earlier dramatist before his death had enriched in a manner suggestive of far-reaching subtlety of technique and interpretation of political life. For the present, the motif may be reduced to the intrigue of one or more persons to secure political power or to retain it. In *Sejanus*, two outstanding historical figures have this purpose, namely, the first, Sejanus, an agent, or prime minister acting for the second, the emperor Tiberius. The aim of Sejanus is to live as richly as possible the kind of life which to him betokens imperial supremacy. For the ampler life which he wishes to realize, he supposes that he is manipulating his master Tiberius, and he presumes that he can eventually dispose of the emperor when the latter ceases to be advantageous to him. On the other hand, Tiberius watches Sejanus and speedily decides to get rid of him as soon as he deems him more dangerous than useful. Ultimately he disposes of him in such a way as to appear on the surface merely to acquiesce in the popular will, and half-reluctantly, half-judicially, to assent to the displacement of his competent favorite. Tiberius, therefore, turns the tables on Sejanus; and the outcome of the clash of wills renders

<sup>11</sup>G. A. Smithson, *Representative English Comedies* (ed. C. M. Gayley, II, New York, 1913), pp. 252-53, pointed out the resemblance of Jonson's comic plots to those of tragedy in construction.

the Goddess Fortune adverse to her previous darling, the latter. The catastrophe may be interpreted at once as the fall of insolence; the sudden decline of one in high station, according to the mediaeval definition of tragedy; the consummation of the Machiavellian theory of Fortune (v, i, iv); a fulfillment of the Marlovian-Machiavellian formula for tragedy in the fall of Sejanus and the saving of the government by the wily, deceptively slumberous emperor.

From the angle of the preservation of the state, we perceive two effects on the dramatic structure. The hidden power of Tiberius—almost deified—unobtrusively enforces its will. The full sinister aspect of the ruler is not usually brought out by a first reading of the tragedy. Once alive to the effect, however, we perceive how it permeates the drama. In addition to a master passion, a master mind dominates. Secondly, such dramatic structure magnifies the disquieting mood induced by this portrayal of life. The play harmonizes, nevertheless, with the tone of Jonson's sources, and is not incongruous with Shakspeare's bitter comedies and great tragedies, which were contemporary with it, or with Middleton's earlier London comedies.

These illustrations indicate the way in which Jonson adapted his formula to different types of drama and suggest the rich profundity that he strove to achieve. The table makes clear the general situation so that there is no need to complete the analysis here.

Nevertheless, question must arise as to *The Case is Altered*, which Jonson did not acknowledge and which some scholars have thought not wholly his. It does not correspond to the formula outlined, and may be one of his earlier works, in a sense, "pre-Jonsonian."

Several plays are not in the list. *The Sad Shepherd*, which was unfinished, is excluded from the present discussion, though conjectures are possible. *The Fall of Mortimer*, which apparently never got beyond its initial stage, we know even less about, despite the existence of its argument. *Eastward Ho*, in which Jonson collaborated with Marston and Chapman, does not follow the formula for assemblies and the structure of Acts IV and V. This fact tends to confirm the evidence that Marston and Chapman did most of the writing of that play.

In conclusion: about 1598 Jonson not only developed the comedy of humors as a solution to the psychology of characters but devised

in *Every Man in his Humour* the system of plot that he employed with wide variation first in the "humorous" and allegorical plays which followed immediately, next in his tragedies and the vigorously plotted comedies of his second period, and ultimately in his later comedies. The formula of humors for comedy persisted to the end. The formula which provided a tentative solution in Act IV and a reversal in Act V, in each instance accompanied by one or more important assemblies of a number of characters, was likewise used from 1598 to 1633. Jonson's pride in both formulas is expressed in *Every Man out of his Humour* as well as in *The Magnetic Lady*.

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### THE MUSIC IN BEN JONSON'S PLAYS

The importance of the songs in Elizabethan plays is generally recognized, and much has been written on the subject; but the extant music has been neglected. Students of Elizabethan drama should know this music in order to understand the full dramatic effect of the songs. The music of a song creates or intensifies the emotional atmosphere of the song and, to the audience in the theater, is usually as important as the words.

Good books have been written on Shakespeare's music,<sup>1</sup> there is a short study of Fletcher,<sup>2</sup> but Jonson is neglected, musically speaking. His music is interesting and well repays study.

Jonson does not use lyrics so often as Shakespeare or Fletcher. There are 26 songs scattered through the 9 plays to be discussed here. The eight remaining plays contain no songs and the plays in which Jonson collaborated with other men are excluded. The 26 songs are represented today by eight extant settings, enough to show the chief characteristics of Jonson's music.<sup>3</sup> The settings

<sup>1</sup> The best is E. W. Naylor, *Shakespeare and Music*, London, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Edwin S. Lindsey, "The Music of the Songs in Fletcher's Plays," in *Studies in Philology*, xxi, 1924. Specimens of the old music are reprinted in the article.

<sup>3</sup> But the one extant air for *The Poetaster* serves for two songs. The same is true of the extant air for *Volpone*. Thus ten songs are provided with music.

are classified in three very distinct musical types: one ballad tune, four airs, three madrigals.

A ballad tune is a simple rhythmical melody by an anonymous musician of the lower classes.<sup>4</sup> Like the ballad stanza, the tune has the regular, symmetrical form, the simplicity, the vigor, the crude beauty of popular art. An air, or ayre, is the Elizabethan equivalent of a modern "art song", or concert song. It is "classical music", more complicated than the ballad tune, less regular in rhythm and form, not so easy to grasp, more refined and sophisticated.<sup>5</sup> A madrigal, or canzonet, is an elaborate contrapuntal setting for a short lyric poem. The madrigals in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* are composed for three voices. The madrigal form is complicated and difficult. Only a learned composer can write a madrigal, and only well-trained singers can sing it. Elizabethan and Jacobean madrigals are among the best in the world of music.<sup>6</sup>

### *Cynthia's Revels* (1600)

Henry Youle composed music for the three songs:

"Slow, slow, fresh fount, keep time with my salt tears" (i, 1).

"O that joy so soon should waste" (iv, 1).

"Queen and huntress, chaste and fair" (v, 3).

They are madrigals, published in Youle's *Canzonets to Three Voyces*, 1608.<sup>7</sup> An analysis of the first madrigal, "Slow, slow, fresh fount," will serve to illustrate the type. The god Mercury, by Jove's commission, calls forth sad Echo, and gives her a "corporal figure" and a voice. She begs permission to express her grief for Narcissus' death by singing some mourning strain. Mercury consents:

<sup>4</sup> Learned scholastic composers did not set ballads until the time of Charles II. See William Chappell, *History of the Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 1855, 1859, I, p. vi. Chappell is the standard authority on Old English ballad music.

<sup>5</sup> For a more complete discussion, with full analyses of typical airs and tunes, see pp. 327-337 of the article referred to in note 2.

<sup>6</sup> From the time of the Puritan Commonwealth the English madrigalists were generally neglected until their republication during the last few years by Edmund H. Fellowes in his monumental collection *The English Madrigal School* (36 vols.).

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in Fellowes.

*Mer.* Thou dost obtain;  
 I were no son to Jove should I deny thee.  
 Begin, and more to grace thy cunning voice,  
 The humorous air shall mix her solemn tunes  
 With thy sad words: strike, music, from the spheres,  
 And with your golden raptures swell our ears.

Echo (Accompanied)

Slow, slow, fresh fount, keep time with my salt tears:  
 Yet slower, yet; O faintly, gentle springs:  
 List to the heavy part the music bears,  
 Woe weeps out her division when she sings.

[And seven more grieving verses.]

Youle's setting is a three-part madrigal, for soprano, alto, and tenor. Echo sings the soprano, and two hidden singers sing the alto and tenor, according to Mercury's words:

The humorous air shall mix her solemn tunes  
 With they sad words.

The music of the song intensifies the sad effect of the words. It is in the minor mode, with a slow, plaintive, long-drawn-out melody. Minor chords are formed by the contrapuntal interweaving of the three voices, as "Woe weeps out her division." This "division", or, in modern musical terms, this *set of variations of the melody*, requires that every phrase of the words be repeated several times. Such repetition is common in the madrigals.

The two other settings by Youle are also madrigals. Songs like these can be sung only by good singers. As *Cynthia's Revels* was "frequently acted at the Blackfriars, by the children of Queen Elizabeth's chapel", Jonson had all the trained singers he needed, and Youle gave them plenty of opportunity to display their talents.

#### *The Poetaster* (1601)

The same "children" played *The Poetaster* the next year. In this play, Jonson's second in the so-called "War of the Theaters", is a vigorous satire of John Marston, who is represented as Crispinus, "an ignorant poetaster".<sup>8</sup> In Act II, scene 1, a fashionable company entreat Hermogenes, the musician, to sing. He refuses; he wishes to be coaxed; whereupon Crispinus volunteers:

If I freely may discover  
 What would please me in my lover,

<sup>8</sup> See J. Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1923, pp. 321-330.



I would have her fair and wity,  
 Savouring more of court than city.  
 [And six more verses describing her charms.]

The music for the song, by an unknown composer, is in manuscript in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> It is an elaborate air, made up of several simple units, with lively changing rhythms, in the major tonality fitting the gay spirit of the words. This song needs a well-trained singer. When Crispinus has finished singing the song, the company praise him. Hermogenes is very angry, for Crispinus has won applause by singing one of Hermogenes' compositions. Hermogenes immediately sings a parody on his own song, praising a jealous and peevish mistress. The parody, being a direct reply to the first song, in the same metre and stanza form, was evidently sung to the same music.

*Volpone* (1605)

In Act III, scene 7, is the celebrated lyric "Come, my Celia." Celia, the beautiful wife of old Corvino, is betrayed into the hands of the crafty and wanton old Volpone. He tries to seduce her, using all the lures of wealth, luxury, and pleasure; but he tries in vain. During his wooing he sings to her the song beginning:

Come, my Celia, let us prove,  
 While we can, the sports of love,  
 Time will not be ours forever,  
 He at last our good will sever.

The music, composed by Jonson's friend, Alphonso Ferrabosco,<sup>10</sup> is an elaborate air, with complex rhythms, syncopation, and contrapuntal imitation. These features make the air resemble a madrigal. Nevertheless, it is a singable and very effective love song, with the musical accents skillfully arranged to emphasize the important syllables of the verses and make the meaning clearer. The setting is justly famous. It was originally published in Ferrabosco's book of *Ayres* (1609), and has often been reprinted. In

<sup>9</sup> Add. MS. 24665f 59b. This MS. was written between 1615 and 1626 but is probably a copy of the original setting used in 1601.

<sup>10</sup> A famous court musician who composed music for five of Jonson's masques (see Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1918 ed. II, 23). Jonson praised Ferrabosco's airs in his Epigram cxxx, "To Alphonso Ferrabosco, on his book."

Burney's celebrated *History of Music*<sup>11</sup> it is given as a noted example of the style of settings made by the greatest composers of the early seventeenth century.

Shortly after singing "Come, my Celia" Volpone sings a short passage beginning "That the curious shall not know." I think this was sung to the first section of the air to "Come, my Celia." The section fits the words and is a complete musical unit in itself.

### *The Silent Woman* (1609)

This play, performed by the Children of Her Majesty's Revels at Whitefriars, contains an easy but effective song for one of the boys. In Act I, scene 1, Clerimont, talking to True-wit, criticises the Lady Haughty for her excessive use of cosmetics and perfumes and has his Boy sing a song he has made about the lady. The first stanza runs:

Still to be neat, still to be drest,  
As you were going to a feast;  
Still to be powder'd, still perfum'd:  
Lady, it is to be presum'd,  
Though art's hid causes are not found,  
All it not sweet, all is not sound.

The second stanza declares his preference for simplicity in costume and make-up.

The song was modeled by Jonson on the medieval Latin poem "Simplex Munditus."<sup>12</sup> The music, which is anonymous, was published by Rimbault, who said that he copied it from an old manuscript with the "original harmony."<sup>13</sup> The music is a simple air, regular in form and rhythm. It contains six musical phrases corresponding exactly to the six verses in the stanza.

*The Silent Woman* "was revived immediately after the Restoration, with great applause, and continued on the stage to the middle of the last century."<sup>14</sup> Another setting of "Still to be neat,"

<sup>11</sup> Charles Burney, *The History of Music*, 4 vols., London, 1776-1789, III, 354.

<sup>12</sup> The complete Latin text and notes thereon are in the introduction, p. lv, to *Epicoene or The Silent Woman* by Aurelia Henry (Yale Studies, New York, 1906).

<sup>13</sup> Edward F. Rimbault, *Musical Illustrations of Percy's Reliques*, London, 1850, p. 107. The song is printed under the title "The Sweet Neglect."

<sup>14</sup> That is to 1750 (introduction to the Mermaid edition of the play).

published in 1669,<sup>15</sup> was probably composed for the revival, according to the Restoration custom of supplying new music for revivals of old plays.<sup>16</sup>

*Bartholomew Fair* (1614)

This huge realistic farce on low life in London was performed not by choirboys but by public players.<sup>17</sup> Therefore it contains no elaborate and beautiful music, but a common ballad singer sings two popular ballads. The tune for one of them, called "Paggington's Pound," is extant. To this tune the ballad singer sings five stanzas of the ballad called "The Cutpurse." While Cokes is absorbed in listening to this warning against cutpurses, the singer's confederate cuts Cokes' purse and escapes undetected.<sup>18</sup>

The tune "Paggington's Pound," dating from the sixteenth century, was very popular; and many ballads were sung to it.<sup>19</sup> The tune is simple, with a rather monotonous melody. Its chief attraction is the vigorous "one-two-three, one-two-three" rhythm. The effect is jolly or pompous, depending on the style of singing.

*The Devil Is An Ass* (1616)

In Act II, Scene 2, Wittipol, a gallant, makes clandestine love to Fitzdottrel's wife, and sings to her a long song written in her praise. It begins:

Do but look on her eyes, they do light  
All that love's world compriseth!  
Do but look on her hair, it is bright  
As love's star when it riseth!

The song runs in the same vein through two ten-line stanzas. The two stanzas are the second and third from Jonson's poem in *Under-*

<sup>15</sup> In John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*.

<sup>16</sup> As an illustration of the custom: Henry Purcell, the greatest Restoration composer, supplied music for revivals or adaptations of three plays by Shakespeare and five by Fletcher.

<sup>17</sup> The Lady Elizabeth's Servants, at the Hope Theater, on the Bankside.

<sup>18</sup> The complete ballad is in Thomas D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 4th ed., 1719, iv, 20.

<sup>19</sup> See Chappell, I, 123. The tune is preserved in *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book*, a 16th century MS. collection of music long thought to have been the property of the Queen herself. It is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

*woods* called "A Celebration of Charis in Ten Lyric Pieces, IV. Her Triumph, See the Chariot at hand here of Love."

The music of the air is in a manuscript dated 1615.<sup>20</sup> It is usually ascribed to Robert Johnson on the basis of style and date.<sup>21</sup> The manuscript, containing Robert Johnson's music and all three stanzas of Ben Jonson's words, is a year older than the play. Probably the song was popular and its success prompted Jonson to insert the dramatically appropriate stanzas in the play.

The air is slightly irregular in form and free in rhythm and accent. The melody is very expressive and well suited to the words.

We have seen in this study of the extant music that only one ballad tune appears; all the rest are airs or madrigals, representing Elizabethan classical music. Jonson wrote his own lyrics and had them set by high-class composers. Shakespeare, on the other hand, was often content to use some old ballad, such as the "Willow Song" in *Othello*, giving it a new or deeper meaning by its position in the play. Since classical music varies from age to age more than popular music does, Jonson's music now sounds much more antiquated than Shakespeare's.

A final noteworthy fact is that Jonson uses songs only for a definite dramatic purpose: for atmosphere, for action, for comedy, for characterization. "Slow, slow, fresh fount" in *Cynthia's Revels* intensifies the emotional atmosphere of the scene. "The Cutpurse" in *Bartholomew Fair* advances the action and also adds to the comic effect. "Still to be neat" in *The Silent Woman* characterizes Lady Haughty by describing her and characterizes Clerimont by showing his tastes. "Come, my Celia" characterizes old Volpone, advances the action, and adds atmosphere to the scene. The same thing is true of the other love song, "Do but look on her eyes" in *The Devil Is An Ass*. The songs are not thrown into the plays as mere padding; they are integral, a definite part of the artistic plan of each play.

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<sup>20</sup> British Museum Add MS. 15117 f 17b. Reprinted, with modern accompaniment, in Vincent Jackson, *English Melodies Thirteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1910.

<sup>21</sup> A court musician from 1604 to 1633, a member of the King's Players (Shakespeare's company) who composed music for Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher, Middleton (see Grove II, 539).

A FASHIONABLE EXPRESSION; ITS STATUS IN  
*POETASTER* AND *SATIROMASTIX*

The most recent editors of Jonson's *Poetaster* and Dekker's *Satiromastix*—Mallory, Scherer, and Penniman<sup>1</sup>—have taken it for granted that those speeches in Dekker's play in which the expression *in* (or *out of*) one's *element* occurs, satirize Jonson's use of the phrase in *Poetaster*. Yet in the light of the occurrences of this expression in other dramas of the time, and particularly the manner in which it seems to have been used by Ben Jonson, one is inclined to wonder whether the mere assumption of Dekker's satirical intent necessarily tells the whole story.

*Satiromastix* has the expression three times: 'Horace: Tis out of his element to traduce me' (I, ii, 165); 'Asinius: Marry for reading any book, Ile take my death upont (as my ningle<sup>2</sup> sayes) 'tis out of my element' (I, ii, 233); 'Sir Vaughan: Thirdly and last of all, saving one, when your playes are misse-lik't at court, you shall not crye mew like a pusse-cat, and say you are glad you write out the courtiers element. Tucca: Let the element alone, 'tis out a thy reach'<sup>3</sup> (V, ii, 375-80). In *Poetaster*, Captain Tucca exclaims to Lupus, 'Doe, you perpetuall stinkard, doe goe, taikie to tapsters and ostlers, you slave, they are i' your element, goe.'<sup>4</sup> Jonson had used the term once before, in *Cynthia's Revels* (I, iv, 84-6), 'Amorphus: How else? step into some ragioni del stato and so make my induction? that were above him too; and out of his element, I feare.'

In a note on this phrase as it occurs in Tucca's speech in *Poetaster*, Mallory remarks, 'Dekker derides this speech in *Satiromastix*. . . . It should be observed how often in *Satiromastix* Dekker ridicules the words and phrases of *Poetaster*.' Penniman is

<sup>1</sup> Jonson's *Poetaster*, ed. Herbert S. Mallory (*Yale University Studies*), Holt, New York, 1905. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, ed. Hans Scherer (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*), Leipsic, 1907. Jonson's *Poetaster* and Dekker's *Satiromastix*, ed. Josiah H. Penniman (*Belles Lettres Series*), Heath, Boston, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> The ningle referred to was Horace-Jonson.

<sup>3</sup> The speeches of both Sir Vaughan and Captain Tucca are directed at Horace-Jonson.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetaster*, Penniman edition, I, ii, 37-39.

<sup>5</sup> Mallory, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

quite as certain about the matter,<sup>6</sup> while Scherer in his note seems to be somewhat less so.<sup>7</sup> Notes on this expression by all three editors also either quote or make mention of the speech from *Cynthia's Revels* inserted above.

Although great pains have been taken to point out Dekker's satirical intent, it does not seem to have been noticed that Jonson, too, was here indulging in satire. In *Cynthia's Revels*, Amorphus, to whom the expression is given, is one of four gull courtiers. His language is described by Mercury as being 'all creame, skimd, and more affected than a dozen of waiting women' (II, iii, 95). Moreover, the long speech in which the expression occurs, a section of which has been quoted above, is replete with extravagances. The language is described by Mercury as being 'all creame, skimd, and Since Jonson made a practice of putting affected words and phrases into the mouths of gull characters, the conclusion that he is satirizing here scarcely seems unwarranted.

According to the *N.E.D.*, the word *element* was used as early as the fourteenth century, but the first example of the particular expression under consideration here was dated 1598.<sup>8</sup> However by 1616 it was sufficiently current to be included in a collection of proverbs by Thomas Draxe<sup>9</sup> and again, in 1639, by John Clarke.<sup>10</sup> Apparently then, the expression was just coming into public favor at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Just how quickly and how generally it was taken up is indicated by a speech from *Twelfth Night*, III, i, 57-9. 'Clown: . . . who you are and what you would are out of my welkin, *I might say Element but the word is overworn.*' This was early in 1602.

With this direct evidence in mind, other occurrences of this expression in dramas of the time begin to take on new significance.

<sup>6</sup> Penniman, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 88, 'Hier spielt Dekker vielleicht auf ein Wort Tucca's im *Poetaster*.

<sup>8</sup> *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV, ii, 186. 'Ford: She works by charms, by spells, by figure, and such daubery as this is, *beyond our element.*'

<sup>9</sup> Draxe, Thomas, *Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima, or a Treasure of Ancient Adagies*, London, 1616. Printed with the omission of the Latin proverbs in *Anglia*, XLII, 361-424. See under sub-verbum *Element*, p. 378, No. 573, and under *Ignorance*, p. 389, No. 1075.

<sup>10</sup> Clarke, John, *Paroemiologia Anglo Latina or Proverbs English and Latin*, London, 1639. See under sub-verbum *Absurda*.

In addition to the clown's speech in *Twelfth Night*, Malvolio, another gull character, also uses the phrase.<sup>11</sup> Important in this connection and not noted before is Chapman's use of the phrase. In *The Gentleman Usher* (1601-2) it occurs in a ridiculous letter written by Bassiolo, "It shall not be *out of my element* to negotiate with you in this amorous duello (III, ii, 454). In *The Widow's Tears* (1604) the expression is used by Ero,<sup>12</sup> and in *Monsieur D'Olive* (1604) by D'Olive.<sup>13</sup> The diction of both of these characters is at times highly affected. Middleton's *Family of Love* (1604) has the phrase again, spoken by Lipsalve, an affected city gallant.<sup>14</sup>

In the light of the ridicule of the phrase from 1601 to 1604 by no less than five dramatists, the general supposition that Shakespeare's clown's speech referred definitely to the occurrences of the expression in *Satiromastix*<sup>15</sup> seems somewhat invalidated. There is little more reason to suppose that Shakespeare should refer to Dekker's ridicule than to suppose that Chapman and Middleton were doing the same thing. What seems to be a more plausible explanation is that this expression, first gaining currency late in the last decade of the sixteenth century, was taken up by those affected courtiers who aspired to be always in the height of fashion. Its popularity in court and almost-court circles increased to such an extent that it became tiresome, distasteful, and inane, which in turn called down upon it the ridicule of these playwrights.

To return to the use of the term by Jonson and Dekker, it seems likely that Jonson began the ridicule in *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster*. Dekker, who must have been perfectly aware that Jonson was satirizing, seized upon the expression as an obnoxious one.

<sup>11</sup> III, iv, 137, "I am not of *your element*."

<sup>12</sup> IV, iii, 168, "Tis quite *out of your element*."

<sup>13</sup> II, ii, 278, ". . . but for the disease of the court they are *out of the element* of Garlic to medicine."

<sup>14</sup> II, iii, 69, "Not I, I am too shallow to sound her; she's *out of my element*." (Mentioned by R. W. Boodle in a note on the clown speech in *Twelfth Night*, see note following.)

<sup>15</sup> The Variorum Shakespeare quotes R. W. Boodle, *Shakespeariana*, March, 1887, IV, 116: "If as seems probable enough, Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night* is alluding to the ridicule bestowed upon the expression in *Satiromastix*, additional point is given the clown's remark." This has been generally quoted or paraphrased in other editions of *Twelfth Night*.

Wishing to make a gull out of Horace-Jonson in *Satiromastix*, he presented Horace as addicted to the use of this phrase. Such a procedure was by no means unusual. Marston, in *What You Will*, makes Lampatho-Jonson continually reiterate "I protest," not necessarily because Jonson was given to a use of the expression but because it was overworked and objectionable, and its use by any character would put him in an unfavorable light.

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### WIELAND UND DIE WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT

Die *Wiener Zeitschrift*, ein reaktionäres Blatt, unter der Aegide Kaiser Leopolds II. von Leopold Alois Hoffmann gegründet, erschien von Januar 1792 bis Mitte 1793. Das erste Heft muß schon 1791 erschienen sein, da der *Moniteur Universel*, eine Pariser Zeitung, schon am 6. Januar 1792 berichtet:

Ceux qui ne connaissent pas la vénalité des écrivains de ce siècle sont étonnés du changement de style de M. Oeffmann, (!) auteur du journal intitulé Wiener Zeitschrift; il avait acquis sous Joseph II de la réputation, par sa critique des prédicateurs, et même par celle qu'il se permettait sur les opérations du ministère; il est assez étrange de le voir à présent déclamer contre la liberté de la presse, et faire l'apologie de nos nouvelles lois sur cette matière. Il faut savoir que M. Oeffmann est devenu la trompette politique et littéraire de la cour, qui s'en sert pour publier ce qui lui convient et pour travailler l'esprit du peuple . . .

Am 12. Februar 1792 bringt der *Moniteur* einen zweiten Bericht über Hoffmann, unterm 1. Februar von einem Korrespondenten in Frankfurt eingesandt. Nachdem dieser u. a. über "une tragédie de M. Scheller, *Tiesco*" (!) gesprochen, die "publiquement, et toujours devant un auditoire immense" gegeben worden war, fährt er fort:

Je poursuis: si Frédéric-Guillaume eût trouvé dans nos littérateurs de Berlin la facilité qu'il désirait peut-être, se serait-il donné le ridicule d'adresser à un certain M. Hoffmann à Vienne, homme obscur, malgré son associé Léopol (!) qui peut bien créer des princes de l'Empire, mais non pas des génies, et qui peut bien faire beaucoup de lois, tant bonnes que médiocres, mais qui ne fera certainement que de méchants morceaux de littérature, une épître de remerciemens de ce que ce très-obscur M. Hoff-



mann a conçu le projet généreux de contre-éclairer le tiers-état? Quelle ignorance de l'état des choses, quelle inconvenance, sous le rapport politique et littéraire, que d'établir à Vienne une manufacture d'idées anti-révolutionnaires, avec approbation et privilège de deux rois despotes; à Vienne, qu'on regardait comme capitale littéraire de l'Allemagne à peu près avec autant de raison qu'on regarderait comme telle en France le chef-lieu du département de la Vendée . . .

Die Fortsetzung des Berichts, am 16. Februar, ist Wieland gewidmet, "un des premiers hommes de notre nation, comme poëte, comme philosophe et comme littérateur"; eine Erörterung derselben würde uns hier zu weit führen, da die *Wiener Zeitschrift* nicht weiter in Betracht kommt. Nebenbei stellt der Berichterstatter fest, daß Wieland den *Moniteur* liest.

Auch in deutschen Kreisen wurde man bald auf die *Wiener Zeitschrift* aufmerksam. Als erstes Stück des Juli-Hefts des *Neuen Teutschen Merkurs* 1792 steht ein mit E. unterzeichneter und "Im März 1792" datierter Aufsatz: "An den Herausgeber des T. M. Antwort auf das Sendschreiben desselben, im 1sten Stück des T. Merkur 1792." Der Verfasser, dessen Anonymität Wieland jedoch in dem folgenden "Zusatz des Herausgebers" durch eine Anspielung auf den *Verfasser der Winke für gute Fürsten* preisgiebt, ist Professor Martin Ehlers in Kiel. Auf Seite 223 bemerkt er:

Die auffallende Art, wie man, z. B. in der *Wienerzeitschrift* im Süden und im *Politischen Journal* im Norden von Teutschland, die historische Wahrheit verstümmelt und verfälscht, und Grundbegriffe des Naturrechts, die längst als wahr und gewiß anerkannt sind, entweder für neue Lehren ausgiebt, oder unrichtig darstellt, erregt nicht nur bey soliden Gelehrten, sondern auch bey der großen Menge anderer Leser von gesundem Verstande und Rechtschaffenheit des Charakters, ein lebhaftes Gefühl des Unwillens und der Verachtung.

Auf S. 225 folgt eine weitere Anspielung auf "die Hoffmannsche Zeitschrift," und auf S. 229 bringt Ehlers eine Fußnote:

Indem ich dieß geschrieben hatte, sah ich aus den Zeitungen, daß Leopolds Nachfolger den Verfasser der letztern mit halbem Gehalt in den Ruhestand gesetzt hat. Es wird wohl in Wien bekannt werden, daß solche Zeitschriftsteller nur Böses stiften.

Auf den Aufsatz Ehlers' folgt im *Merkur* (S. 277-305) die Antwort Wielands: "Zusatz des Herausgebers zu dem vorstehenden Sendschreiben." Bescheiden und in freundschaftlichem Tone legt

Wieland seine Gründe dar, weshalb er nicht mit Ehlers' Ausführungen einverstanden sein könne, und macht dabei die Bemerkung, daß er sich bewogen finde, "unsre öffentliche Korrespondenz über die französische Revolution und Konstitution nicht weiter fortzusetzen" (S. 278).

Die beiden Aufsätze Ehlers' und Wielands benutzt dann Hoffmann als Thema zu einem längeren Schreiben in der *Wiener Zeitschrift* (9. Heft 1792, S. 274-317): "Nacherinnerungen über die Manifeste der Höfe gegen Frankreich, nebst einer abgenöthigten Apologie gegen Herrn Professor Ehlers in Kiel." Auf diesen kommt Hoffmann S. 285 zu sprechen:

Die ganz sonderbaren Grundsätze dieses Gelehrten findet man in einem an den Herrn Hofrath Wieland gerichteten Sendschreiben, welches im Juliusstük des diesjährigen neuen deutschen Merkurs abgedruckt ist. Herr Ehlers spricht in diesem Sendschreiben mit starker Indignation über diejenigen Schriftsteller, welche sich gegen die französische Revolution und Konstitution erklärt haben. Er macht diesen Schriftstellern im Allgemeinen sehr beleidigende Vorwürfe, und führt die Ausdrücke: *Fürstendespotismus* und *Despotenschmeichler* häufiger im Munde, als man dies von einem kaltblütigen und unpartheiischen Philosophen erwarten sollte. Er verlangt die unbedingte Freiheit, über politische Gegenstände seine Meinung öffentlich sagen zu dürfen; aber er nennt diejenigen Schriftsteller Ruhestöhrer und politische Maskenträger, welche Ihre Meinung gegen die französische Volksglückseligkeit ebenfalls öffentlich sagen.

Hierauf macht Hoffmann einige Exzerpte aus Ehlers' Schrift, um dann (S. 289) seine Betrachtungen darüber folgen zu lassen:

Die Leser der Wiener Zeitschrift fühlen es wohl ohne meine ausdrückliche Erinnerung, daß diese hier angeführten Grundsätze meinen Beifall eben so wenig haben können, als die meinigen den Beifall des Herrn Professor Ehlers. Ja ich darf glauben, daß auch sehr viele dieser Leser die Meinungen des Herrn Ehlers schlechterdings verwerfen, und sie in manchem Betracht sogar gefährlich, grundlos und partheiisch finden werden. Ihr Urtheil wäre dann, nicht so viel mit dem meinigen, als eines Mannes einstimmig, den Deutschland schon lange als einen tiefdenkenden Philosophen kennt und schätzt, und dessen Aussprüche im gegenwärtigen Falle von desto stärkerm Gewicht sein müssen, da er bei den anfänglichen Evolutionen der französischen Staatsveränderung sehr günstige und hoffnungsvolle Gesinnungen über diese Staatsveränderung äußerte. Dieser Philosoph ist eben derjenige, welchen Herr Ehlers mit dem angezeigten Sendschreiben honorirt hat, nämlich der Herr Hofrath Wieland selbst.

Man nimmt mir es nicht übel, ja vielmehr hoffe ich noch von denjenigen, welche etwa den deutschen Merkur nicht selbst lesen, Dank zu verdienen, wenn ich einige Äußerungen wörtlich anführe, welche Herr Hofrath Wie-

land den Insinuationen des Herrn Professor Ehlers entgegen setzt. Diese Äußerungen, zumal wie sie hier mit der hellsten Deutlichkeit und mit dem ganzen Gewicht der unwidersprechlichsten Wahrheit vorgetragen werden, kann man bei der gegenwärtigen Gährung der Begriffe und Meinungen nicht oft genug wiederholen.

Die Seiten 291-301 sind ganz mit Zitaten aus Wielands Aufsatz angefüllt. Sodann spricht Hoffmann wieder in eigener Person:

Nur sehr ungern breche ich hier ab. Mit dem innigsten Vergnügen und für mein eigenes Interesse (denn die Beistimmung eines *Wieland* in meine längst geäußerten und nur von Kurzsichtigen oder von den Revolutionsparteigängern angefochtenen Grundsätze kann nicht anders als eine sehr ehrenvolle Genugthuung für mich sein) würde ich den ganzen Aufsatz des Herrn Hofrath *Wieland* in der Zeitschrift mittheilen, wenn ich die Erlaubniß dazu hätte, und wenn ich, ohne diese Erlaubniß, nicht mit Recht besorgen müßte, eines Plagiums beschuldigt zu werden. . . .

Der Schluß des Hoffmann'schen Aufsatzes lautet wie folgt:

Zum Glück ist aber die Zahl derselben bei weitem nicht so groß, als die Zahl derjenigen, die so denken, wie Herr Hofrath *Wieland*, Herr *Burke*, Herr Ritter von *Zimmermann* — — — und überhaupt alle vernünftigen und redlichen Leute, die keine französische Revolution, keine Verspottung Gottes, und keine Absetzung der Regenten verlangen. H.

Wieland war über den Beifall Hoffmanns nicht sehr erbaut. Im Januar-Hefte des Merkurs 1793 steht ein mit C. M. (= Christoph Martin) unterzeichnetes "Schreiben an den Herausgeber des Teutschen Merkurs nebst der Antwort," welches zweifellos von Wieland selbst verfaßt ist. Der Hauptzweck dieser Schrift war augenscheinlich, die Gemeinschaft mit Hoffmann abzulehnen, wie auch die *aristokratischen Grundsätze*, die der Merkur seit Januar 1792 verbreitet hätte. Zu diesem Zwecke läßt Wieland den angeblichen Korrespondenten C. M. sagen (S. 85):

. . . desto weher thut es mir, seit einiger Zeit mit Ihnen nicht mehr über Angelegenheiten gleichdenken zu können, die, wie mich dünkt, den Menschen so nahe am Herzen liegen, und die Sie—in mehreren Ihrer Schriften, von einer ganz andern Seite betrachteten. Sie errathen daß ich von der französischen Revolution spreche—worüber Sie seit dem 1sten Stück des T. M. von 1792. so manche *aristokratische Grundsätze* zu verbreiten gesucht haben; Grundsätze die ihnen sogar das erwarben, daß der große *Aloysius Hofmann in Wien*, Sie in ein Schutz- und Trutzbündniß aufnahm, und die Sie *wahrscheinlichst* nicht bekennen würden, falls der Schauplatz tausend Jahr, oder tausend geografsche Meilen von uns entfernt läge.

Dazu setzt Wieland, als Herausgeber, eine mit W. unterzeichnete Anmerkung:

Dies ist das neueste was ich höre, da weder Hr. Aloysius Hofmann, noch das, was er schreibt oder thut, innerhalb meines Gesichtskreises liegt. W.

Wieland hat dieser Aussage wohl absichtlich etwas Zweideutiges gegeben, da er auf den ersten Blick zu beteuern scheint, daß er nie etwas von Hoffmann gewußt habe, während doch andererseits die Deutung möglich ist, er wolle nichts mit ihm zu tun haben. Daß Wieland von der *Wiener Zeitschrift* gewußt haben muß, erhellt schon aus dem langen Bericht im *Moniteur Universel*, den Wieland regelmäßig las und exzerpierte, und den er diesmal nicht übergangen haben kann, da die zweite Hälfte des Berichts Wieland persönlich betraf. Vollends die Anspielungen auf Hoffmann und die *Wiener Zeitschrift* in dem im *Merkur* erschienenen Aufsätze Ehlers', mit dem sich Wieland so gründlich auseinander setzte, können ihm nicht unbekannt gewesen sein.

Die angebliche Gemeinschaft mit Aloysius Hoffmann zog Wieland mehrere Angriffe im Jahrgang 1793 des *Schleswigschen Journals* zu, auf die hier nur kurz eingegangen werden kann. Im ersten Bande, S. 459, wird an das soeben besprochene "Schreiben von einem, wie es scheint, eifrigen Demokraten" (C. M.) angeknüpft. In Betreff der in Wielands Schriften enthaltenen aristokratischen Grundsätze

dürfte sich der ungenannte Demokrat nun wohl geirrt haben; wenigstens müßte es ihm äußerst schwer werden, seine Behauptung zu erhärten, da es iedem Menschen, selbst geübten Hermeneutikern, schwer wird, in ienen Schriften überall einige *Grundsätze* zu entdecken. Alle diese Aufsätze scheinen nur Ergießungen einer sehr reizbaren und jetzt von mehr als Einem Gegenstande in einen leidenden Zustand versetzten Seele zu enthalten. Aber ruhige, aus ungestörtem Nachdenken fließende allgemeine Betrachtungen, und aus Grundsätzen abgeleitete Urtheile bieten sie dem Publicum nicht dar.

Weitere Stiche auf Wieland finden sich z. B. im 1. Bande, S. 478; 3. Bd. S. 451, 461. In demselben Bande S. 479-489, stehen

"Einige Bemerkungen und Fragen eines Mannes, der an keine Propaganda als die in Rom glaubt, über einen sogenannten neuen merkwürdigen Beweis des Daseyns und der gefährlichen Thätigkeit einer französisch-deutschen Auführer-Propaganda. (im 10ten Stück des deutschen Merkurs von 1793. S. 113 u. f.)"

Daß Herr Hofr. Wieland schon seit dem vorigen Jahre, wider seine

sonstigen Grundsätze, im deutschen Merkur das Panier einer unfreyen Denkart aufgesteckt hat, daß er den Franzosen in nichts Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren läßt, ein Lobredner, selbst der härtesten Regierungsformen worden ist, das haben mehrere gute Köpfe, und unter andern, der brave Verfasser von D. Martin Luther, dargethan. Daß aber ein Mann wie Hr. Hofrath Wieland, der sonst so schöne Märchen *schrieb*, aber gewiß an keines *glaubte*, obangeführtes affentheuerliches naupengeheuerliches Märlein, einen merkwürdigen Beweis seiner Meinungen nennen kann, das würde zu den unbegreiflichsten unter allen Dingen gehören, wenn man nicht wüßte, was für ungeheure Geburten der Phantasie, die liebe Rechthaberey erzeugen und glauben kann.

Von diesen Angriffen hat Wieland Kenntniss genommen: im *Merkur* 1793, II, 373 erwähnt er die Ausfälle des D. Luther, im Jahrgang 1794, II, 97 spricht er von der "Unbescheidenheit der Brauseköpfe, (wenn es anders mehr als Einer war) die im Schließwiggischen Journal zu Rittern an mir werden wollten . . ."

W. KURRELMAYER.

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THE NOTES ASCRIBED TO GALLARDO ON THE  
SOURCES OF ESPINOSA'S *FLORES DE*  
*POETAS ILUSTRES*

In his edition of the *Primera Parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España*<sup>1</sup> Sr. Rodríguez Marín refers frequently to the aid he had received in preparing the notes from a copy of the original edition of the year 1605 in the library of the Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros<sup>2</sup> which contained important marginal notes in the handwriting of the bibliographer Gallardo. These notes—about forty-four in number—deal chiefly with the Latin and Italian sources of many of the compositions and were used by Sr. Rodríguez Marín in conjunction with his own commentary.

For a long time I have been puzzled by these notes because nowhere else in the writings of Gallardo have I observed evidence of a thorough knowledge of the older Italian poetry. The explanation became clear when I found in the Rennert Collection of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania a copy of one of the 1605 editions of the *Flores de poetas ilustres* with marginal notes in

<sup>1</sup> Sevilla, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> This volume is now in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America.

early seventeenth-century handwriting which correspond to the notes in Gallardo's hand found in the volume used by Rodríguez Marín. It is clear that at one time the volume now in the Rennert Collection was in Gallardo's possession and that he copied in another volume the marginal notes made some two hundred years before by one who was well acquainted with Latin and Italian poetry, as well as with Spanish poetry of his own day.<sup>3</sup> It is needless to say that in this matter there is no need to question Gallardo's good faith.

In a few cases, the annotated original edition contains marginal notes that have not been included in Rodríguez Marín's edition, and these I shall list, using the numeration found in the modern edition:

No. 28. Luis Martín de la Plaza's madrigal beginning "Iba cogiendo flores." In addition to Tasso's sonnet, "Mentre Madonna s'appoggiò pensosa," which is probably the source, the anonymous commentator also mentions a passage in the *Aminta*, found in the second scene of the first Act, and also a composition of Luigi Groto (il Cieco d'Hadria), which presumably is the one beginning "La donna mia sopra una verde riva."

No. 29. Espinosa's sonnet "Estas purpúreas rosas, que a la aurora." The note in the modern edition reads: "Tasso, Soneto: 'Queste purpuree rose ch'a l'aurora'." The original note was as follows: "Este S. es imitado de uno de los Sonetos de Bernardo Tasso que comienza, 'Queste purpuree rose ch' al Aurora'."

No. 52. Luis Martín de la Plaza's sonnet "Durmiendo yo soñaba (¡ay gusto breve!)" Rodríguez Marín attributes to Gallardo the mistake of quoting Sannazzaro's sonnet "Ahi letizia fugace, ahi sonno lieve" as "O letizia fugace! o lieve sonno!" The error was made by the anonymous commentator.

No. 97. Epigram of Juan de Valdés y Meléndez beginning "Celia, a ti muger ninguna." The anonymous commentator wrote as follows: "Esta epigrama es traduzida de una del sexto libro de Marcial, epig. 'Femina praeferri potuit'."

No. 137. Sonnet of the Marqués de Tarifa beginning "Tienen los Garamantes una fuente." The anonymous commentator noted: "Este soneto es imitado del Petrarca en la primera parte de sus Obras en la Canzion que enpieza: 'Qual piu diversa' en una estanza 'Surge nel mezzogiorno una fontana'."

No. 186. Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola's sonnet "Cuándo podré la seca arena." The anonymous commentator gives Horace's fifth ode of the

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. Rennert, of course, recognized the relationship between his own copy and the volume containing Gallardo's notes, and recorded this fact on one of the blank pages.

first book, together with the twelfth book of the *Aeneid*, as sources or analogues.

No. 192. Luis Martín de la Plaza's sonnet "Qué fiera Aleto de cruel veneno." In addition to pointing out as the source Tasso's sonnet "Ahi quale angue infernale in questo seno," the anonymous commentator gives the following analogues: Horace's ode beginning "O matre pulchra," Petrarch's sonnet "Spinse amor e dolor, ove ir non debbe," and coplas by Camoens beginning "Ya canto a Palinodia."

No. 195. Luis Martín de la Plaza's madrigal "Cómo, señora mia." The anonymous commentator gives the source correctly as Torquato Tasso's madrigal "Come sì m'accendete."

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## THE WILL OF LA CALPRENÈDE PÈRE

Very little has ever been known concerning the family of La Calprenède, popular novelist and dramatist of the period 1630-1660 in France. Tallemant des Réaux, Moréri, and Nicéron give certain indications which have served until this time as the only sources of information on this subject to modern scholars. There are, however, in the *Carrés d'Hozier*<sup>1</sup> of the Bibliothèque Nationale several unpublished documents which throw considerable light upon the nature and size of this author's family, its financial position, etc. The most interesting of these is, in my opinion, an extract of the will of Pierre de Costes, father of the author.<sup>2</sup> No trace of the original will, itself, is to be found in Paris. It was drawn up in Périgord and probably still remains there among the papers of some notary in Salignac or Sarlat. I give below the complete text of the extract; the blanks which appear are those which are indicated on the manuscript in the *Carrés d'Hozier*, and the punctuation, spelling and capitalization are unchanged:

du 27 Avril 1635

Expedition en papier delivrée en 1670

Au nom de Dieu soit amen. Aujourduy vingt septiesme du mois d'apvril mil six cens trente cinq moy Pierre de Costes Sieur de la Carprenede

<sup>1</sup> *Carrés d'Hozier* 205, folio 9.

<sup>2</sup> I intend later to offer for publication the other documents referred to here, as well as an article on the life of La Calprenède in which I shall attempt to clear up certain matters which have hitherto been in doubt.

(ainsi ecrit dans le titre; plus bas il y a la *Calprenede*<sup>3</sup>) estant dans ma maison de Salignac dans laquelle je faicts de presant ma residence . . . ay fait mon testament . . . en la forme que suit . . . Je veus estre ensevely en quelle part que je meure dans la chapelle par moy fondée au couvent de sainte Croix du presant lieu, et dans le vase ou repose le corps de ma chere moitié, . . . Et pour mes honneurs funebres veus estre faictes a la discretion de mes heritiers soubz nommés, lesquels je charge suivant la fondation que j'ay desja faicte, de paier au couvent de sainte croix pour une messe . . . six livres annuellement lesquelles j'assigne sçavoir la moitié sur la Maison et Bouriage de Salignac et l'autre moitié sur la Maison et Repaire de Turgou, . . . Veus aussy qu'il soit basti . . . une chapelle sur les mazures de l'esglise de Turgou, . . . et . . . y estre dict tous les ans au jour que je deederay une messe pour le salut de mon ame, et une autre pour l'ame de ma tres honorée femme le septiesme du premier mois de chasque année trois jours de son decés, (Ainsy dans l'expedition<sup>4</sup>) . . . Je declaire avoir esté marié avec noble Catherine de Verdier, . . . Et le la ditte de Verdier (Ainsi dans le titre; plus bas il y a *du*<sup>5</sup>) ont esté créés dix Enfans desquels restent dez a presant en vie, Gautier,<sup>6</sup> Jean, Jeane, Francois, Catherine dicte Cathon, autre Jeane et Thoinete de Costes, a laquelle Jeane de Costes mon aînée tant moy que ladicte du Verdier constituames dot en la mariant . . . Pour Francois attendu qu'il a faict eslection d'une plus sainte vie, . . . Je luy donne . . . la somme de cinq sols seulement, et pour Catherine dicte Cathon, . . . je luy donne la somme de quatre mille livres, paiables deux mille livres comptans lorsqu'elle se mariera, . . . Et a la petite Jeane, attendu qu'elle a esté toujours portée a la Religion je luy donne . . . quinze cens livres paiables le jour de sa profession, et a Antoinete la derniere de mes filles je luy . . . legue . . . la somme de trois mille cinq cens livres paiables quinze cens livres lorsqu'elle se mariera . . . Et avec ce les ay faictes mes heritieres particulieres, . . . Et mes heritieres ne seront tenus de paier l'interest de leur leguat, lesquels elles ne pourront retirer plustost que de se marier, mettre en religion ou qu'elles ayent atteint leage de vingt cinq ans, au quel cas leur sera loizible de retirer leurs leguats, de tant que par mon contract de mariage avec la susdicte du Verdier, je suis obligé de donner a un de mes Enfans une tierce franche de mes biens je faicts eslection de presant du dict Jean mon second fils de ceste tierce, et pour icelle . . . luy donne la maison et Repaire de Turgou, . . . scitué dans la Montaigne a moi appartenant, . . . et en outre le Boriage que j'ay acquis de Madran, . . . Et en tous . . . mes autres biens . . . ay fait . . . mon heritier universal ledict Gautier de Costes mon fils aîné, . . . (et en cas que ledict Gautier vint

<sup>3</sup> Note found on margin of Ms.

<sup>4</sup> See note three.

<sup>5</sup> See note three.

<sup>6</sup> Gautier de Costes, here mentioned, is of course Gautier de Costes de la Calprenède, the subject of my research.



a deceder sans enfans . . . veus . . . que les dicts biens retournent audict Jean . . . et . . . substitue a Iceux ladicte Catherine, . . . et en cas quelle fut mariée, substitue ladicte Thoinette et Jeanne et Si le cas des dictes substitutions arrivant, toutes se trouvaient Mariées ou Religieuses je substitue ma fille de Magran en toute ce qui est du Repaire de Turgou . . . )<sup>7</sup> ainsy signé a l'original des presentes P. de Costes testateur susdict pour l'acceptation duquel le dict feu sieur de Costes me requit acte, la teneur de la quelle suit.

Aujourduy vingt sixiesme du mois de May mil six cens trente cinq par devant moy s'est presenté Pierre de Costes sieur de la Calprenede lequel a declairé avoir faict son testament solenne cydessus . . . et cacheté de son cachet Icelly daté du vingt septiesme du mois d'apvril dernier, . . . lequel veut que sorte son . . . effect de quoy m'a requis acte que luy ay concédé ez presances de Francois Pouch Me Appoticaire . . . ainsy signés a l'original . . . P. de Costes testateur, . . . et moy ainsy signé Couderc notaire.

Ce jourduy dix huitiesme juin mil six cens trente neuf a Sarlat. (Parquet et Auditoire Royal de la ditte ville<sup>7</sup>) par devant nous Armand de Gerard Lieutenant general en Perigord (tenant . . . la cour et audience d'Icelle<sup>7</sup>) a comparu Me. Hierosme Ranat Procureur pour damoiselle Jeane et Catherine de Costes lequel a requis l'insinuation . . . dudict testament surquoy apres avoir faict lire en jugement . . . le susdict testament avons icelly tenu pour insinué et ordonné qu'il sera enregistré es Registres du greffe du present siege . . . signé de Gerard Lieutenant general. Extraict des Registres des Insinuations du Greffe du siege de Sarlat

(Signé) Ysac Greffier /

Par moy notaire Royal soubzsigné Collationnaire des Papiers du Notariat de feu Maistre Bernard Couderc Notaire le testament et acte devangelisation dont la coppie est des autres partz escripte, ont esté extraictz sur l'original trouvé dans la liasse de l'année mil six cens trente cinq, . . . faict a Salaignac dans mon Estude le quatriesme febvrier mil six cens septente, Messire Armand de Coustin de Bourzolles de Caumond chevallier seigneur visconte de Beaurepos<sup>8</sup> et autres places faisant pour Dame Jeanne de Costes de la Calprenede Dame de Beaurepos, saint Jean de Livet, Vatimeny, Tolgou et autres Plasses son Espouze petite fille dudict feu sieur de Costes sieur de la Calprenede testateur, requérant le dict extraict (Signé) Armand de Bourzolles, Chaudru Notaire Royal et Collationnaire susdict. /

THOMAS J. WILSON, III.

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<sup>7</sup> The passages enclosed in parenthesis were written on the margin of the Ms.

<sup>8</sup> I intend in the near future to offer for publication an extract of the marriage contract between the Vicomte de Beaurepos and Jeanne de Costes.

## HERRICK'S EPIGRAM UPON SPUR

*Spur* jingles now, and swears by no meane oathes,  
 He's double honour'd, since h' as got gay cloathes:  
 Most like his Suite, and all commend the Trim;  
 And thus they praise the Sumpter; but not him:  
 As to the Goddesse, people did conferre  
 Worship, and not to th' Asse that carried her.

Grosart, attempting an illustration of this epigram, has the following note on the last two lines: '== the ass carrying the mysteries: Cf. Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 159.'<sup>1</sup> The line referred to is:

νῆ τὸν Δι' ἐγὼ γούν ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια.

At the beginning of *The Frogs*, Dionysus is on his way to Hades in search of a tragic poet. Xanthias, his slave, follows, carrying all his master's baggage and complaining at every step. At last, receiving scant sympathy, he expresses, in the line quoted above, his opinion that he is not much more than 'the donkey in this mystery show,' and, determined to be such no longer, throws down his burden. Xanthias' remark, editors agree, is a reference to the hardships endured by the donkeys used to carry the paraphernalia of the Eleusinian mysteries from Athens to Eleusis. Thus, the asses only worked the harder while the worshipers of Demeter were enjoying a holiday. The essential point of the Aristophanic reference lies in the hard labor performed by Xanthias and the donkeys; that of Herrick's epigram in the presumptuous pride of Spur and the ass. Besides, Herrick describes the donkey as carrying the goddess, while Aristophanes says that he bore the mysteries. What these mysteries were editors are not quite agreed, but no one believes that he actually bore an image of the goddess; nor was such probably the case, for Frazer describes the statue of Demeter that was probably used in these ceremonies as 'colossal.'<sup>2</sup> For these reasons, I think we must look elsewhere for an adequate illustration of Herrick's poem; certainly we must for its source.

Both may be found, either in Henry Peacham's *Complete Gentleman* or in Alciatus' *Emblemata*. Peacham, referring to Alciatus

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Poems of Robert Herrick*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, London, 1876, III, 79.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London, 1912, VII, 64.

as his source, remarks that uneducated princes are like '*Statues or Huge Colossos full of Lead and rubbish within*; or the *Aegyptian Asse*, that thought himself worshipfull for bearing golden *Isis* upon his backe.'<sup>3</sup> Alciatus' seventh emblem is:

Isidis effigiem tardus gestabat asellus,  
 Pando verenda dorso habens mysteria.  
 Obvius ergo Deam quisquis reverenter adorat,  
 Piasque genibus concipit flexis preces.  
 Ast asinus tantum praestari credit honorem  
 Sibi, et intumescit, admodum superbiens:  
 Donec eum flagris compescens, dixit agaso:  
 Non es Deus tu, aselle, sed Deum vehis.

Both Alciatus and Peacham were available to Herrick, a very popular edition of Alciatus having been published in 1621, and the first edition of Peacham appearing in 1634. So, while Herrick's immediate source may well have been either, I believe we may conclude that ultimately he was indebted to Alciatus.

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## A NOTE ON *AUTRUI*

*Autrui*, in O. F., was used as direct or indirect object of a verb, or after a preposition. Littré, while stating explicitly that *autrui* "n'est jamais sujet d'une phrase," gives one M. F. example of a nominative use: "Jà Dieu ne me lairra [laisse] tant vivre, qu'autrui que vous ait part ne demie en ce qui est entièrement à vous." Louis XI, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, xxxiii. The latest instance that he gives of *autrui* as the object of a verb is from Boileau: "Pour consumer *autrui*, le monstre se consume." *Le lutrin*, V, 46. From the following line—"Et, dévorant maisons, palais, châteaux entiers"—*autrui* might here be well construed as *l'autrui*. All the other instances of *autrui* cited by Littré are after prepositions, and for a long time it has been practically confined to this one use. Plattner, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, III Teil, Zweites Heft, p. 166, says:

<sup>3</sup> Henry Peacham, *Complete Gentleman*, with an Introduction by G. S. Gordon, London, 1906, p. 20.

"Autrui ist eine Objektsform schon der Etymologie nach und findet sich in der Regel nur von Präpositionen abhängig . . . Es ist ein Singular . . . Selten ist es als Akkusativ oder Nominativ." Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, T. V., p. 394, says: "La langue moderne ne se sert qu'exceptionnellement de *autrui* comme sujet; il faut alors qu'il répète un *autrui* emphatique de la proposition précédente." He gives one example, from an obscure writer. Plattner, *loc. cit.*, quotes a similiar use in Volney: "la nécessité de ne pas nuire à autrui, de peur qu'en retour *autrui* ne vous nuise." Here the unusual nominative use is prepared for by the usual use after a preposition. (Somewhat analogous is Daudet's use of *ils* in *Tartarin de Tarascon*, pp. 25-26: "Qu'ils y viennent maintenant! *Ils?* Qui, *Ils* . . . *Ils*, enfin, c'était *ils!*") Analogous is Stendhal's use in *De l'amour*, p. 59 (1822): "c'est se priver soi et autrui"—where *soi* anticipates *autrui*.

Nyrop (p. 393) recognizes that *autrui* as verb-object occurs occasionally in "la langue moderne," but his latest example is the one from Boileau quoted by Littré. It is interesting to note that in some very recent writers *autrui* is found as both object and as subject of verbs, without any preceding use after a preposition or other preparation. As object: "Mais cela ne vaut rien à Marie d'entendre crier autrui avant que son tour ne soit venu." Duhamel, *La vie des martyrs* (on p. 16 of *Stories and Sketches*), 1916. "Il savourait assez humilier autrui par son luxe." Henriot, *Aricie Brun*, p. 78 (1924). "Je vau**x** bien autrui." B. Faÿ, in *Romanic Review*, April-June, 1928, p. 113. As subject: "Il semble que la pire offense qu'autrui puisse nous faire, c'est de détenir ce que nous ne pouvons avoir." Colette Yver, *Le festin des autres*, p. 93. (1925).

In the two cases from Henriot and Faÿ, the context would indicate a plural meaning for *autrui*, despite its origin.

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## REVIEWS

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*The Hypochondriack.* By JAMES BOSWELL. Edited by MARGARET BAILEY. Stanford University Press, 1928. 2 vols., pp. 316, 340. \$15.00.

*The True Story of the so-called Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi.* By PERCIVAL MERRIT. Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. 85.

Boswell's *Hypochondriacks* were published in the *London Magazine* once a month, from October 1777 to August 1783. There are thus 70 numbers. For concluding with No. 70, Boswell gives a reason which he calls whimsical; the number 70 is one "by which several interesting particulars are marked"—notably the span of human life. But it can hardly be by mere coincidence that he chose a number which (for whatever reason) is conventional. There were 140 *Adventurers*; and the republication of the *Rambler*, as first planned, covered 70 numbers in two volumes in twelves.

Boswell contemplated, but never achieved, republication in book-form. The edition now produced by Dr. Margaret Bailey is the first reprint, and rescues the *Hypochondriack* from virtual oblivion. Dr. Bailey's work was worth doing, and is well done. The *Hypochondriacks* would have deserved rescue, if they had been the work of an unknown writer; but their greatest interest is the light they throw on Boswell. Dr. Bailey is, I think, successful in maintaining what I take to be the chief thesis of her introduction: that these essays should raise Boswell's character as an author and as a man. It is a surprise that Boswell should be equal to the sustained effort of an essay every month for nearly six years, and more surprising that he did his work so well. The essays are not, and do not claim to be, anything more than journalism. But it is good, honest journalism; deeply indebted, of course, to Johnson, but none the less the work of an independent and vigorous mind. The style is pure Boswell; almost always spirited and easy, and at its best delightful.

This edition is planned on an ambitious scale. No pains have been spared to verify quotations (many of these are classical, and Dr. Bailey acknowledges the generous help of collaborators) and to accumulate parallels. Inevitably, in a collection of essays on general topics, the same subjects are discussed which appear again and again in the *Life of Johnson* and in the *Letters*. Dr. Bailey's method, relentlessly pursued, results in a formidable mass of annotation. It is doubtless convenient, at any given point, to find the parallels thus diligently cited; and not infrequently the notes make

livelier reading than the text. But the total (of over 500 large pages of text and comment) is not easily digestible. It is a question whether a shorter (and cheaper) book would not have won more readers for Boswell; and the full subject-index would have directed us to Birkbeck Hill's and Tinker's text and notes almost as readily as it directs us to the editor's own. But on this point opinions will differ; it seems almost ungrateful to hint a doubt, in face of such 'punctuality of citation'—Johnson's phrase, in commendation of Dalrymple's *Annals*.

A useful note states the principal works of reference used. Hill's Boswell is cited 'in the American issue common in most American libraries; it has a pagination different from that of the English issue.' Surely this is an unfortunate choice. The American Hill has never been used by scholars; and the other chief books used by Dr. Bailey—such as Hill's other Johnsonian collections, and Professor Tinker's *Letters of Boswell*—all refer to the English edition.

'The *Works of Johnson edited by Murphy* (issue of 1787)' is an odd confusion which I have not been able to unravel. The 1787 edition is, of course, that of Hawkins. The edition which bears Murphy's name first appeared in 1792. But there is a reference, i. 262, to *Works*, ed. 1787, 8. 288. The quotation is from the *Lives of the Poets*, which are not in vol. 8 either of 1787 or of 1792.

The editor's treatment of the text is in some ways puzzling. Boswell sometimes corrected errors, the printer's or his own, in subsequent numbers. Dr. Bailey draws the inference that he was 'satisfied' with everything that he did not so correct. She is particularly concerned with the Greek quotations and with the punctuation. She corrects the former, and punctiliously records all errors of the original, amounting to dozens. These are for the most part errors of accent. Now we know that Boswell, like most of his contemporaries, knew little about Greek accents and cared less. As to punctuation, there is not much wrong with it; and having told us once for all in her preface that she has left it alone, the editor might well have said no more. But she is uncomfortable, and again and again writes notes assuring us that the printer did so punctuate and that Boswell 'made no correction.' When the printer left out an *n* and produced *advatage*, 'Boswell made no correction.' Why should he? Even in these days, periodical writers are seldom given the opportunity of correcting errors which are merely verbal or literal. To correct such things would seem tiresome pedantry.

It is unfortunate that the editor has been led, by the zeal for accuracy, into these extremes; for they set a standard which she cannot maintain. If a heap of misplaced accents in a Greek quotation is laboriously resorted, it is a shock to find the reference for that quotation left, unaltered and without comment, as 'Plutarch

Eraticos,' and a quotation from the *Philebus* labelled 'Plato Diag.' More serious is such perpetuation of error as *magus* for *majus* (i. 150), *ipse* for *ipsi* (i. 214), *non possumus videre nostra mala* (unmetrical) for *videre nostra mala non possumus* (i. 292), *neque* for *meque* (ii. 19—Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 24).

The careful and very useful index suffers to some extent from excess of conscience (of what value is a list of fifty undifferentiated references to *Boswelliana*?) and from the tyranny of the alphabet. Alphabetical arrangement in an index is indefensible unless it is helpful as a guide. Who is going to look in an index to be told what Boswell *disapproved, dreaded, preferred, required, respected, or supported*? It is fair to add that Dr. Bailey has had the courage to desert the alphabet on occasions.

I should not have thought it worth while to criticize at such length and so minutely, if the book were not in a high degree important and meritorious. Dr. Bailey has done her work so carefully, and on the whole so well, that it deserves to be judged by a strict standard both of method and of execution. Having already shown myself so exacting, it is with diffidence that I offer the detached comments which follow. But they may be of some interest to specialists, disjointed though they are.

I. 112. The verses to *Clarissa*, in *Dodsley's Collection* (vol. II) were by Robert Nugent.

I. 113. Was *The Grave* first produced in Scotland as Boswell says? The reputed first edition is London.

I. 139. n. 9. *The guilty feel for the murderer feels* is not a slip of Boswell's memory; the text he quotes is that of the first edition of the *Art of Preserving Health* (iv. 93).

I. 149. n. 17. That Andrew Kippis (1725-1795) produced the second edition (1778-1793) of the *Biographia Britannica* is not relevant. Boswell, writing in 1778 of his 'grateful regard' for that work, cannot mean this edition. He was, no doubt, familiar with the first edition, 1747-1766, in which Kippis had no part. The epigram by Bastard, quoted (ii. 60) as from '*Kippis's Biographia Britannica*,' is in that edition simply transferred from the original vol. I, 1747.

I. 150. The editor's classical coöperators have not traced the quotation from the *Tusculan Disputations*; but it is in Lewis and Short *s. v. theatrum*. For *magus* read *majus*.

I. 151. 'The ancient principle of τίμα σεαυτόν.' The editor comments 'doubtless a recollection of γνῶθι σεαυτόν.' But self-reverence and self-knowledge are not the same. A very learned correspondent tells me that τίμα σεαυτόν is not to be found in the paroemiographi Graeci; but the collocation is in Plato (*Laws* 726 τῇ αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ τιμᾶν δεῖ) and in Marcus Aurelius. Boswell's source remains obscure; perhaps a school-book?

I. 153. 1. 2. I wonder if *finished* should be *furnished*? The confusion is easy.

I. 157. The numerous quotations from Johnson, Boswell, and others, on Hebridean manners, are of doubtful relevance. Boswell is not thinking of the Highlands and Islands, but of 'the common practice in the best families' in 'the last age,' and there is nothing to suggest even that he has Scotland in mind. The Hypochondriack was not known to be a Scot.

I. 169. 1. 7. I venture to suggest the insertion of *if* after *although*, with a comma at *behind me*.

I. 176. n. 4. There is no need for conjecture; it appears from *Bibliotheca Britannica* that the translation from the *Inferno* is in the *Poems*, 1773. (I have since seen the book itself.)

I. 236. n. 11. The 'two burlesques' are one. This was not the only occasion on which William King described himself as 'Author of a Tale of a Tub.'

I. 236. Boswell says his literary cook, 'had he been a man of more general reading,' 'would have found in Prior's almanack the important influence of foods upon the dispositions and conduct of men'; and there follows a similar reference to Pope. The collocation with Pope, and 'general reading,' alike suggest that Prior is the poet. As I could find no poem of his that could be called *Almanack*, I tried *Alma*, and found in Canto III what I take to be the passage:

Observe the various operations  
Of Food and Drink in several Nations . . . .  
Sallads and Eggs and Lighter Fare  
Tune the Italian Spark's Guitar;  
And, if I take Dan Congreve right,  
Pudding and Beef make Britons fight.

Did Boswell's printer mistake *Alma* for an abbreviation?

I. 240. n. 5. 'Mr. Hanway's seventh letter to Sir Charles Bunbury' is not very hard to find, though it is actually the eighth that Boswell quotes. It is not in the *Reflections* of 1761 (not 1767) nor in the *Letters* on prisoners of 1785, but in *Distributive Justice* 1781, the introduction of which sends us to the original publication in the *Public Advertiser*. The letter quoted by Boswell is in *P. A.* 7 April, 1779, the same month as the *London Magazine* containing this *Hypochondriack*.

I. 276. 'Slated beef'-for salted.

I. 277. *A Letter to Mr. Mason on the Marks of Imitation* is by Richard Hurd.

I. 278. 'In Sir John Vanbrugh's exquisite comedy, *The Provoked Wife*, Heartfree says, "I always consider a woman not as the taylor, the shoemaker, the tirewomen, the sempstress; but I consider her as pure nature has contrived her."' This is the text of the



*London Magazine*, and is intelligible, if 'have contrived her' be supplied with the first part of the sentence; but the editor, who gives the reference to the play, ought to have told us that Vanbrugh in fact wrote 'the Sempstress, and (which is more than all that) the Poet makes her; but' etc.

I. 279. n. 14. Boswell did not 'correctly restore' the article ('The majesty of darkness') omitted by Burke. The sixth edition of Burke *On the Sublime* (1770, p. 145) gives the quotation correctly.

I. 302. Publius Syrus. Boswell may have found this in *Johnsoniana . . . with the Choice Sentences of Publius Syrus now first translated*, 1776, where the words are identical (p. 140).

II. 81. The paraphrase of Aristotle's *Ethics* is not Boswell's—the Greek is clearly beyond his powers of paraphrase. Nor is it Aristotle's own text. It is, as Boswell virtually tells us, from the Paraphrase of Andronicus of Rhodes (Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum* 3. 455).

Stanford University Press deserves high praise for the admirable printing of these handsome volumes. I cannot think that the title page, or the binding, is happily designed; but the disposition of text and notes is admirable, and the press-work faultless.

In 1843 an anonymous detractor published, as *Love Letters*, a few of Mrs. Piozzi's letters written in old age to her young friend William Augustus Conway, an actor whom she knew in Bath. The editor had obtained copies of these letters and, as he alleged, authority to publish them. But in 1862 the owner of the letters wrote to the *Athenaeum* in defence of Mrs. Piozzi, stating that the traducer had no such authority, and that by tampering with the punctuation he had perverted Mrs. Piozzi's quite innocent meaning.

The false version, being malicious and in a book, has held the field; the refutation, being charitable and in a periodical, vanished from memory till Mr. Percival Merritt exhumed it. He has told the whole story with great skill, and the conclusion is irresistible that Mrs. Piozzi's words had no such intention as malice read into them. Since, however, the originals of the letters alleged to be love-letters are untraced, it is worth while to add a new point in confirmation. The words on which the detractor chiefly relied are "Exalt thy love dejected heart." These words he printed thus:

EXALT THY LOVE: DEJECTED HEART

insisting that 'Exalt thy Love' must bear an erotic significance. The owner of the original assured the *Athenaeum* that Mrs. Piozzi in fact wrote "Exalt thy love-dejected heart." That this is the true version I can prove. The words are quoted from Parnell's 'Fairy Tale in the Ancient Stile.' Parnell describes how a hunchback, crossed in love, wandered into 'an old enchanted court, where

sportive fairies made resort.' His presence detected, he comes forth and declares

'Twas grief, for scorn of faithful love,  
Which made my steps unweeting rove  
Amid the nightly dew.

A fairy assures him that he has done no wrong, and comforts him in these words:

Exalt thy love-dejected heart,  
Be mine the task, or ere we part,  
To make thee grief resign.

This is precisely the situation. Conway was dejected, as the context shows, by his unrequited passion for a woman (of his own age), and Mrs. Piozzi comforts him as the fairy comforted poor Edwin.

So her fame is doubly vindicated.

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*Historia de la literatura española.* Por M. ROMERA NAVARRO.

Boston: Heath, 1928. xviii + 701 pp. \$4.00.

Nuestra historia literaria no ha pasado aún de la investigación monográfica. Mientras no se fijen bien las características de cada época, la evolución histórica de los géneros y el ambiente social en que éstos se desarrollan, no habrá verdadera *historia de la literatura*. El manual del señor R. N., como todos los publicados hasta la fecha, se limita a resumir noticias objetivas sobre la vida y las obras de los escritores, supliendo lo que falta de crítica con profusión de citas y argumentos. No hay un solo capítulo constructivo que justifique el título de *Historia de la literatura española*.

Mejor hubiera sido, en vez de rellenar tantas páginas con transcripciones inútiles, discutir por ejemplo la paternidad del *Amadís*, comentar brevemente las continuaciones de *La Celestina*, decir algo sobre *La tía fingida*. También merecían mayor atención ciertos poetas del siglo XVII, despachados muy a la ligera, Villamediana entre ellos, Rioja, Villegas, Sor Juana, y acaso algún polígrafo del XVIII, Jovellanos al menos, por ser la pluma que mejor simboliza su época. No es justo pasar sobre tales escritores como sobre ascuas para luego extenderse desmesuradamente en ramplones autorcillos de la pasada centuria.

En los capítulos que tratan de nuestros clásicos tropieza uno a menudo con opiniones difíciles de aceptar. Góngora y Calderón están juzgados con un criterio pasado de moda. Ni éste es "el poeta más representativo y nacional" ni el culteranismo de aquel puso nunca en peligro la vida de la lírica española. Fué por el contrario el culteranismo—digámoslo en el estilo metafórico del

señor R. N.—la savia primaveral que hizo revivir el árbol ya caduco de la poesía. Nadie puede negar, aún reconociendo sus extravíos, que la grandeza de Góngora está en su segunda manera, y menos ahora, cuando retoña en España el gongorismo.

También es discutible que *El burlador de Sevilla* continúe siendo “la más genial expresión del donjuanismo.” Cada época interpreta a su gusto los grandes caracteres literarios, los rehace. Nosotros no vemos hoy al hidalgo manchego, que ha sido grotesco, sentimental o romántico, según la época, como lo veían los primeros lectores del *Quijote*. Y es muy posible que nuestro héroe, el que nosotros hemos re-creado, sea el más quijotesco de todos. Lo mismo ocurre con el don Juan de Tirso. La leyenda del burlador ha sufrido muchas modificaciones desde que por primera vez fué llevada a escena. Para el fraile mercedario lo esencial era el problema religioso. El donjuanismo actual ha llegado a ser una cuestión de sexo, que tiene poco o nada que ver con la religión. No hay por qué considerar la primera como versión definitiva.

La lista de comedias francesas imitadas de nuestro teatro clásico está llena de errores, y es indudablemente de segunda mano, pues si el señor R. N. conociera a fondo la cuestión no se habría guiado por la semejanza de títulos que le hace caer en lamentables confusiones. *La belle Alprède* de Rotrou, por ejemplo, no tiene nada que ver con *La hermosa Alfrede* de Lope.<sup>1</sup> Tampoco está probado que Corneille utilizara *El honrado hermano* para su Horace.<sup>2</sup> *La gran Zenobia* de Calderón, que es reina de Palmira, no puede haber originado la *Zénobie, reine d'Arménie*, de Montauban, pues se trata de personajes diferentes. Es dudoso también que la *Mariane* de Tristan l'Hermite, representada en 1636, proceda de *El Tetrarca de Jerusalén*, publicado en la misma fecha, y más aún que *Argenis y Poliarco*, impresa en 1637, sea la fuente de *Argenis et Poliarque*, dada a luz seis años antes.

Con igual ligereza señala el señor R. N. las posibles influencias de las *Novelas ejemplares*. Hasta pudiera ser que algunas de las comedias que toma por adaptaciones no hayan existido jamás. Olvida en cambio, sin duda por patriotismo, citar las fuentes francesas o italianas de muchas obras españolas, verbigracia *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, cuya mejor escena la traduce Calderón del *Heraclius* de Corneille.<sup>3</sup> Hasta en pleno siglo de oro se dan casos de imitación que no hay por qué callar.

Los ditirambos que el señor R. N. dedica a nuestro pobre siglo XIX, revelan bien a las claras sus inclinaciones literarias. Las

<sup>1</sup> Según dice G. Reynier en el Vol. IV, p. 349, de la *Histoire de la littérature française*, de Petit de Juleville.

<sup>2</sup> Véase L. M. Riddle, *The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies*, págs. 21 y 39.

<sup>3</sup> Léase el artículo de C. Castillo en *Modern Philology*, t. XX, págs. 391-401.

humoradas de Campoamor le merecen tan f3rvidos elogios como la ret3rica hueca de Nu3ez de Arce, cuyos poemas *Un idilio y Una elegia* toma el distinguido profesor de Pennsylvania por uno solo, sin duda porque se publicaron juntos. Espronceda es otro de sus favoritos. Sobre gustos no hay nada escrito pero sobre Espronceda s3, y hoy est3 fuera de duda que la rebeld3a del autor del *Diablo Mundo* tuvo mucho de pose literaria. "El joven y temible conspirador, el poeta sarc3stico y mis3ntropo, el audaz Tenorio," fu3 con toda probabilidad un buen burgu3s a quien el sarampi3n de la adolescencia le dur3 demasiado. Se rode3 de una aureola *d'enfant terrible* y 3l mismo acab3 por creerse de buena fe que lo era. En et retrato convencional qui aqu3 se le hace se encontrar3a sin duda muy parecido.

Laudable es el esfuerzo que por ser imparcial demuestra al hablar de los contempor3neos el ben3volo cr3tico, teniendo en cuenta que para 3l, el grupo m3s valioso y nutrido es el de los escritores realistas que "procuran el armonioso equilibrio de los maestros del siglo XIX." Trata relativamente bien a Baroja, a Unamuno—sin citar por cierto su *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho*—a Valle Incl3n y a otros literatos que positivamente no son de su cuerda. Pero claro est3 que quien elogia "los relatos sobrios y conmovedores" de Alarc3n mal puede transigir con la generaci3n del 98. Los santos de su devoci3n son, naturalmente, Blasco Iba3ez y C3a., en la novela, los Quintero en el teatro, y en la l3rica poetas palabreros como Villaespesa.

En resumen, este manual no es peor ni mejor que los anteriores. Tiene como todos sus aciertos y sus desaciertos, sus lagunas y sus rellenos. Errores gordos no puede haber muchos, porque el autor ha tenido buen cuidado de seguir a los cr3ticos m3s autorizados, evadiendo el punto de vista personal, m3todo que en determinados casos tiene sus ventajas.

JOS3 ROBLES.

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*Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*; drama de Don 3ngel de Saavedra.

Edited by S. L. M. ROSENBERG and E. H. TEMPLIN. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. xxx + 193 pp.

In the survey of the author's works in the Introduction, the editors have followed the excellent practice of giving the date with each production mentioned. Discrepancies have been noted in some dates cited, however. The date of the appearance of *El Moro exp3sito* is given as 1832 (Introd., xiv). Boussagol (Bull. Hisp., xxix, No. 1, 24-25 [96]), is inclined to believe it was not finished until 1833. The first edition known is that of Paris, 1834. It is stated (Introd., xvii) that *Lanuza* was composed in 1823. Boussagol (*Loc. cit.*, 20, [91]) gives 1822 as the date of publication.

1826 is given as the date of composition of *Arias Gonzalo* (Introd., xvii). Boussagol (*Loc. cit.*, 10 [44] gives 1827. Likewise, *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* is dated 1827 (Introd., xvii), whereas Boussagol (*Loc. cit.*, 10 [45]) gives 1828.

The statement is made (Introd., xvii) that *Ataulfo* and *Doña Blanca de Castilla* "were never performed or published." That is true of *Ataulfo* but *Doña Blanca* was performed at least twice. The first performance was given November 28, 1817 (Boussagol, *Loc. cit.*, 18 [88]). The definition of assonant verse (Introd., xxiii, lines 20, 21 and 22) is unintelligible except to the specialist, and should be revised for the information of the student. [Cf. Hills and Morley, *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, Introduction, lviii (2), for a clear and concise definition of assonance.]

Several difficult points have been left unsolved; e. g., the exact meaning of *pilí* is not given. It is probably a hispanized form of a Gypsy word. Rebolledo (*Diccionario gitano-español y español-gitano*. Barcelona, 1909) give *pilé* = *borracho, ebrio, embriagado; pillí borracha, embriagada, ebria*. *Pilí* (*pilé*) was probably adopted as army slang to designate officers of lower rank who might frequently be found in a state of intoxication. The use of the indicative depending on *temer*, *Jornada* II, 1. 278 and IV, 372 is not satisfactorily accounted for.

The edition is prepared for "more advanced" students, hence only the more difficult syntactical problems are treated in the notes and the commoner words are omitted from the vocabulary. A few inaccuracies have been found in the notes. *Que* causal (*Jornada*, I, 1. 6) does not derive from a construction with *digo* or *te aseguro* as the principal verb. It derives from *porque* [Bello-Cuervo, 992 (e)]. Why not say that *que no* (I, 140) is completed by . . . *era hijo*, etc., rather than by *era así*? *Cerró* (I, 319) does not have Leonor but the Marqués for subject. See line 247, same *jornada*. *Listo*, though used adverbially, must agree with the noun understood, which is masculine. Likewise, then, the Marqués is alluded to in 322. *Oriente* (I, 524) simply means "east." *Indiana* (526) is the adjective derived from *indio*, a term applied to all aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. Hence, *región indiana*, region inhabited by *indios*. In this particular case, the *indios* in mind are the Incas. When it is recalled that Manco-Cápac, founder of the Inca imperial line, was believed to be descended from the sun and that the sun was worshipped by the Incas, it becomes clear why Don Álvaro (himself of imperial Inca lineage by his mother) considered the sun *protector* of his *estirpe soberana* and *numen eterno* in the *región indiana* (Inca territory). In *Jornada* II, lines 131-135 do not refer to Don Álvaro but to Leonor, who has come to the *mesón* disguised as a young man. . . . *la ha hecho buena* (IV, 371) means "he has made a good job of it," it is true, but only ironically. "He has gotten himself into a bad fix" would

render the thought better. In iv, 430, the indicative of the periphrastic *haber de* is permissible after a verb of fearing [Real Academia Esp., *Gramática de la lengua española*, 1924, 393 (d)].

The following passages seem to the reviewer to deserve notes: *órtelo*, I, 8; II, 541; *una medio gruta, medio ermita*, stage directions, page 129.

The vocabulary, on the whole, is satisfactory. *Acurrucarse* translated "to settle back, lean back" should be "to curl up, fold one's self up" as if to go to sleep in a corner. The definition given in the vocabulary of *en pro de* does not explain the meaning of III, 180. Here *en pro de* = *en favor de*. Freely translated, the line would read: "What does Italy hold for me?" *Alemán* is explained in the notes as meaning "Austrian," yet in the vocabulary "German" is the only definition given.

According to the Preface, the editors have followed the rules of the Real Academia Española "in the matter of orthography and accent." In that case *fui*, which appears many times, should read *fuí*. Apparently in this case they preferred to follow Bello-Cuervo, who repudiates the ruling of the Academy on this particular point.

Finally, it must not be concluded from the foregoing criticism that this edition of *Don Álvaro* does not embody many good points. Lack of space prevents us from commenting upon the many good qualities that should commend it to the teacher of advanced classes in Spanish. The editors are to be congratulated on assuming a task from which American scholarship has for so long held aloof.

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*Syntaxe historique du français.* Par Dr. K. SNEYDERS DE VOGEL.

Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée. Groningue, La Haye, J. B. Wolters, 1927. viii + 443 pp. Neophilologische Bibliothek, 2. Fl. 7.90, bound 8.90.

Students of syntax will greet with pleasure the publication of the new edition of Professor K. Sneyders de Vogel's useful and unpretentious French syntax. The book remains the most complete account of the subject as a whole that is written on modern lines. Without effort at philosophic profundity or special originality, the author nevertheless makes occasionally a real contribution to our knowledge of the subject, particularly in the field of late Latin. He has been interested in the latter subject ever since the publication of his thesis, *Quaestiones ad conjunctivi usum in posteriore Latinitate pertinentes* (Leiden, 1903), and of his inaugural lecture, *De studie van het Latijn* (Leiden, 1907). The new edition has

been brought up to date, especially by references to the literature that has appeared since the first edition was published in 1919. As the value of the book is thus to a certain extent bibliographical, it would be of service if later editions were equipped with a bibliographical appendix, or at least with a list of names of persons. The paragraph numbers of the first edition have been wisely retained.

A number of errors of detail have been corrected in the new edition. Others have still escaped detection. It is hoped that the following notes may be of some use in this connection. § 69 (p. 51, n. 1) for *Studien modern Språkvetenskap* read *Studier i modern.* . . . § 206, Rem. 3, it would have been useful to note that H. A. Todd, in the *Romanic Review*, xi (1920), 370-380, adds confirmatory sixteenth century material to Thomas' definitive demonstration that *Qui vive* = *Vive qui*? Instead of such a note, we have a reference to Wallensköld's attempt (*Neuphil. Mitt.*, xx [1919], 127, n. 1) to bolster up Vising's<sup>1</sup> *jeu d'esprit* according to which *Qui vive* is a misunderstanding of an Italian *Chi vi va*, of which the very existence is dubious. In any case, aside from phonetic difficulties, the Italian expression could hardly have been borrowed in France before the fifteenth century, as Wallensköld is forced to assume that it was. § 212, the quotation credited merely to "Joinville" is from Joinville, *Credo*, § 805, ed. de Wailly (Paris, 1874). § 222, the references to "Jubinal, *Jongl. de France*," should read "Jubinal, *Jongleurs et trouvères*," and in the second quotation read *pensser comment* for *penser comment*. § 229d, in the quotation from *Cligès*, 5699-5700, write . . . *qu'ele eit: feit* for . . . *qu'el et: fet*. In the same section the quotation from Hélisenne de Crenne, credited only to "Reynier, *Roman sent. avant l'Astrée*, p. 101," (*sic*; should be 103), should be indicated as from *Les Angoisses douloureuses qui procèdent d'amours*, and the date 1538 given, instead of the example being described as "vieux français." § 370, the example of *por que* final, cited from Roland, 3981, is an ill-advised emendation by Léon Gautier of the *pur quei* of the mss. and recent editions (Stengel, Lerch, Bédier, Jenkins, etc.). The statement that Littré cites two examples of *por que* final from "textes du xii<sup>e</sup> et du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle," is misleading. Littré seems to cite only *Berte* (3252, ed. Scheler: *Ja n'averai richoise pour k'aient povretés*), where the sense is "in case thereby" (cf.

<sup>1</sup> At the last moment the writer received from Professor Vising a letter in which the Swedish scholar courteously informs him that the explanation of *Qui vive* by *Chi vi va* was first proposed by an anonymous writer in the *Courrier de Vaugelas* III (1871), 33-4. Vising, after adopting this view in his *Fransk Språklära* (Lund, 1892), p. 143, later, in a learned article in the *Nordisk Tidskrift för Filologi*, 3d series, vi (1897-8), 157-160, advocated the idea that *Qui vive* = *Vive qui*. This article contains fifteenth and sixteenth century material which supplements that gathered by Thomas and Todd.

Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch, s. v. por*), rather than "in order that," or even "in so far as, provided that" (so Tobler, *VB.*, I<sup>3</sup>, 169, cited by Lerch, *Roland*, l. 3981). There are, however, valid examples of *por que* final in Old French, for which see R. L. Graeme Ritchie, *Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction "que"* (Paris, 1907), p. 61, and most of the cases listed by Carl Busse, *Das finale Satzverhältnis . . .* (Göttingen, Diss., 1905), p. 7. Sneyders' statement, p. 320, n. 1, that Ritchie's examples both mean "provided that" does not hold for *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2301-02: *N'i monteries por l'onnor de Ponti, Por qualissiés en estor esbaudi*. Busse (*loc. laud.*) states that *pour que* final is no longer found in the fifteenth century, though he quotes himself two examples from that period (*Mist. V. T.*, 2746, and *Cent nouv. nouv.*, ed. Wright, I, 264)! It is true, however, that no sixteenth or seventeenth century examples of final *pour que* have been cited; cf. Brunot, *Histoire*, IV, 760. § 370, for "Méon, *Fabl.*, II, 27," read "Montaignon-Raynaud, *Fabl.*, II, 24."

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*An Early Norse Reader*. Edited by G. N. GARMONSWAY. Pp. xi + 148. Cambridge University Press, 1928.

Last year the Oxford University Press published E. V. Gordon's encyclopedic *Introduction to Old Norse* (reviewed by me in *The Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.* XXVII, p. 412 ff. and *MLN.*, XLIII, p. 542 ff.). Now we are presented with *An Early Norse Reader* by the Cambridge University Press. The present book has not the all-embracing character of Professor Gordon's *Introduction*; it can hardly be said to tackle the linguistic problem at all, except from a purely practical point of view. Thus most of the phonology has been done away with, some of the more important phenomena being explained in notes to the paradigms. The morphology has got a fuller treatment, but there are some serious omissions. Thus the masc. *ja*-stems with a short root syllable like *niðr* pl. *niðjar*, the masc. *va*-stems like *hjör* and *söng* pl. *hjórv*, *söngvar* are not mentioned at all. For other cases the rules given are inadequate or misleading. Thus p. 16 the paradigm of Type V is represented by a wrong word: *vík* has not the gen. *víkar* but *víkr*, like the words commented on in Note 2 below. And in explaining the declension of the irregular *kýr*, *sýr* (Note 3) it is insufficient to give the acc. sg. *kú*, *sú* and nom. acc. pl. *kýr*, *sýr*; how is the student to guess that the dat. sg. is *kú*, *sú*, gen. sg. *kýr*, *sýr*, gen. pl. *kúa*, *súa*, and dat. pl. *kúm*, *súm*?—One wonders if it would not have been wiser to sacrifice altogether the "Grammar" and devote its 44 pages to texts or more copious notes. This all the



more so, because there is a practical grammar available in Miss Buckhurst's *An Elementary Grammar of Old Icelandic*.

The *texts* are good. They have been selected "to present as varied picture as possible of the life activities and interests of the Scandinavian peoples during the Viking Age," but "some prominence has been given to works which have a bearing upon Anglo-Saxon literature, the history of the British Isles and the discovery of America."

It is true that Gordon's *Introduction* gives a broader view of the literature, chiefly because it takes up longer passages of the sagas. Here again we are presented with numerous smaller incidents, often of a great interest from the point of view of mythology, folklore or cultural history. And as only 14 of the 82 text pages contain the same material as Gordon's *Introduction* the books need not be rivals, but may be used together.

Last of all, it should be said to the credit of this *Reader* that the proofs seem to have been very carefully read.

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*The Picturesque, Studies in a Point of View.* By CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. Pp. 308.

In *The Picturesque*, the English scholar, Christopher Hussey, has made an arresting discussion of the aesthetic interests of the eighteenth century in England. His book is more comprehensive and more philosophical than Miss Manwaring's recent work in the same field, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*. In his chapters on aesthetic theory, painting, architecture, and gardening, and on the influence of these artistic interests upon contemporary poetry and fiction Mr. Hussey has accomplished a synthesis of ideas of illuminating significance. *The Picturesque* is one of those books which is, perhaps, all the more valuable because it does not deal with literature immediately, but examines ideas which nourish literature and provide a vivid, authentic background for its study.

Excellent as it is, the book is not without its shortcomings; shortcomings due to the limitation of its point of view—to Mr. Hussey's tendency to explain complex phenomena by simple causes. No student of the eighteenth century can question his contention as to the influence of Salvator Rosa on the cultivation of a taste for wild scenery in England. But to regard the painter as solely responsible for this taste, as Mr. Hussey seems to do, is

to ignore the very powerful influence of Shaftesbury in molding eighteenth century thought. Shaftesbury's philosophy of harmony in accordance with which he sensed divinity not only in "many bright parts of earth," but also in those "obscurer places," led him by an inevitable logic to admire savage aspects of nature that were completely unappreciated by his contemporaries; the desert "pleases" him, and he prefers "all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself" to the formal garden of the period. Men who had no taste for painting would have been led to enjoy wild natural landscapes by a sympathetic comprehension of Shaftesbury's hymns to nature. It was the philosopher's influence combined with that of the Italian painters which made beauty visible where it had not been perceived before.

The desire to create "scenes" after the manner of the Italian landscape painters is probably not the sole reason why the natural garden of the eighteenth century contained many features that impress us as extravagant and even absurd. Sentimentalism affected gardening no less than literature. The impulse that inspired a designer to form in a garden a "scene" dedicated to friendship, or melancholy, or horror, might, indeed, come from his study of a picture by Claude, or Poussin, or Salvator Rosa, but the deliberate endeavor to construct by means of ruins, cypress trees, weeping willows, and temples, situations of varied emotional appeal was immeasurably reinforced by the "acute sensibility" that was reflected in the literature and the very psychology of the age. By his artifices the gardener multiplied opportunities for that inordinate indulgence in feeling which his contemporaries craved. It is conceivable that many an eighteenth century sentimentalist enjoyed his garden "scenes" who was not able to recognize their resemblance to Claude or Poussin. In truth, the student of any period is on safe ground when he assumes that phenomena of culture are generally the result of the operation of many forces.

Mr. Hussey raises a more controversial question when he asserts that Gothic architecture is "in its complete expressions" as symmetrical as any other type of architecture. He points to the church as proof of his claim, and discounts as evidence the great body of unsymmetrical mediaeval domestic architecture on the ground that as it was purely utilitarian, design was not an element in its construction. Mr. Hussey has forgotten that the symmetrical form of the Gothic cathedral is proof not so much of an aesthetic ideal, as of the designer's wish to imitate a cross; a religious, not an artistic, intention was responsible for the uniformity of the ecclesiastical edifice. Moreover, the mediaeval town houses of Venice and Vicenza, for example, present to the eye façades which, although they are unsymmetrical, are the very flower of exquisite design in the careful control of undecorated space and in the grouping of windows, doors, and balconies. To the present

reviewer no definition of Gothic architecture can be acceptable which fails to take into account material of such discriminating feeling for subtle balance. I am reminded of that definition of romanticism which was so narrow that Wordsworth and Shelley were put outside the pale of the romantics.

But no book is worth its salt that does not stimulate discussion. And with the substance of Mr. Hussey's thought the well-informed reader must be in full agreement. Such an interesting book inspires the wish that some student of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance would undertake a similar correlation of literature and art.

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*The Juxtaposition of Accents at the Rime in French Versification.*

By MARGARET E. HUDSON. Philadelphia, 1927. 105 pp.  
(Publications of the University of Pennsylvania in Romantic Languages and Literatures).

After a review of critical opinions on the subject, the author of this dissertation classifies many examples of the juxtaposition of accents at the end of a verse (*Que vous reste-t-il?—Moi.*) from the earliest medieval poems to the present day. She shows that, while such juxtaposition is usually avoided, it may be employed (1) for aesthetic effect, or (2) if the author does not realize that his verse suffers from it. In the latter case Dr. H. believes that the frequent presence of the phenomenon is due to the fact that the author was born in the portion of French-speaking countries most subject to Teutonic influence (Belgium, northern and north-eastern France, including Normandy and Champagne, but not the Ile-de-France). Hence, if an anonymous poem is found that has a large number of "heurts," here is evidence as to whence its author came.

Now scholars may find the extensive list of examples cited useful, but few will accept Dr. H.'s conclusions. In the first place, they will be loath to see any juxtaposition of accents in cases like "ouvrez-moi! N'ouvrez-pas" (p. 44), or "laissez-la dire" (p. 79). They will note, too, that in cases of emphasis like Racine's "Eh bien! épousez-la" (p. 49), the *accent d'intensité*, which Dr. H. says nothing about, would fall on the initial syllable of *épousez*, not on the final. Certainly there is a vast difference between such lines as these and other examples she cites, *de mes propres yeux vu* (p. 76), or *Je suis le Héros. Entre* (p. 67). But Dr. H. makes no such distinction, nor does she consider the difference between Old and Modern French, between an author's early and later work,

or poems that belong to different genres. Moreover, it is difficult to believe in the accuracy of one who states (pp. 98-9) that Voltaire was born in Sarthe, Du Bellay in Marne, and Racine at Paris! And of what significance is the fact that Hugo was born at Besançon?

Even if we accept Dr. H.'s statistics, what do they prove? That all poets showing more than 4 per cent. of "heurts" are from the supposedly Teutonic regions, but also that Metz shows fewer "heurts" than Château-Thierry, Normandy than Loiret! If the author of *les Plaideurs* were unknown, we should have to suppose that he was born very near the German border, for its "heurts" run as high as 4.8 per cent. Dr. H. seeks to avoid this difficulty by averaging this play with *Phèdre*, whose "heurts" are found in only .8 per cent. of the lines, but this merely obscures the facts in both cases. It is, of course, easy to explain the presence of the larger number in this early comedy and the smaller in the tragedy on which Racine lavished all the resources of his art, but such an explanation as this would be of no help in determining the author's place of birth.

As a matter of fact, one cannot assume that poets always live up even to their own standards, nor should verses be studied away from their context when questions of rhythm are involved. An investigator that understands these facts may, by studying "heurts," throw some light upon an author's success in writing harmonious verse, but he will not succeed by any such method in determining where his mother happened to be when she started him upon his career.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

*French Poetry and Modern Industry, 1830-1870.* By ELLIOTT M. GRANT. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927. 218 pp.

Il est peu de Français qui ne se souviennent d'avoir eu à écrire, dans leurs jeunes années, sur les rapports de la science et de la poésie avant d'avoir traité, dans leurs études philosophiques, le sujet non moins rebattu de la science et la religion. M. Robert Fath, en 1901 à Lausanne, et surtout M. Fusil en 1917, se sont attachés à tracer l'influence de la science sur la poésie française au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. M. Grant a saisi l'aspect qu'ils avaient négligé et qui n'est pas le moins curieux pour nous aujourd'hui: la poésie inspirée par les applications de la science, c'est-à-dire la poésie de l'industrie et des machines. Cette poésie du machinisme qui, depuis Verhaeren, J. Romains, P. Morand, Bl. Cendrars et d'autres, jouit de la faveur des jeunes poètes français, il valait la peine de rechercher ses origines

plus obscures et fort laborieuses. M. Grant l'a fait dans un ouvrage solide, bien organisé, après lequel il n'y aura plus à revenir sur la question.

Dans un premier chapitre, *The Background*, il trace un tableau précis du développement industriel de la France de 1830 à la fin du second Empire; puis il étudie les premiers contacts entre la poésie et l'industrie chez Vigny, Hugo et d'autres romantiques. Mais c'est surtout après 1840 et dans la période de décadence de la poésie que M. Grant voit entre 1840 et 1852, que se prépare un effort conscient pour traiter en vers de la locomotive, des étaux, des enclumes et des chaudières. La date centrale est celle de 1855, avec les *Chants Modernes* de Maxime Du Camp. L'auteur étudie ensuite la réaction des contemporains à ces *Chants Modernes*, l'influence du livre sur des successeurs illustres ou, le plus souvent, obscurs, et suit le mouvement jusqu'à 1870. Il conclut par un chapitre très précis et enrichi de plusieurs appendices, sur l'industrie et la langue poétique.

Le livre est fait avec conscience et—ce qui est plus encore à louer dans un sujet qui demandait bien des recherches patientes et minutieuses—, une méthode très sûre et très fine dans sa modération. L'auteur nulle part ne s'exagère l'importance de son sujet; peut-être au contraire, çà et là, ne cherche-t-il pas assez à l'élargir, et l'attitude envers l'industrie de grands noms tels que Sainte-Beuve, Renan, Leconte de Lisle, se perd un peu parmi la masse des tentatives secondaires que connaît seul un spécialiste de l'histoire littéraire. Nous aurions aimé, en particulier, que l'opposition de Du Camp et de ses amis à l'école de l'Art pour l'Art fût mieux marquée, et ces deux tendances contemporaines et divergentes, mieux opposées. Un style un peu plus alerte aurait aussi servi l'ouvrage, surtout par contraste avec les citations de poètes à bonnes intentions, mais désespérément prosaïques et plats. Mais ce ne sont là que menues chicanes; et M. Grant, par sa connaissance approfondie autant que nuancée de la poésie française, par son maniement expérimenté d'une méthode délicate, se place avec ce livre parmi les jeunes professeurs américains les mieux avertis des choses françaises. Et nous avons noté, non sans plaisir, que son ouvrage n'était pas, comme il arrive malheureusement à beaucoup de thèses américaines, passé inaperçu en France et avait déjà été cité et loué par un critique français particulièrement compétent dans ce domaine.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quelques détails encore. L'auteur connaît si bien toute la poésie de cette période, et il est si préoccupé de ne rien omettre, qu'il semble parfois embarrassé de la richesse de ses matériaux. Par exemple, les deux citations de Baudelaire, p. 125, 126, valaient-elles vraiment la peine d'être

P. Génévrier: *Précis de Phonétique comparée française et anglaise et manuel de prononciation française*, Paris, 1927. Pp 379.

This manual differs from other works on French phonetics in that emphasis is put on the differences which exist between French and English in the various factors which make up speech, as the individual sounds, the syllable, tonic accent, intonation, etc. The greater part of the errors in the pronunciation of foreigners are ascribed to erroneous assimilations between the foreign language and the native tongue. Accordingly every topic considered contains a section headed *Remarques sur la prononciation des Anglo-Saxons*. These remarks, based on practical experience in teaching English and Americans, contain many valuable criticisms and suggestions for correcting mistakes. The chapter on the coincidence and lack of coincidence of the primary and secondary accents in French and English is new and interesting.

There is considerable hair splitting in regard to the pronunciation of the vowels. Granted that another symbol is needed to indicate the difference which exists between the French open *o* in *or* and *robe*, do we, however, need four symbols to indicate the various sounds of *a*? The author himself admits that the difference between the [a] *ouvert bref* as in *patte* and *moyen bref* as in *malade* is rather subtle and can be practically neglected in conversation. Is there a difference in the final *a* in *tracas* and in *coutelas* as he indicates? The sound of [ɛ] is called *long et ouvert* in *sais-je* and *paix*, but *moyen* in *puissé-je* and *vrai*. But these distinctions, the existence of which will be denied by many Frenchmen, vary according to the position in the sentence and the emotion with which they are spoken. It must be confusing, even to the advanced student for whom this book is intended, to insist on distinctions which change according to circumstances, as is especially the case with distinctions of quantity.

The many typographical errors are to be regretted. One of the most unfortunate of these is (p. 73): *Partir, prononcer* [pa:tiə] *au lieu de* [parti:r].

These criticisms aside, the manual has much that is new and valuable to offer both students and teachers of French.

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faites, et justifient-elles la conclusion qui en est tirée dans le même paragraphe, p. 126? et, p. 173, une phrase qui unit V. Hugo et Sully-Prudhomme en les qualifiant tous deux de "truly great geniuses," paraît pousser un peu loin l'admiration pour le second de ces poètes, et a du moins le mérite de l'originalité, aujourd'hui où la mode se montre plutôt cruelle pour le tendre Sully.

*French Literature in Outline.* By P. H. CHURCHMAN and C. E. YOUNG. New York: The Century Co., 1928. x + 322 pp.

Another manual, based frankly upon predecessors, written in a style pedestrian but lucid and with an occasionally felicitous concision. There is considerable repetition in the six parts: (1.) *Landmarks*, three pages on the history of France and a useful, modified, abbreviation of Greene's *Historical Chart of French Literature*; (2) *Brief Synopsis*, thirty orthodox pages (yet what enlightenment comes from reading the statement, brief indeed, that French short stories in the modern period are "numerous in quantity—various in quality" ?); (3) two hundred pages of the usual type of manual, workmanlike; (4) *A Summary of the Development of the Important Types*, twenty pages which are not much more than a rearrangement of segments of (3), shortened and in another sequence; (5) *An Alphabetical List of Definitions*, convenient in a survey course; (6) *Questions and Topics*.

Most of the critical observations are safe and, for the very young mind, adequate. Yet we are amazed to read that the "period from 1799 to 1820 or 1830 is very barren" (p. 28), disconcerted (without being *néo-Thomiste*) by the statement that scholasticism is "uncomprehending devotion to Greek and Latin . . . models" (p. 63), far from satisfied with the summary disposal of Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal* as "a series of portraits of some 17th century worthies" (p. 204), and sure it is neither fair nor accurate to speak of Rolland as denouncing war "from a safe refuge in Switzerland" (p. 235). The reader will have a false impression of Curel when told only that he is "a playwright of abnormal psychological studies" (p. 263). Furthermore one is puzzled by a sense of literary values which results in a mere half-line stating that Proust "revived the long novel," in a simple naming of Gide as author of *les Caves du Vatican*, and then, on the same page (236), in a whole paragraph devoted to Gyp! A sub-division of literature into *Pure Literature* and *Poetry* (p. 27) is equally mystifying.

Since the main purpose is pedagogical, the *Questions and Topics* are of especial importance. These are meant "to stimulate reading of more extensive histories of literature as well as large quantities of what the French authors themselves have written" (p. 289). The texts, alas!, are mentioned only at the end. It is the authors' clear intention that the student shall study texts, but after all the emphasis (the authors have given the example) is on vicarious scholarship. That is the, unintended, danger. Few of the *Questions and Topics* are likely to call for more than regurgitation of manual facts; many are over-suggestive of the Ask-Me-Another game; some are altogether commonplace and without a spark (*The Literary Views* of Boileau, *The Style* of Fénelon, *The Outlook on*

*Life of Musset, Gautier's Views of Life and Art, Vigny, What did he write?, Renan, What did he write?, Mme de Staël, What did she write?*—the last offering at least a variant in the pronoun).

The docile student may remember, for a short time, that Bourdaloue was a preacher, that in *Rhadamiste et Zénobie* a father kills his son and then himself, that Corneille had a centenarian nephew,—and if he works hard enough he may achieve what has been called an encyclopedic ignorance. To be sure there are many facts here of real importance to the neophyte. And the book is honestly written and deserves to be received without acerbity. Yet the reviewer remains terribly afraid of a system which may give the immature student the impression that he is in contact with the reality of French literature when after being told on p. 308 to name the great comic hero of Daudet, he turns to the Index ("the sole purpose is usefulness to the student") and then, completing his task (!), reads on p. 34 the succinct statement that *Tartarin* is humorous.

HORATIO SMITH.

*Brown University.*

*Une Femme de lettres au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Anne-Marie Du Boccage.*

By GRACE GILL-MARK. Paris, Champion, 1927, in-8; vol. XLI of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*.

This monograph on a once famous and now forgotten figure helps fill in a gap in literary history. It brings added evidence of the literary movements of the period as illustrated by an author who followed rather than created them, and sheds some new light on more important writers. The salon of Mme du Boccage (1710-1802) was the meeting place not only of French men of science, economics, and literature, but especially of foreign visitors of note. In fact it is as an early cosmopolitan that she had her greatest influence. Chesterfield, Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Montague, Algarotti, and Goldoni were among her friends, and she aided Algarotti and other Italians in getting their works and translations published in France. An extensive traveler herself, she published accounts of her experiences in England, Holland and Italy which remain the most interesting part of her work to a modern reader. The most popular French version of *Paradise Lost* during the second half of the century was her work. Miss Gill-Mark has an interesting discussion of the attitude of the French critics toward Milton, *ce bizarre génie*, accounting for the changes Mme Du Boccage felt obliged to make in her imitation. Mme Du Boccage's original works, the most important of which is *La Colombiade*, an epic on the discovery of America, present a curious mixture of pre-Romanticism and



pseudo-classicism. *La Colombiade* is full of exoticism and notions of the "noble savage," and the travel letters show a fondness, perhaps affected, for moonlight nights in ruined abbeys, for English gardens, for the terrors of the Alps and for Gothic cathedrals. In point of poetic language, she was not afraid to use the *mot propre*, even when it was so unusual or technical as to require an explanation in a footnote. On the other hand, Mme Du Boccage tried in general to abide by the classic rules, and her epic is a copy of the *Aeneid* and the *Henriade*. Miss Gill-Mark's treatment is scholarly, but gives too little attention to some of the above points. Her biography is for the most part exact, but it is not as human as one might have wished. The bibliography of editions of Mme Du Boccage's works is not complete, but the general bibliography will prove extremely useful to other workers in the eighteenth century.

FREDERICK KING TURGEON.

Amherst College.

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*Stilgeschichte der eddischen Wissensdichtung, erster Band, Der Kultredner.* By WALTHER HEINRICH VOGT. Pp. 170. Ferdinand Hirt, Breslau, 1927. M. 12. 60.

This interesting study is an attempt to determine who the *pulr* (ON.) or *pyle* (OE.) was, what he did, and how his activities changed during the centuries. The author begins by giving a sketch of previous delving in this field, and presenting the linguistic material. He then proceeds to examine in detail each passage in ON. literature in which the word *pulr* occurs, and gives his interpretation of each passage and the meaning in the passage of the word under investigation. Similarly he investigates the words *pylja* and *pula*. He now turns to the persons to whom the term is applied in the monuments, and draws conclusions as to the rank and function of these persons. Next he examines the English monuments, particularly *Beowulf* and *Widsith*. Supported by these investigations, he reconstructs the *pulr* of Old Germanic times, drawing on classical sources in his reconstruction. He concludes with a sketch of the history of the activities of the *pulr*.

As the title of the volume indicates, the author interprets the subject of his investigation as properly a cult-speaker. In other words, the *pulr* speaks in the name of religion. In the monuments he appears as seer, prophet, wizard, man of learning and the like. All these have obvious connection with the supernatural; this one may grant the author. Less clear is the relationship to a cult, to formal religion. Indeed, the opposite contention is by far the more plausible, it seems to me: we have to do, not with a cult-speaker but with an individual, a personality, who through his own

powers, not through a formal religious cult, gains supernatural wisdom and speaks with authority. Mr. Vogt offers one instance, it is true, in which there seems to be some connection with a cult. I refer to Starkaðr, who slew Víkarr as an offering to Óðinn. In the *Víkarbálkr* Starkaðr is referred to as a 'dumb þulr.' Why dumb? He is so called after his murder of Víkarr, and admits that he is rightly so called. The most natural interpretation of this seems to be that Starkaðr, who by evil counsel and trickery led Víkarr to his death, is repentant, and refuses to speak (i. e., to give further counsel) for a long time. That Starkaðr was an evil counsellor is well known; he appears as such in *Beowulf* and in Scandinavian tradition. Here the victim is Ingeld, whom he drives to his death (if we follow *Widsith*). Again, the Unferth þyle of *Beowulf* is an evil counsellor, as Vogt admits. It seems clear that the wizard, the man in touch with the supernatural, might on occasion take the part of an evil counsellor, an influence for bad in affairs of state, and nothing could be more natural than such a development. I take it, then, that the þulr was not a cult-speaker, but a speaker, whose words were words of power.

KEMP MALONE.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

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*Tragedy, in relation to Aristotle's Poetics* (Hogarth Lectures on Literature, No. 2). By F. L. LUCAS. New York, Harcourt, Brace, [1928.] Pp. 160.

Near the opening of this clever but paradoxical book Mr. Lucas says (pp. 12-13): "The truth is that we do not go back to Aristotle so much for the right answers as for the right questions." Presumably we must come down to Mr. Lucas for the right answers. Yet I, for one, have long been looking for some of Aristotle's wrong opinions on the nature of poetry, and still wonder which they are. It is easier to find wrong interpretations of his questions and answers by Castelvetro, by Scaliger, by Corneille, and even by Mr. Lucas; it is easy to find many writers of the Italian and French Renaissance who took faulty interpretations of him for established truth, and to find some from the beginnings of modern criticism down who have duly reacted against treating him as an oracle, but in such a way as to hurt themselves or their readers. Mr. Lucas thinks that Aristotle gave a wrong answer to the question, What is the effect of tragedy? As one of the numerous persons who have tried to elucidate the tragic "catharsis," I will, in defense of Aristotle, simply refer to pp. 30-33 of my own booklet on the *Poetics* ("Our Debt to Greece and Rome, No. 6), and to my review of Gude-man in the *Classical Weekly*, xvii (1923), 56. The vexed question

about the effect of tragic poetry we may here pursue no further than to ask whether pity and fear *are* aroused by the best tragedy, and whether they are gone when the tragedy is over. "The one test," says Mr. Lucas, "is experience"—but he makes light of Milton's recorded experience, and Aristotle's own.

The *Poetics* also insists that the end of tragedy is *pleasure*. Aristotle's answer on this head is only one of many in the treatise. Was he wrong in his answer concerning "imitation" in his sense of the word? In saying that a work of art is like a living organism? In demanding that one incident in a play should follow another in a necessary, or, failing that, a natural, or probable, sequence? Was he wrong in saying that the characters should be true to life, true to type, and self-consistent? Wrong about the importance of Discoveries and Reversals? Wrong in holding that the style should be clear without being mean?

The truth is that, in studying the *Poetics*, we should avoid the extremes of over- and under-estimation, but should steer a course a little to the left of the middle. Aristotle is more likely to be often right than is Mr. Lucas. In a more recent book than that of Mr. Lucas, by a better scholar and critic, *Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*, by W. Rhys Roberts, we read (pp. 34-35) of Aristotle: "His repeated references . . . show that he has faithfully reviewed the rhetorical field of his own and previous days. And in the light of current shortcomings he lays down the true philosophical principles of rhetoric, considered as a branch of the science of man, and writes a treatise which has never been superseded, and is never likely to be superseded." Such also was the considerate opinion of Bywater in his edition of the *Poetics* (1909, p. viii): "He tells one in fact how to construct a good play and a good epic, just as in the *Rhetoric* he tells one how to make a good speech. And in doing this he has succeeded in formulating once for all the great first principles of dramatic art, the canons of dramatic logic which even the most adventurous of modern dramatists can only at his peril forget or set at naught." The defect of the *Poetics* lies, not in what it gives, which is sound, but in what it could not give—the rapture of Plato and "Longinus," and the elements of an art of poetry that must be derived from the Hebraic and Christian tradition. In building this art we need reject nothing from Aristotle, whose treatise, as Professor Ross says (*Aristotle*, 1923, p. 290), "contains perhaps a greater number of pregnant ideas on art than any other book."

Mr. Lucas is more helpful when he turns to the effect of comedy. But surely (p. 19) the treatment of Euripides by Aristophanes is not that of "angry invectives." And it may be remarked (see p. 61) that the "unities" of time and place descended rather from Roman comedy than from the Greek tragic chorus. And, again, it is not right to speak (p. 65) of the chorus as fading out like Echo

until it becomes in Euripides "at times a mere disembodied voice." Think of the Chorus in the *Bacchae*, perhaps the last of his plays!

On pp. 57, 73, there is the same dubious (but common) quotation from *Hamlet* ("man" for "a man"). And if "What a piece of work is a man!" has a counterpart in Sophocles' *Antigone*, "To be, or not to be," answers to a chorus in the *Troades* of Seneca more directly than to any passage of Euripides. And, once more (p. 103), Deianeira's ruin does not come "only from her too great trustfulness"—it comes from a flaw in her (see *Trachiniae* 596-7) that reminds one of Desdemona's lie; nor does Antigone's ruin come "from her unflinching sense of duty"—it comes from her *second* ceremonial burying of the body, and, more particularly, thereafter, her unwise taunting of Creon. In the end, she commits suicide. Sophocles did just what Aristotle later demanded; he provided the *hamartia*, yet ennobled the character. The tragic error "Aristotle demands" does *not* play a "little part" (p. 104) in "that Greek drama on which Aristotle drew"—let alone the two epics of Homer from which his theory perhaps in the main is derived.

Cornell University.

LANE COOPER.

*The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought.*

By MURRAY WRIGHT BUNDY (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XII, Nos. 2-3). University of Illinois, Urbana, 1927. \$3.00.

Mr. Bundy has here given us the first part of what will be "a comprehensive survey of theories of fancy and imagination." He begins with the pre-socratic Greeks and traces the history of his subject through Dante. He finds that theories of the imagination bifurcated after Plato, the author of the *Dialogues* maintaining that phantasy mediated between the realm of sensation and the realm of reason; his pupil, Aristotle, on the other hand, maintaining that there are two kinds of phantasy, one corresponding to the world of sensations, one to the world of thoughts. There could therefore be for Aristotle no possibility of the imagination's being a guide to truth, since the phantasies it deals with are secondary to the sensations and thoughts which they mirror.

Subsequent philosophy, maintains Mr. Bundy, adopted either one or the other of these two ideas, or tried, as in Neo-Platonism, to harmonize them. They were passed on to the philosophers of the middle ages, who became either "mystical" with Plato or "empirical" with Aristotle. The Aristotelian tradition appeared most noticeably in the founders of the faculty philosophy; the Platonic

in the mystics, both Victorines and Franciscans. A synthesis between the two views was approached by Maimonides, strengthened by Saint Thomas, and completed by Dante.

This too schematic summary makes no attempt to clarify the terms which Mr. Bundy uses nor to do justice to the elaborate documentation which accompanies his narrative. For that the reader must be referred to the volume itself which is a work of unusual patience. To do the study justice would require a page by page examination for which space is lacking.

In spite of the admiration which Mr. Bundy's industry cannot fail to arouse, one feels tempted to make a few remarks of a less appreciative nature. First, the interpretation of Plato depends upon a dating of the *Dialogues* which may be correct but which is by no means undebatable. (In fact most of what he says about Plato is founded upon conjecture, his evidence consisting of phrases such as, "There is reason to believe . . .," and the like). Second, in his desire to be scholarly, Mr. Bundy heaps up footnotes which are often puzzling. For instance, on page 16 in seven footnotes giving his authority for his pre-socratic citations, he refers to Burnet, Diels, Ueberweg, now to one now to the other, whereas Diels would give all the information needed. Ueberweg, that is, is no greater authority on Parmenides than Parmenides is himself. So on page 14, he switches from Burnet (unfortunately the second edition) to Siebeck's history of psychology when the former is used to prove merely that Empedocles "did not distinguish between thought and perception," the latter that Democritus believed in the *eidola-theory*. These are commonplaces of history and can be backed up by references to Empedocles himself. In this connection it may be well to point out that Guthrie's so-called translation of Plotinus is not properly quoted in a work of scholarship; it is a translation of Bouillet's French translation and not of the Greek. Third, Mr. Bundy has a tendency, which philosophers at least will find unhappy, of using terms like "materialism," "idealism," "realism," "relativism," "mysticism," as if their meaning were as clear as that of "cat" and "dog." The terms have of course a vague meaning, but so vague that they are practically useless outside the salon. Fourth, he has certain prejudices of a philosophic nature which seem hardly called for in an historian. For instance, he dares to speak of "vicious dualism," which must be "overcome," without explaining why dualism is any more vicious than monism and why it must be overcome and what overcoming a doctrine of philosophy consists in. Finally, the present reviewer finds his method of exposition a bit too literal, not that Mr. Bundy sticks too closely to his texts, but that he forgets how the connotation of words changes with events which are not entirely verbal. But these criticisms are not after all of primary importance and could

be applied to a host of other treatises which occupy honored places upon our library shelves. No one who searches in Mr. Bundy's study for information will be seriously misled and one can demand little more.

GEORGE BOAS.

*The Johns Hopkins University.*

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*Briefe von und an Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegel.* Gesammelt und erläutert durch JOSEF KÖRNER. Berlin, Askanischer Verlag, 1926, vii, 727 pp.

The past decade has witnessed the publication in Germany of innumerable collections of epistolary material, especially from the period of Romanticism. One of the most monumental of these compilations, from the point of view of sheer bulk and literary-historical importance alike, is the one which Dr. Joseph Körner of Prague is now preparing. He calls it *Die Brüder Schlegel. Briefe aus frühen und späten Tagen der Romantik*. The first volume, *Briefe von und an Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegel*, published in 1926, lies before me. Two more volumes, comprising about 800 pages each and dealing with August Wilhelm, are now in press. Without wishing to anticipate, I may say that these latter will make accessible at last the voluminous Dresden *Nachlass* of August Wilhelm and will shed considerable new light upon their central figure as well as upon the period in general. But the present notice will restrict itself to the volume on Friedrich and Dorothea which has already appeared.

In his brief and thoughtful introduction of six pages, which every prospective editor of letters should ponder with care, Dr. Körner notes that the purpose of his work is primarily historical and secondarily literary. The proof of this becomes more and more evident as one delves deeper into the letters themselves but particularly into the almost boundless mine of information which the commentary furnishes. It has rarely been my privilege to see more facts crowded into 175 pages than have been packed into this commentary.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of half a dozen which had been published before in out-of-the-way places, and some dozen which were accessible only in part, all the 250-odd letters which the editor prints have never seen the light of day. They cover the period from 1794 to

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to check up even a modicum of the references in the commentary, but I desire to call attention to one error. On p. 596 it is stated that Philipp Veit's youngest daughter, Benedetta, later married a certain Becker, while on p. 602 we are told (correctly, I believe) that Benedetta died on April 15, 1838, at the age of ten.

1840 and divide into four sections, viz. 1. Lehr- und Wanderjahre, to 1808 (Friedrich to Göschen, C. G. Körner, F. v. Hardenberg, Heyne, Rahel Levin, Reimer, Frommann, Wilmans, Boisserée, etc.; Fichte, Mme de Stael, Steffens etc. to Friedrich; Dorothea to Rahel, Zelter, etc.); 2. Vita activa, to 1818 (Friedrich to Perthes, Helmina v. Chezy, von der Hagen, Wilken, Hitzig, Büsching, v. Collin, F. Stolberg, Beigel, Arnim, Fouqué, Varnhagen, Ludwig of Bavaria, etc.; Boisserée, von der Hagen, Sartorius, Jacobi, Fr. Müller, Eckstein, Schlichtegroll, etc. to Friedrich; Dorothea to Boisserée, etc.; Varnhagen, Countess Zichy, Helmina v. Chezy, etc. to Dorothea); 3. Vita contemplativa, to 1829 (Friedrich to Ringseis, Bucholtz, Wallishausser, Steffens, v. Carolsfeld, Gössing, Caroline Pichler, etc.; Pilat etc. to Friedrich; Dorothea to Pilat, Overbeck, Christine v. Stransky, Caroline Pichler, etc.); 4. Die Witwe Dorothea, to 1838, with a letter from Henriette Herz<sup>2</sup> to Caroline Veit of 1840 (Dorothea to Carl Schlegel, her children, Wilhelm and Helmina v. Chezy, Caroline Pichler, Steingass, Sophie Schlosser, etc.; her children, Henrietta Mendelssohn, Ludwig of Bavaria, Caroline Pichler, Dorothea Tieck, Windischmann, Schadow, etc. to Dorothea). In a supplementary section a dozen additional letters of Friedrich to various persons (Vieweg, Wieland, etc.) and two from Henriette Mendelssohn to Dorothea are given.

It would exceed the limits of this notice to comment in detail upon the many new contributions to the lives of Friedrich and Dorothea offered by these letters, which the editor has collected over a period of many years from some fifty libraries, archives and other sources. Suffice it to say that Friedrich's letters to Körner, Novalis, Rahel and Vieweg add to our knowledge of his early life, while the period from 1802 to about 1810 is illuminated by the letters to the publishers Reimer and Wilmans. Friedrich's years in Austria receive new light in his letters to Ludwig of Bavaria and Perthes. More human interest, to be sure, is found in the letters from and to Dorothea. She is revealed first as an exceedingly loving wife, perhaps too solicitous and extravagant in her admiration; later she appears as an aging widow still under the spell of her dead husband—a domestic, grandmotherly soul among whose chief tribulations are the weather and the welfare of her grandchildren.<sup>3</sup>

The provenience of every letter is carefully stated in the commentary, which is rich too in excerpts from the numerous unedited

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence of Dorothea and Henriette Herz, though extant, is still unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequent to the appearance of the work under discussion, the present reviewer acquired a letter of Dorothea from her declining years in Frankfurt (published in [Iowa] *Philological Quarterly*, vii, 1, January, 1928, 86-87). Apparently Dr. Körner was not familiar with this document which, though not of distinct literary interest, reveals its writer in quite the same light in which she is revealed in pp. 298-401.

letters not incorporated by the editor in his collection proper. Of particular value also are the two catalogs of all known published letters from and to Friedrich and Dorothea. Their arrangement is admirable.

The index of over forty pages is full and very helpful. In conjunction with the instructive paragraphs "Friedrich und Dorothea im Bilde" (pp. 604-606), eighteen portraits, photographs and facsimiles add to the attractiveness of the volume. The portrait of Friedrich by Auguste v. Buttlar, the pencil sketches of him by Philipp Veit and Ludwig Schnorr, the engraving by Jonas Veit, the sketch of Franziska Lesniowska by Schnorr, the portrait of Henriette Herz by Jonas and the photograph of Friedrich's grave in Dresden are noteworthy. It is regrettable though that a generally better quality of paper could not be used for so important a volume.

Every scholar interested in all in German Romanticism will welcome Dr. Körner's important contribution and will look forward to the conclusion of his labors.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

*University of Cincinnati.*

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### A CORRECTION

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In a review published in *MLN.*, XLIII (1928), 553-555, I referred to the author of a previous work on the Conde de Villamediana as "the lamented Cotarelo y Mori." I regret very much that I accepted without further investigation a statement regarding his death made by a New York newspaper. I am happy to find that it is an error.

J. P. W. CRAWFORD.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Bolton, Joseph S. G. (ed.).—*Melanthe*, a Latin Pastoral Play of the Early Seventeenth Century written by Samuel Brooke (Yale Studies in English LXXIX). Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 212. \$2.50.

Christopherson, John.—*Jephthah*, the Greek Text Edited and Translated by F. H. Fobes, with an Introduction by W. D. Sypherd. *Newark*: The University of Delaware Press, 1928. Pp. vii + 157. \$2.00.

Dahlerup, Verner (ed.).—*Ordbog over det Danske Sprog* (Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. Tiende Bind. Kant-Kongstanke). *København*: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1928. Pp. 1238.

Doughty, Oswald (ed.).—*The Vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith. *London*: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. lxvi + 243. 8 s. 6 d.

Ekwall, Eilert.—*English River-Names*. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xcii + 488. 25 s.

Emperor, John Bernard.—*The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry*, Circa 1600-1650 (University of Missouri Studies, Vol. III, No. 3). *Columbia*: University of Missouri, 1928. Pp. 133. \$1.25.

Everett, D., and Seaton, E.—*Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, Vol. VIII, 1927 (for the Modern Humanities Research Association). *Cambridge*: Bowes and Bowes, 1928. Pp. viii + 201. 6 s. 6 d.

Foerster, Norman (ed.).—*The Reinterpretation of American Literature*. *New York*: Harcourt, Brace, 1928. Pp. xv + 271. \$2.00.

Holthausen, F. (ed.).—*Havelok*. 3d ed. (Alt- und Mittelenglische Texte Bd. 1). *Heidelberg*: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928. Pp. xx + 140. 2.80 M.

Irving, William Henry.—*John Gay's London*. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xviii + 459. \$6.00.

Keller, Wolfgang (ed.).—*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* (Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Band 64). *Leipzig*: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1928. Pp. iv + 259. 10 M.

Küster, Elisabeth C.—*Mittelalter und Antike bei William Morris, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Mediaevalismus in England*. *Berlin und Leipzig*: Walter de Gruyter &

Legouis, Pierre.—*André Marvel, poète, puritain, patriote, 1621-1678*. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xii + 514. \$6.00.

—*Donne the Craftsman, an Essay upon the Structure of the Songs and Sonets*. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 101. \$1.25.

Lytton, Edward Bulwer.—*The Coming Race and The Haunted and the Haunters*. Introduction by F. J. H. Darton (World's Classics). Oxford University Press, *New York*: 1928. Pp. xix + 229. \$8.0.

Meredith, Joseph Arthur and Jack, William Shaffer.—*Outline English Grammar for Romanic Language Students*. *Philadelphia*: Privately Printed, 1928. Pp. 22. \$40.

Milford, H. S. (ed.).—*The Oxford Book of Regency Verse, 1798-1837*. Oxford University Press. *New York*: 1928. Pp. viii + 888. \$3.75.

Nitchie, Elizabeth.—*The Criticism of Literature*. *New York*: Macmillan, 1928. Pp. xii + 397.

Padelford, Frederick Morgan (ed.).—*The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (University of Washington Publications, Language and Literature, Vol. V). 2d ed. *Seattle*: University of Washington Press, 1928. Pp. xii + 284. \$2.50.

Renwick, W. L. (ed.).—*Complaints by Edmund Spenser*. *London*: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 273. 7 s 6 d.

Smith, Robert Metcalf (ed.).—*Types of Domestic Tragedy* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. viii + 576. \$1.65.

—*Types of Historical Drama* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. viii + 635. \$2.00.

—*Types of Romantic Drama* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. viii + 621. \$2.00.

—*Types of Social Comedy* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. viii + 579. \$2.00.

—*Types of World Tragedy* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. x + 667. \$1.65.

Smith, Robert Metcalf and Rhoads, Howard Garrett (ed.).—*Types of Farce-Comedy* (World Drama Series). *New York*: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Pp. vi + 598. \$1.65.

Spurgeon, Caroline F. E.—*Keats's Shakespeare, a Descriptive Study Based on New Material*. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 178. \$10.00.

Tannenbaum, Samuel, A.—*Shakespeare*

University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 109. \$15.00.

Tucker, Gilbert M.—American English. *New York*: Knopf, 1921. Pp. 375.

Woolf, Virginia (ed.).—A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Laurence Sterne (World's Classics). *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvii + 233. \$.80. [Pleasant, stimulating introduction, excellent type and paper.]

### GERMAN

Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Aufklärung. Christian Thomasius u. Christian Weise. Hrsg. von F. Brüggemann. [Deu. Literatur. Reihe Aufklärung, Bd. 1.] *Weimar*: H. Böhlau, 1928. 349 pp. M. 5.

Bab, Julius.—Befreiungsschlacht. Kulturpolitische Betrachtungen aus literarischen Anlässen. *Stuttgart*: J. Engelhorns Nachf., 1928. 217 pp. M. 4.50.

Benzmann, Hans.—Zu seinem Gedächtnis, hrsg. von Karl Stork. *Greifswald*: Akademisch-Literar. Bund, 1928. 68 pp. M. 2.80.

Bettelheim, Anton.—Karl Schönherr. Leben und Schaffen. Mit 8 Bildtafeln. *Leipzig*: L. Staackmann, 1928. 187 pp. M. 5.

Byersdorff, Willi.—Studien zu Philipp von Zesen's biblischen Romanen "Assenat" und "Simson." [Form und Geist, H. 11.] *Leipzig*: H. Eichblatt, 1928. 117 pp. M. 5.

Bohnenblust, Gottfried.—Leuthold. Rede zum Gedächtnis s. 100. Geburtstages. [Schriften der Freistudentenschaft Bern, H. 4.] *Bern*: A. Francke, 1928. 14 pp. Fr. 0.80.

Bosch, Rudolf.—Die Problemstellung der Poetik. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung über die Methoden und Grenzen wissenschaftl. Wertbestimmung. [Beiträge zur Ästhetik. 18.] *Leipzig*: Leop. Voss, 1928. vii, 183 pp. M. 12.

Buchheit, Gert.—Rainer Maria Rilke. Mit 9 Abb. *Zürich*: Rascher & Cie, 1928. 185 pp. M. 7.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

### PART VI

BERME, f. is defined by the *DWb*,<sup>1</sup> as "1) ein schmaler gang am graben unten im wall. franz. berme. 2) ein streife lands, der vor oder hinter dem deich stehen bleibt." The word is also discussed under *Barme*, *Bürme*; no citations are given in either place. The word may be traced back to the seventeenth century, particularly in the first, or technical meaning used in fortification: Der Fuß des Walls, oder die Berm, ist der Rand oder Absatz nechst am Graben. Frantz. Lisiere ou Berm. Latein. Margo Valli. Niederl. Theen an de Wal. (Schildknecht I, 20: 1652); das Fundament auff der Berm, in der eussern Anlag (I, 104); lasse ich vor dem Ersten Zaun eine Berm in die 6 S. breit (I, 107); wenn das Wasser hoch und nahe an die Berme reichert, ist es desto gefährlicher (III, 45); daß der Feind . . . gar unter die Berm des Walls gelangen . . . kan (III, 81); Wenn die mittel Geschichte auff die unterste gelegt wird, als auch 6 S. hoch, so bleibt von der untersten Geschichte eine Berm 1. S. 5 Z. breit auff jeder Seiten, dergleichen Berm krigt auch die mittel Geschicht, wen die ober Geschichte darauff gelegt wird, und hat alsdann . . . die Form . . . als ein Heidnischer Alter ohne Götzen. (III, 49). In all but the last instance the word is used in the technical sense of terrace between rampart and moat: in the last passage the meaning is 'strip,' 'border,' 'ledge.' Instances in the technical sense occur also in *Ardüser* (1653): ein banck, so berm oder zeehen gnennt 6. schuh breit, darhinder ein Brustwehr (p. 21); Die Zeehen oder Berm (p. 19); Berm oder Zeehen des Wals (p. 32). Similarly *Scheiter* (1676): da die Berm . . . gantz hoch auffgemauret (p. 14); Hernach will er den Fuß

vom Berm mit Mauer-werck aufführen (p. 23). The last instance is either masculine or neuter. Fäsch (1735) gives the following definition:

Berm, F. Berme, Barbe, Lisiere, Orteil, Pas de Souris, Relais, oder auch Retraite, L. Margo fossae, ist der Fuß eines Walles, oder andern Festungs-Wercks, von 1. 2. 3. bis 6. Fuß breit, nachdem die Werke hoch oder niedrig, klein oder groß sind, gegen den Graben, und das Feld zu gemacht, um die von dem Walle herunter geschossene Erde desto besser zu erhalten, daß sie nicht in den Graben falle und denselben ausfüllen könne.

The number of French synonyms here given is noteworthy.

FAHNEN-LINIE, an apparently unrecorded word, occurs in Puysegur (1753) in a foot-note to *place d'armes* and *front de bandière*:

*Front de bandière*, ist ein Wort aus der Kriegskunst zu Zeiten Caroli V und Francisci I, da die Italiäner sich fast alleine Mühe gaben die

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<sup>1</sup> The following sources have been used:

- Ardüser, Johan J., *Architectura von Vestungen*, Zürich, 1653.  
 Böckler, Georg Andreas, *Schola Militaris Moderna: Oder Neu-vermehrte Kriegs-Schule*, Frankfurt a. M., 1706.  
 DWb. = *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, Leipzig, 1854 ff.  
 Fäsch, Joh. Rud., *Kriegs- Ingenieur- Artillerie- und See-Lexicon*, Dresden und Leipzig, 1735.  
 Gruber, Joh. Seb., *Die Heutige, neue, vollkommene Kriegs-Disciplin und Exercir-Kunst*, Franckfurth und Leipzig, 1702.  
 Hüttler's, Simon, *Chronik der Stadt Trautenau* = *Deutsche Chroniken aus Böhmen*, II, Prag, 1881.  
 Iglau = *Chronik der kgl. Stadt Iglau* = *Quellen der Geschichte Mährens*, 2. Bd. Brünn, 1861.  
 Kluge, Friedr., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 10. Aufl. Berlin, 1924.  
 [Melder, G. v.] *Kurtze jedoch Grundmässige Unterweisung Der Regular und Irregular Fortification*, Osnabrug, 1661.  
 Puysegur, *Grundsätze und Regeln der Kriegs-Kunst*, übers. von George Rudolph Fäsch, Leipzig, 1753, 1754, 2 vols.  
 Scheiter, Joh. Bernh., *Examen Fortificatorium*, Strassburg, 1676.  
 Schildknecht, Wendelin, *Harmonia in Fortalitiis construendis . . . Beschreibung Vestungen zu bauen*, Alten Stettin, 1652.  
 Schulz, Hans, *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, 1. Bd., Strassburg, 1913.  
 Sperander, *A la Mode-Sprach der Deutschen, Oder Compendienses Hand-Lexicon*, Nürnberg, 1728.  
 Wallhausen, Johann Jacob v., *Archiley Kriegskunst*, Hanau, 1617.  
 Weigand, Fr. L. K., *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 5. Aufl. von H. Hirt, Giessen, 1909.

Kriegskunst in gewisse Regeln abzufassen. Nach der teutschen Art zu reden heisset es die Fahnen-Linie. Weil aber Truppen, wenn sie ausrücken, sich noch vor der Fahnen-Linie in Schlachtordnung stellen, und der Platz, worauf sie alsdenn zu stehen kommen, der Place d'armes genennet wird, so habe ich der Deutlichkeit willen dieses letztere hier gebraucht. (I, 206).

FASCHINE, cited by Weigand from the year 1678, occurs in Ardüser (1653): gegen dem meer ziecht man den Tamm in die schar oder abdachung mit fasinen, verpfälung vnd mit steinen bevestnet, damit die wällen des wassers . . . (p. 71).

FELD-ARTILLERIE, not found in *DWb.*, occurs in Puysegur (1754): sechs Brigaden Feld-Artillerie, nebst der hierzu nöthigen Munition (II, 2); zwey Brigaden Feld-Artillerie, iede von zehen Canonen (II, 27).

FELDSTÜCK can also be cited from Puysegur: an die Artillerie Befehl ertheilet, sechs leichte Brigaden, iede von zehen Feldstücken . . . marschiren zu lassen (II, 4).

FELDBINDE, not dated in *DWb.*, occurs in Hüttler (1594): schwarze wames, rot und weiß kartekken, feldbinden, cardelatzen, halben muschkettrohren büchsen (p. 321).

FELDPOSTEN, not given in *DWb.*, may be cited from Puysegur: Hat man aber nur kleine feindliche Partheyen zu befürchten, so darf man nur rings um die Fouragierer Feldposten zu Pferde und zu Fusse aus stellen (I, 227); einige Truppe Cavallerie stellen, welche von Distanz zu Distanz Feldposten aussetzen (II, 16).

FELDWACHT, not given in *DWb.*, also occurs in Puysegur: ziehen sich, so wohl die ganze alte Feldwacht der Cavallerie . . . als auch alle Detachements Infanterie . . . zusammen (II, 14); Alle die alten Feldwachten und Posten, welche . . . nach dem rechten Flügel zu gestanden (ib.).

FLÜGELMANN, cited by Weigand from the year 1741, and by the *DWb.* from Goethe, occurs in Fäsch (1735): Flügel-Mann, heisset derjenige, so in dem vordersten und hintersten Glied, auf dem rechten u. lincken Flügel stehet (p. 316).

GALDREY: this word, a corruption of Gallerie, is consistently used by Ardüser (1653): mit den Approchen oder zunahungen,

mit Lauffgräben, Sappen, Galdreyen, Minen vnd Stürmen angriffen wirt (p. 5); vnd mit der sappen im graben, daß er anfangt die galderey zutreiben, da man jhn mit mehr wol kan hinderen (p. 11); zu defendierung des Grabens, vnd verhinderung der Galdreyen vnd Minen (p. 38).

GEISTESGEGENWART seems first recorded for Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie*, 1785. Earlier is *Gegenwart des Geistes*, a translation of the French *présence d'esprit*, cited by the *DWb.* from Mendelssohn, *Literaturbriefe*, 1760. A still earlier instance occurs in Puysegur (1754): wie weit sich die Gegenwart des Geistes (*présence d'esprit*) bey einem commandirenden General erstrecken müsse (II, 52).

GEMEINER, 'private': siebenzehn Compagnien, iede zu fünf und vierzig Gemeinen, und drey Officieren, welches zusammen sieben hundert und fünf und sechzig Gemeine, und mit dem Adjutanten zwey und fünfzig Officiere beträgt . . . aus sechs und siebenzig tausend und fünf hundert Gemeinen, . . . aus zwey und dreyßig tausend Gemeinen (Puysegur, II, 8); Die Gemeinen haben Brodt und Fleisch . . . erhalten (II, 27). In the instances on page 8 the word does not mean simply 'private,' but rather 'enlisted men, including non-commissioned officers.'

HAUBITZE: this word is derived from an older *Haufnitz*, of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Exactly when the modern form appears seems not to have been definitely established: Kluge assumes the end of the seventeenth century. The following instance, closer to the old form in that it lacks the final -e, dates from the year 1611: Bej dem offnen thor solt ein haubiz oder Peller (ist gleich wie ein Merschl) mit Cortatschen oder hagl geladen vnd Zugericht stehn (Iglau, p. 285).

KARTILATZ: "ein seltenes, merkwürdiges Wort," according to the *DWb.*, which gives two instances, dated 1598 and 1618, in the spellings *cartilas* and *cardelast*, which go back to Bohemian *cor-tulač*. Another instance, earlier than those previously known, is found in Hüttler (1594): schwarze wames, rot und weiß kartekken, feldbinden, cardelatzen, halben muschkettrohren büchsen, sturmhauben (p. 321).

KARTÄTSCHKE, 'case-shot,' 'canister-shot,' is cited from the year 1691. The following instances are dated 1611 and 1676, respectively: ein haubiz oder Peller (ist gleich wie ein Mersch) mit Cortatschen oder hagl geladen (Iglau, p. 285); im fall man auß den Mordkellern mit Carthetschen und Hagel-schiesse, sich solches durch den gantzen Graben außbreite (Scheiter, p. 44).

KARTUSCHE, 'cartridge,' 'canister,' is cited by Schulz from the year 1697. In the slightly disguised form *Carthause* it occurs as early as 1617 in Wallhausen (p. 32): Num. 6. Ein Carthausen mit Schrodtt gefüllet. The illustration referred to represents a cylindrical can. On p. 33 there follows a detailed description: Carthausen seyn rondt in der dicke einer Caliber 1½ Calib. lang von Blech oder dünn gedrähtem Holtz gemacht, werden auch fertig gehalten in der Noth zu gebrauchen. There can thus be no doubt whatsoever concerning the meaning of *Carthause*: on the other hand, there is the question as to whether the word is not perhaps to be taken as representing *Kartätsche*, as both *Kartusche* and *Kartätsche* ultimately come from the same source, Italian *cartoccio*, French *cartouche*. The form *Carthause* was probably due in part to the fact that Wallhausen, in this book, is dealing almost exclusively with *Carthaunen*, no other species of cannon being mentioned.

Schildknecht (1652) uses the form *Carthuse*: die Sturm-Schrot- Hagel- oder Stein-Stücke und Feurkatzen, die mit Carthusen, so voll Schrot und Hagel angefüllet, geladen werden (II, 52); Imgleichen Schrot und Hagel, alte Ketten und Rade-nägel in blecherne Carthusen gefasset (II, 64); Hölzterne Stürm-Stücke mit Eisernen Ringen beschlagen, die mit Carthusen, darein Schrot oder Hagel geladen (III, 89); Regiment-Stücke (die man mit Carthusen, so voller Mußqveten Kugeln angefüllet sind) laden soll (III, 184); aber Mußqveten Kugeln in Carthusen . . . bringen kein Bedencken (III, 185). Böckler (1706) has the following definition (p. 820): Carthusen, Patronen im groben Geschütz, voller Schrott geladen. This can be interpreted as either 'cartridge' or 'canister'. In another instance from Schildknecht (III, 65) the spelling differs slightly, and the meaning is not as clear as in those just cited: Auff diese folgen nun bestelte Leute mit glimmenden Luntten, Hand Granathen, Pech Gräntzen, Chartutzen, verpichten

Strohwischen, so auff Stangen gesteckt, auf allen Nothfall und vorher ertheilten Befehl, etliche Häuser anzuzünden.

LANSPASSAT, 'Gefreyter', seems to have escaped modern lexicographers. Two instances occur in Melder (1661); in 1735, according to Fäsch, it was no longer in regular use: aber, es müssen auch die Soldaten von den Serganten, Corporalen, Lanspassaten erst wol exercirt seyn (Melder, III, 15); den Sergant an die eine Seite, den Corporal und Lanspassat an die ander Seite (III, 17). Böckler (1706) has the definition: Landspasade, des Rottmeisters Lieutenant (p. 828). Fäsch (1735) has the entry:

Lantzpassat, Gefreyter, F. Anspecade, Lanspecade, Apointé, I. Lancia Spezzata, L. Semi hastatus, ist bey etlichen Troupen ein Gefreyter bey dem Fuß-Volck, der nicht Schildwache stehet, sondern den Corporal in seinem Dienst vertritt, und behülflich ist, so aber nicht sonderlich mehr im Gebrauch.

Puysegur (1753) states that there are in a company "ein Hauptmann, ein Lieutenant und ein Unter-Lieutenant als Ober-Officiere, zwey Sergenten, drey Caporale, drey Gefreyten (*Anspessades*) als Unterofficiere" (I, 69). To *Anspessades* there is a long note by the translator:

*Anspessades* oder vielmehr Lanspessades. Dieses Wort hat seinen Ursprung mehr von dem teutschen Worte Landsbesaß oder Landsaß als von irgend einem andern. Denn den Nahmen führten ehemahls in Teutschland die jungen Edelleute, welche in Krieg giengen, zum Unterschiede der Landsknechte oder gemeinen Soldaten. Weil sie Landsansäßig waren, vertraute man ihnen die verlohrnen Schildwachen; sie musten auch die Landsknechte auf ihre Posten führen und sie visitiren. Zuweilen hat man sie auch in Frankreich *Appointés* genennet, wie sie denn noch heute zu Tage bey denen zwey italiänischen Regimentern *Royal Italien*, und *Royal Corse* unter diesem Nahmen in denen Listen bekannt sind. Bey denen Teutschen heißt dieses Wort ein Gefreyter, weil er gemeinlich von denen gewöhnlichen Wachen befreyet ist, und nur selbige aufführet.

LAUFFEUER, 'in einer Linie gestreuten Schießpulvers laufendes Feuer', cited by Weigand from the year 1715, occurs nearly a century earlier: fahre alsdann mit einer kleinen Ladschauffel voller Pulver, vnd fange an von hinten an, biß zu vorn im lauff zu zetlen, ein Lauffewer machendt (Wallhausen, p. 75: 1617). gib Feuer vorn im Stuck durch ein lauff Feuer, so wirdt es außwerffen. (*ib.*)

LAZARETWAGEN: folgen . . . diesen die Lazaretwagen, ferner die Carossen und Chaisen (Puysegur, II, 16: 1754).

PARALLELE is cited by Weigand from the year 1716. Numerous instances may be cited from Ardüser (1653): deren zieht man parallelen (p. 43); wird innen wieder ein parallelen, vnd aussen zwo gemacht (p. 45); wie auch mit den vbrigen parallelen (p. 45); vnd dem grundgräble die parallelen gemacht (p. 47); zieh C R die parallelen P Q (p. 57); ein parallelen K R . . . ein parallelen R S (p. 59).

PARALLEL: mit 23. parallel linien (Ardüser, p. 32); Die vbrigen linien . . . die zieht man parallel herumb (p. 47); so zieh die Faussebrayen parallel herumb (p. 55); nach welcher die Stuck parallel streichen (p. 86).

PERPENDICULAR: erheb die perpendicular O P, vnd M Q (Ardüser, p. 53); auß e vnd g erheb zwen perpendicular auff die Seiten (p. 55); dann zieh a d, a c biß sie die perpendicular schneiden (p. 55).

PETARDE, fem., is cited by Weigand from the year 1617. A form Petard, the gender of which is not clear, occurs 1611: mit laitтер, Petard oder andern Practicen (Iglau, p. 286); one of the following instances of the same form from Ardüser must be either masculine or neuter: Mit den Petard (p. 5); desto besser vor dem Petard zuversichern (p. 82).

PFEFFER STAMPFEN: in 1753 the German language seems to have had no technical term equivalent to our expression 'to mark time' = French *piétiner*. Fäsch therefore translates Puysegur (I, 202) as follows: "sondern die Soldaten müssen beständig auf der Stelle in der Bewegung des Marsches bleiben, und nur die Beine heben, welches sie Pfeffer stampfen nennen." The following glosses are appended: "Das nennen die Franzosen mit einem Worte piétiner. . . . Bey denen Teutschen ist dies (i. e., the maneuver itself) zwar auch gebräuchlich, iedoch dieser Ausdruck nicht bekannt, ich habe also nur den Französischen Text *piler du poivre* nach den Worten übersetzt."

PIONIER: the earliest instance cited by Weigand is dated 1694. The following is from Melder (1663). The text (III, 7) reads:

Der Commissarius der Amunion mit seinem Anhang, als Picckeniers, Minirer, Boosvolck und alle Werckleute. In the Errata there is the correction: "Pioniers vor Pickeniers," i. e., we are instructed to read *Pioniers* instead of *Pickeniers*.

POLYGON is cited by Weigand from the year 1716. Ardüser (1653) uses the word repeatedly, very often with the meaning 'side,' or 'distance': deren inneren Polygon 75. Rühten ist . . . deren inner Polygon weniger dann 75 Rühten biß zu der Vestung, deren innere Polygon oder seiten 45. Rühten ist (p. 21); gleich der inneren Polygon oder seiten der Figur (p. 27); von der ausseren Polygon einwärts (p. 29); jhre innere polygon oder defension-linien (p. 32); Wann gedachte polygon oder distantz der Keel weniger ist (p. 32); die gedachte polygon wer nur 51. Rühten (p. 32); die inneren Polygonen oder Seiten (p. 47). The gender of the word, as used by Ardüser, is clearly feminine.

PROFIL, likewise cited from the year 1716, is also frequently used by Ardüser: das Profil vmb die grundlinien zuziehen (p. 31); mit diesem haupt-profil . . . von den anderen profilen (p. 32); werden alle andere Profil aus dem Haupt-profil proportioniert (p. 33); N. 2. Des gedachten Kupfers ist der Profil (p. 38); Das Profil zum Castel (p. 41); Vom vnderscheid der Profilen oder Durchschnitten (p. 84). With the exception of that on p. 38, all the instances seem to be of neuter gender.

PROVIANTWAGEN: Die Proviantwagen, so bey la Villette stehen (Puysegur, II, 27); Das Brodt, so die Proviantwagen bey sich haben (p. 33); tausend vierspännige Proviantwagen (p. 36).

REMONTPEFFER: viele Officiere versichert hatten, sie wolten sich ein ieder in ihren Quartieren Remontepferde kaufen (Puysegur, II, 81). Sperander defines Remonte: *neue Ausrüstung, Ausstaffirung*, but I have found no early instance of *Remontepferd*.

SAPPE: Weigand cites this word from the year 1712. The following instances are from the years 1653 and 1661: mit Lauffgräben, Sappen, Galdreyen, Minen und Stürmen (Ardüser, p. 5); wann der feind . . . mit der sappen im graben (p. 11); biß der Feind mit der Sappe in Graben kommt (p. 39); eine Sappe wird weit, tief und hoch gemacht (Melder, III, 38); die Brustwehr der



Aprochen und Sappe (p. 38); von Aprochen, Sappen, Gallerien, Minen (p. 39).

SAPPIRER: this word seems unrecorded, although its equivalent *Sappeur* is assigned to the eighteenth century. The following instance is from Melder (1661): der Sappirer muß wol zusehen daß sein Hügel von Erde, den er stets zu seiner Beschützung vor ihm hat, hoch genug sey (p. 38).

SCHLAPPSTIEFEL: the *DWb.* is able to cite only a single instance of this word, from Immermann's *Münchhausen* (1838). The following instances from Puysegur (1753) all refer to a cavalry boot: Daß man die Schlapp- oder leichten Stiefeln bey der Cavallerie eingeführet, ist nicht gnug zu loben (I, 148); Da er hingegen in Schlappstiefeln weit leichter und geschlossener zu Pferde sitzen . . . kan. (*ib.*); Wenn man reuten lernt, so geschiehet es in Schlappstiefeln (*ib.*); Die Escadron . . . trenne sich nicht so leicht, als in Schlappstiefeln (*ib.*); Denn die Schlappstiefeln kosten viel zu unterhalten, und machen dem Rittmeister mehr Aufwand (*ib.*).

SCHWADRONIEREN: this word, now used almost exclusively in the meaning 'viele Worte machen, renommieren,' is cited from Goethe in the sense of 'sich durchhauen' and from Schiller in the sense of 'herumstreichen, sich herumtreiben'; cf. *DWb.* IX, 2175 f., where the conclusion is reached:

daß der ausdruck *schwadronieren* für wildes, planloses fechten akademischen kreisen entstammt (vgl. *schwadronenhieb*). in denselben kreisen mag sich die übertragung auf planloses, großthuerisches wesen vollzogen haben (vielleicht in anlehnung an *schwadern*, schwatzen). auch *schwadronieren* 3, sich herumtreiben (eigentlich sich herumschlagen?) kann aus dem fechterausdruck abgeleitet werden; dann würden Göthe und Blumauer den eigentlichen sinn genauer getroffen habens als Schiller.

Other lexicographers tacitly accept this interpretation, or explicitly refer to the *DWb.*, as does Kluge (p. 442). The latter, however, adds the query: "Bedeutet das Zeitwort ursprünglich 'in Schwadronen herumschwärmen'?" This question can now be answered, as the verb occurs a number of times in a technical, military sense in Puysegur (1753):

In diesem Falle müste man die Compagnien, so vorher aus funfzig Köpfen bestanden, viel eher um funfzehn Mann verstärken, und sie lieber mit drey

Compagnien, so zusammen hundert und fünf und neunzig Mann betragen, schwadroniren lassen, als neue Compagnien errichten. (I, 140); Man könnte wohl den Einwurf machen, und sagen: wenn die Compagnien von fünf und dreyssig Mann, so wie sie dazumahl im Kriege 1701 bestunden, und zu vieren schwadronirten, auf funfzig Pferde gesetzet werden, so braucht man deren nicht mehr als drey zu einer Escadron, welches an stat hundert, hundert und drey und dreyßig Escadronen beträgt: Wenn aber die Compagnien gar bis fünf und sechzig Mann vermehret werden, und man die Escadronen allezeit mit drey Compagnien schwadroniren lässet, so giebet auch die zweyte Verstärkung mit sechs tausend Pferden bey denen vier hundert Compagnien, nicht eine Escadron mehr. (*ib.*).

The word *Escadron*, as here used, is the counterpart of *Bataillon*, as applied to infantry, and the problem discussed is whether it is more advisable to increase the number of men in a troop, or to increase the number of troops in an *Escadron*. The verb *schwadronieren* refers to the noun *Escadron*, which also appears in German as *Schwadron*, *Schwadrone*, *Schwader*, *Geschwader* (cf. Fäsch, p. 1735). The meaning of the verb thus becomes perfectly clear: 'to operate as a squadron, to constitute a squadron.' From the first meaning that of 'to swarm,' 'to roam,' and the like, can be easily derived, likewise that of 'sich durchhauen.' The meaning current at the present day, 'to rant, to brag,' is the last derivative, and is probably the result of contamination with *schwadern* 'schwätzen,' as the *DWb.* surmises (IX, 2176). The point of contact could very well have been the noun *Geschwader*, meaning not only 'squadron' but also 'Geschwätz' (*DWb.* IV. 1. 2, 3980).

SKALA, usually dated from the eighteenth century, can now be cited from the year 1653: auf der scala oder Meßleiter . . . auf gemelter scalam . . . auff der scala (Ardüser, p. 18); schreib erstlich die Scala oder Meßleiter (p. 26); Die maß eines jeden theils eröffnet die scala (p. 28); vnd solche auff die Mäßleiter halten thut (p. 28); das mäß werden die dabey gesetzten mäßleiten eröffnen (p. 38); darmit macht man die Mäßleiten oder scalam (p. 41); im Riß vnd beygefügtter Meßleiter zusehen (p. 90). The synonym *Meßleiter*, which I do not find recorded, is perhaps a coinage of Ardüser.

TUPFLET, 'punktiert': the words *Tupf*, *Tüpfel*, *Tüpfelchen*, and the like, are common enough, but I have not met with the participle *düpflet*, 'dotted,' used regularly by Ardüser (1653): mit den

düpfleten linien anweisen (p. 53); mit punctierten oder düpfleten linien (p. 63); die düpflet linien wie im grundriß . . . die düpflet linien zu rechten Wincklen (p. 91).

VERGATTERUNG: this word, to be compared with Engl. *gather*, *forgather*, occurs already in MHG. in the sense of 'Vereinigung,' 'Versammlung.' In modern German, one use of the word is the designation of a military signal, described in the *DWb.* (XII. 2. 380) on the strength of Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, but without the quotation of the original sources. These are now available: Ein jeder Regiments Tambour . . . gehet vor denselben her mit einem Staabe, wie denn solches auch muß observiret werden bey der Reveille und bey der Vergatterung (Gruber, p. 287: 1702); Nach der Generale wird um Mitternacht Vergatterung geschlagen und zu Pferde geblasen. Sogleich rücket die Armee aus, wie es soll befohlen werden. (Puysegur, II, 10: 1754); So bald Vergatterung geschlagen worden, ziehen sich, so wohl die ganze alte Feldwacht der Cavallerie von zwölf hundert Pferden, als auch alle Détachements Infanterie, deren Anzahl sich auf sechzehn hundert Mann beläuft, die um das Lager herum postirt gewesen, zusammen, wie folget (p. 14). Fäsch (1735) defines the military term as follows (p. 945):

Vergadderung, oder der Wach-Streich, F. Assemblée, H. Vergaderinge, L. Convocatio militum, ist ein Holländisches Wort, und bedeutet eine Versammlung, daher heisset bey den Soldaten die Vergadderung schlagen, Fr. Battre l'assemblée, wenn die Tambours und Pfeiffers, von einem oder mehr Regimentern, mit vorhergehenden Regimentstambour durch die vornehmsten Gassen oder Strassen einer Stadt, oder im Felde von einem Ende des Regiments bis zum andern, das Spiel oder die Trommel rühren, den Soldaten anzudeuten, daß sie sich vor ihres Hauptmanns oder Lieutenants Quartier versammeln sollen, da sie denn, so bald sie beysammen seyn, gestellt, visitiret, und alsdenn, wenn alles richtig, auf den Sammel- oder Parade-Platz geführt werden. Ein mehrers s. Battre l'assemblée, ou Battre le second.

W. KURRELMAYER.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS OF CONDUCT: FURTHER LIGHT ON ANTOINE DE COURTIN AND  
*THE RULES OF CIVILITY*

Dr. Virgil B. Heltzel's article on "*The Rules of Civility* (1671) and its French Source," published in the January, 1928, number of *M.L.N.*, interested me particularly because it happens I had recently made a study of Courtin and his work. As my research has revealed some facts which were not set down by Dr. Heltzel, I may perhaps be permitted to add them as a supplement, so to speak, to his excellent article.

First of all, I have to admit one difference of opinion from that stated in the article in question. Dr. Heltzel treats the authorship of *The Rules of Civility* as a matter formerly in some doubt. The French original, *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité*, has indeed, as he points out, been attributed to J. Meusnier<sup>1</sup> and to Bellegarde;<sup>2</sup> but so long ago as 1712, certainly, the work had been officially recognized as that of Courtin;<sup>3</sup> and the attribution has been accepted by both the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, which have acknowledged his authorship as if it were in no kind of doubt. As for the English translation, the British Museum catalogue has for some years rightly listed *The Rules of Civility* as a translation of Courtin's book. Confusion between anonymous books of somewhat similar title, however, is the more likely when (as in the case of Courtin's book) the work has originally appeared with a half-title quite different from the regular title. The first two Paris editions of the book had, before the title page, a half-title which reads: *Traité de la Civilité Francoise*, whereas the full title of both is: *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité qui se pratique*

<sup>1</sup> At least as early as 1675. See the Paris edition, 1675.

<sup>2</sup> This was not the only work on courtesy that has been erroneously attributed to Bellegarde. So recently as the autumn of 1927 I had occasion to call to the attention of the cataloguers at the British Museum the fact that *L'Art de Plaire dans la Conversation*, although the 1743 edition (La Haye) bore the name of Bellegarde on the titlepage and was so catalogued by the British Museum, was actually by Pierre d'Ortigue de Vaumorière.

<sup>3</sup> See *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité*, Paris, 1719, "Privilege du Roy" dated 26 Janvier 1712.

*en France parmi les Honnêtes Gens*.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, one would like to know whether "*Nouveau*" indicates that the book (or something like it by Courtin) had been published prior to 1671, and was here in its second stage of development. There is no trace, however, of such an earlier work by Courtin. Probably "*Nouveau*" distinguished the work of 1671, not from an earlier book by Courtin, but from any of a number of books of similar content which may have existed before 1671, such as *La Courtoisie Francoise, enrichie de plusieurs belles et rares Lettres de Compliment* [anonymous], Heydelberg, 1658.

*The Rules of Civility* possesses interest for several reasons. It was apparently the first of a series of four treatises written by Courtin after his retirement from diplomatic duties, the whole number intended to furnish a more or less complete library of guide books on the art of living, and duly advertised as such in some of the French editions.<sup>5</sup> Its popularity, already pointed out by Dr. Heltzel, is attested by the several editions in English and the many editions in French.<sup>6</sup> And it survived until well into the eighteenth century. Unlike many works of its kind, it was written by no pedagogue engaged in putting forward theories

<sup>4</sup> It is such confusion of titles which has caused the British Museum to catalogue as another edition of Courtin's book a work entitled *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité Francoise* [sic], registered 23 Jan. 1683, possibly not published until 1688 (see the Museum copy, 8410.bb.22). This is entirely different from Courtin's book. In nine chapters it gives, as answers to questions, directions on matters of etiquette intended not for a person of quality but for lesser persons. So far as I know, it was not published in English. Nor does it seem to have been noticed by French bibliographers.

<sup>5</sup> The other treatises are: *Traité sur la Jalousie*, 1674; *Traité de la Paresse*, 1674; *Traité du Point d'Honneur*, 1675. Only the first and third of these, so far as I can find, were translated into English—the first in 1684, the third in 1703 (see *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1703, pp. 229-274).

<sup>6</sup> The catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum reveal the existence of twenty-one distinct French editions (several of them obviously pirated editions), of which twelve are before 1700. How many editions there were of which no copies now exist, one can only guess. It is noteworthy that an English translation of the book appeared in the very year of its first publication in France—no uncommon occurrence in the later seventeenth century, when literary relations between France and England were indeed close.

about conduct, of which he himself might know but little from personal experience, but by a man of the world who had been brought up in courts and had lived his life among important persons of several nations—a person whose profession it was to practice courtly behavior, who knew it not from the printed page only, but from actual experience.

For Courtin's was by no means an uninteresting career. The son of a government official in Auvergne, he was at the age of twenty-three taken to Sweden by the French ambassador to that country, where he soon found favor with Queen Christina, and was by her made one of her secretaries, elevated to the nobility, and given an estate (1651). Upon the accession of Charles Gustavus (1654), Courtin attached himself to the king and accompanied him in his campaigns. Greatly trusted by Charles Gustavus, he was sent as special envoy to France. On the death (1660) of the Swedish king, Courtin came into diplomatic service for his own country. Louis XIV sent him to represent France among the countries to the north. It was in pursuance of this mission that in 1662 he was resident in England, and that he conducted the negotiations with England for the restitution of Dunkirk. At about the age of fifty he withdrew from public life, settled in Paris, and gave himself up to a life of piety and to writing.<sup>7</sup>

What is notable, however, is that for all his experience of life, his book borrows largely from other works on conduct. And this despite Courtin's explicit disclaimer:

Not that I have made use of any book of the like subject, in the Composition of mine; I knew well that old absolute [*sic*] Treatises of civil precepts, which depend wholly upon custom, are rather a trouble then advantage to him that uses them; and therefore I thought it much better to consult present practice, then add worm-eaten instructions.<sup>8</sup>

The fact remains, nevertheless, that he has not really shaken himself free of the precepts long since codified by Erasmus and Della Casa and others. He openly, indeed, borrows from two favorite sources of the seventeenth century writer on conduct: Cicero's *De*

<sup>7</sup> *Biographie Universelle*, IX (1852), and *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XII (1856).

<sup>8</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, 1671, pp. 149-150.

*Officiis* and *Ecclesiasticus*, which he quotes in footnotes.<sup>9</sup> And (if we are to accept the opinion of Moncure D. Conway) Courtin "plagiarizes largely from" a "Jesuit manual [i. e. *Bienveillance de la Conversation entre les Hommes*], but does not mention it."<sup>10</sup>

But the most interesting information I have to present has to do with the various editions of Courtin's book. The first French edition of the *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité* seems to have been published in Paris, 20 January, 1671.<sup>11</sup> Although the book originally contained nineteen chapters, the earliest subsequent French edition I have seen has twenty-two chapters,<sup>12</sup> the number common to all other later French editions which I have examined.<sup>13</sup> The chapters added are on complimenting;<sup>14</sup> on civility to be observed by a superior to an inferior; and on civility among equals, with remarks upon raillery. Moreover, certain other chapters are expanded more or less—one by about a third, another from six pages to seventy: a whole treatise on style, general as well as in letters, with examples of several kinds of writing—to the student of seventeenth-century style a passage of considerable interest. It would seem that Courtin, not satisfied with the first

<sup>9</sup> In the 1671 English edition, *De Officiis* is quoted twelve times, *Ecclesiasticus* four times. In the 1678 English edition the footnotes have dropped away, though the second Paris edition had retained them.

<sup>10</sup> Moncure D. Conway, *George Washington's Rules of Civility*, London, 1890, p. 17. Dr. Heltzel, in his article, has already noted this. I am inclined to question Conway's statement. My own opinion (and I find it is supported by M. Magendie, in *La Politesse Mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France*, Paris, [1925], I, 159-160) is that the Jesuit manual is but an adaptation of the *Galateo* of Della Casa. The latter work was in Courtin's day, as it had been earlier in the century, well known in France, and might have served Courtin's purpose admirably without the need of an intermediary.

<sup>11</sup> See the 4th Paris ed., 1675, page following the "Table" at the end.

<sup>12</sup> The 2nd Paris edition, 1672, "corrigée et augmentée."

<sup>13</sup> Save for those of 1719 and 1750, which have thirty-three chapters. The additional chapters in these eighteenth-century editions, however, are not present in any of the English translations and so do not affect our problem.

<sup>14</sup> Consisting mostly of a fancied dialogue between a young gentleman and a young lady, purporting to show how one may gracefully—not fulsomely—compliment another and yet carry on a conversation that makes sense.

edition, or perhaps stimulated by pirated editions, shortly after the original publication of his book added generously to it for the augmented edition.<sup>15</sup>

So much for the French editions. When we turn to the English translations we find an interesting example of the publisher's artifices to make a book more salable. The first English edition (1671), like the first French, contains nineteen chapters. As the second and subsequent French editions contain twenty-two chapters, one naturally expects the revised English editions to conform to this standard. The second English edition is recorded in Arber's *Term Catalogues* (I, 138) as "The Second Edition, with Additions." A copy of that edition I have nowhere found. Nor does a copy of the "reprint" of 1675 noted in the *Term Catalogues* (I, 200) seem to exist. Whether, therefore, these English editions contained the material added in the French augmented editions, it seems impossible to say.<sup>16</sup> But the edition of 1678<sup>17</sup> not only contains all the twenty-two chapters of the augmented French editions, but actually *adds* a chapter which exists in none of the French editions I have been able to examine.<sup>18</sup>

Space forbids an extended comparison of the matter of the original and the augmented editions. Suffice it to say that whereas the general aim of the first edition was only to instruct an inferior how to behave himself toward his superiors, the augmented editions added instructions for the conduct of superiors toward inferiors, and for conduct among equals, and that there were certain other additions.<sup>19</sup> But one matter may be mentioned before noticing the extra chapter of the English edition of 1678. Dr. Heltzel (*op. cit.*) has pointed out slight differences in a chap-

<sup>15</sup> The Paris edition of 1671 and that of 1672 ("Seconde édition, corrigée et augmentée") were published by the same bookseller: Helie Josset. Presumably, since Josset was Courtin's publisher, and since Courtin was still alive in 1672 (he died in 1685), Courtin himself made the additions in the edition of 1672.

<sup>16</sup> See, however, note 33 below.

<sup>17</sup> "Newly revised and much Enlarged," according to the title page; and the entry in the *Term Catalogues* (I, 322) adds: "according to a new Edition lately Printed in France."

<sup>18</sup> Viz., Paris, 1671, 1672; Amsterdam, 1672; Paris, 1675; Brussels, 1675; Amsterdam, 1679; Paris, 1682; Brussels, 1704; Paris, 1719, 1750.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 151 above.



ter on conduct at church, as presented in the English edition of 1671, the polyglot edition (Basel) of 1671, and the Brussels edition *ca.* 1725, and has concluded that the polyglot edition perhaps purposely omits all reference to matters of church ceremony, whereas the English edition of 1671 omits only such as would be pertinent in a Roman Catholic country. I have not seen the polyglot edition of 1671; but in an examination of various French and English editions I had been struck with the variation, in the English editions, from the original.

In the English edition of 1671, the translator had avoided mention of the holy water. As this detail was included in the Paris edition of 1671, I could only conclude that its omission from the first English edition had been intentional. And this is readily understood, in view of the feeling toward Roman Catholicism in England in 1671. The augmented English edition of 1678, on the other hand, lays upon the gentleman accompanying a person of quality the duty of preceding him at the church door *and presenting him with the holy water*,<sup>20</sup> quite as in the French versions. Moreover, the edition of 1678 follows the French versions, whereas the English edition of 1671 does not, in the following particular:

. . . All the rest of the Service we are to be upon our knees, but especially while the Host [*sic*], is upon the Altar, according to the practice in the Kings Chapel, and his Majesties most pious Order.<sup>21</sup>

There is also mention, in the later edition, of the "Wax Candle" carried through the streets when the Host is being borne to a sick person's house.<sup>22</sup> Was it, under Charles II, becoming safer to advocate Roman usages? Had Charles issued (secretly) a "most pious Order" about veneration of the Host? It may be noted, too, that the publisher did not think fit to remove these possibly objectionable references in the reprint of 1685, which, though corresponding page for page with the edition of 1678, was printed from type newly set and could consequently have been varied, had

<sup>20</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1678, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110. The edition of 1671 has: "We . . . kneel at all the rest of the Service; but more especially when we receive the Communion [*sic*]" (p. 72).

<sup>22</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1678, p. 114.

need been.<sup>23</sup> But perhaps the fact is that although in the 1671 edition Romish usages which might give offence were purposely omitted by the translator (or the publisher),<sup>24</sup> in the edition of 1678 the translator, who was apparently doing his work *de novo*, not in any sense merely revising the first English edition, followed the augmented French version without deviation, rather than consciously retained expressions which suggest the practices of the Church of Rome.<sup>25</sup>

But if the translator slavishly reproduced the French text before him, what are we to say of the addition, in the edition of 1678, of a brand-new chapter, not to be found in any of the French editions of Courtin's work? Chapter XXII of the 1678 English edition is entitled "Some general Observations not unworthy our remembrance, in relation to the regulating of our Actions," and extends from page 284 to page 295, immediately preceding the Conclusion. The most natural supposition, perhaps, is that this chapter was composed (or adapted from some third work) by the translator, in order to introduce the subject of *prudence*, of which he considered the book stood in some need. It is intrinsically not important. It lays down such generalities as: be honest—it pays

<sup>23</sup> The title page of the edition of 1685 is different from that of the 1678 edition, and the work has passed into the hands of other booksellers. The volume of 1685, while similar in general make-up and a page for page reprint, differs in many minor typographical respects from that of 1678. It may be noted that the edition of 1703, though retaining the injunction as to the use of the holy water and the other Roman Catholic practices, is at pains to subjoin a note which states: "*This Book being written by a Papist, for Persons of his Perswasion, a Protestant ought to read this Chapter with Caution. . . .*" (Ed. 1703, p. 76, n.)

<sup>24</sup> The edition of 1671 also avoids mention of the Pope and Cardinals, which occurs in the later edition, in the chapter on letter writing (cf. 1678 ed., pp. 173, 214).

<sup>25</sup> That the translator of the 1678 edition merely followed the augmented French version, rather than changed and adapted it, is also suggested by the inclusion, in this edition, in the chapter on style and writing, of long illustrative passages from a new French edition of Josephus' works which he has translated faithfully for himself, although he might have spared his pains and have quoted from a recent English translation based on this same French edition: *The Works of Josephus . . . revised and amended, . . . according to the . . . French Translation of . . . Arnould d'Andilly* . . . London, 1676.

in the long run; pay your debts promptly; be busy without seeming so; etc., etc. And it attempts a supplementary definition of civility which would sum up what Courtin had said on the subject, but which really throws the emphasis in a new way:

Civility doth chiefly consist in these three parts. 1. In not expressing by actions or speeches any injury, disesteem, or offence, or undervaluing of another. 2. In being ready to do all good offices and ordinary kindnesses for another; and, 3. In receiving no injuries nor offences from others. That is, in not resenting every word or action which may (perhaps rationally) be interpreted to disesteem or undervaluing.<sup>26</sup>

Of the second and third points Courtin has had extremely little to say. He has discoursed upon the necessity for Christian humility; but it is absence of giving offence that he argues for, which is after all a passive virtue.<sup>27</sup> Of actively doing good to others he has said nothing. Nor has he belabored the point that one should guard against taking offence at the slights of others. It seems plain, therefore, that the person who added this chapter thought to supplement Courtin's treatise, but contented himself with a very summary treatment of his additional points. In fact, the passage is no better than an unassimilated importation. But whence? One turns to Obadiah Walker's book, *Of Education. Especially of Young Gentlemen* (2nd impression, Oxford, 1673), and at page 213 is found the very passage which the translator of *The Rules of Civility* has at page 185 introduced into the 1678 edition. Save for a few verbal changes the passages are identical.

Nor is this all. In this same supplementary chapter of *The Rules of Civility* occurs the following "character" of a wise man, in whom is exemplified that *prudence* of which the chapter largely treats:

He hears rather than talks, believes not easily, judges seldom, and then upon examination, deliberates before he resolves; is constant in his resolutions, fears not to repent; he speaks well of all, defendeth the fame of the absent; is courteous, not flattering, readier to give than to receive; loves his friends, but doth nothing unworthy for their sakes; is ready to assist and pleasure all men, many times unknown; he considers events before they happen, and then is neither exalted nor dejected, he will

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<sup>26</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1678, p. 285.

<sup>27</sup> See *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1671, pp. 9-10.

avoid anxiety and moroseness, is even in his carriage, true in his words; the same in reality as he is in shew; admires few, derides none, envies none, despiseth none, no not the most miserable; he delights in the company of wise and vertuous persons; profereth not his counsel when he understands not well; is content with his condition; he doth not any thing through contention, emulation, or revenge, but endeavours to do good for evil; he labours to know so much as to be able to depend upon his own judgment, though he doth not, &c. but let this suffice.<sup>28</sup>

Obviously, this passage is at many points no more consonant with Courtin's book than the passage which has already been noted as an importation into this supplementary chapter. In fact, it too is from *Of Education*, by Obadiah Walker. A comparison of the "character" with that at pp. 233-234 in Walker's book reveals that the former is nothing but a slightly abbreviated form of Walker's "character," with only minor changes in diction, taken over almost entire and word for word, yet unacknowledged.

What is one to make of these facts? A new translation of a French work on courtesy, differing radically throughout from the original translation of seven years before, appears in 1678; this new translation contains a chapter not to be found in any of the French editions of which the book is a translation; two striking passages in this new chapter have already appeared in several editions of a well-known English work.<sup>29</sup> One possible explanation is that the author of the latter work was the translator of the 1678 edition of Courtin's book, and that he transplanted sections from his own book to the translation he was making. It seems less likely, however, that a man should despoil his own published works for the benefit of a translation he was making (unless indeed he acknowledged his source, thinking thus to puff his own work), than that someone else made free with passages from the book in question. Moreover, what evidence we have indicates that Walker was at this time publishing his books pretty regularly at Oxford, and in any case had no dealings with J. Martyn and J. Starkey, of London, the publishers of *The Rules of Civility*.<sup>30</sup> More likely is it that Walker had no hand in the translation, and

<sup>28</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1678, pp. 294-295.

<sup>29</sup> Walker's book, *Of Education*, had had at least four editions (or "impressions") between 1672 and 1677.

<sup>30</sup> Of the six books by Walker which are in the British Museum, ranging in date from 1659 to 1699, and published in London, no one was published

that another person, with characteristic seventeenth-century non-chalance about what we should consider plagiarizing, in preparing for publication the 1678 edition of Courtin's book appropriated a passage and a "character" from Walker, and the rest of the chapter from someone else, thinking to do a service to both the reader and the bookseller. Such practices, in the seventeenth century, were not uncommon. At all events, the new chapter is there, a free interpolation into Courtin's book, explain its presence how we may.<sup>31</sup>

If this borrowing were an isolated case it would be perhaps interesting, but not significant. As a fact, however, it is but a case in point: seventeenth-century books of conduct borrow freely from one another; and, like *The Rules of Civility* itself, many of them, in one way or another, go back to Della Casa's *Galateo* for many of their notions. Not every writer was necessarily conscious of his ultimate source. Many adaptations, like the borrowing from Walker's book (itself largely dependent upon the *Galateo*), were from sources more immediate. But in very many instances the ideas may be traced finally to the *Galateo*. This is particularly the case in such books as Courtin's *Rules of Civility*, which is more the manual of etiquette than a treatise on the conduct of life.

For despite the fact that Courtin begins his book with an essay on the nature of gentility and civility, his is characteristically a book which deals with forms and ceremonies. He had said:

It is not that outward address or becomingness, which is the true principle and form of a Gentleman: it is something more substantial and solid, which discovers the disposition of our soul, rather than the Gesticulations of our body.<sup>32</sup>

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by Martyn and Starkey or either of them; nor do the *Term Catalogues* show that any of his books were published by them. It seems unlikely, therefore, that they should have engaged Walker to make a new translation of one of their books, or (to put it another way) that having done work for them, he should never thereafter have chosen them as publishers for his books.

<sup>31</sup> If Walker were the translator of this augmented edition, certain matters concerning the church service, mentioned at pp. 153-4 above, would be explained; for he was first secretly, and later openly, an ardent Papist, being none other than he who instituted the mass at University College, Oxford, while he was master there, and was at the Revolution of 1688 driven out because of his religious views.

<sup>32</sup> *The Rules of Civility*, ed. 1671, p. 3.

Nevertheless it is not the things "more substantial and solid" with which he has concerned himself, but primarily the "outward address or becomingness" of polite behavior. He has not even indulged in reasoning about the psychological basis of conduct, as Della Casa had done, but has contented himself with enumerating precepts, many of them concerned with extremely petty matters such as how one shall enter the room of a person of quality. *The Rules of Civility*, then, as its title suggests, must take its place among those books which for the most part concern themselves with the externals of good-breeding, of which the *Galateo* and the various imitations and adaptations of it are the best known examples.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Since this article was accepted for publication I have had the good fortune to see a copy of the 1675 edition of *The Rules of Civility*, recently acquired by the Harvard Library. It calls itself "The Third Edition with Additions," and contains twenty chapters—the nineteen chapters of the first French and English editions, with a new chapter (XXIX) added: that noted at pp. 154-6 above as the chapter (XXII) added to the edition of 1678. Examination shows that although the 1675 edition is not a mere reprint of the original English edition of 1671, it does not contain the chapters added to the French augmented editions (1672 ff.), and the changes, with one exception, are negligible: they are mere verbal changes, the result of *revision* rather than *augmentation*. The chapter on conduct at church, for example, remains essentially as it had been in the edition of 1671—i. e., the edition of 1675 avoids reference to "holy water," "Host," "his Majesties most pious Order," "Wax Candle," etc. (see p. 153 above). The one respect in which the edition of 1675 differs notably from that of 1671 (and therefore from the original French edition) is in the inclusion of the extra chapter (no part of any of the French editions) mentioned at pp. 154-6 above. In a word, the discovery that the edition of 1675 (or perhaps that of 1673, of which no copy has turned up) was the edition which added the chapter found in no French edition—a chapter, indeed, which was partly an appropriation from an indigenous English book—in no way changes the conclusions to be drawn from the data as presented above. The edition of 1678 still remains the English version to which we must go for a translation of the *augmented* French editions. The 1675 (or 1673?) edition represents an intermediate stage, in which the English bookseller is attempting to stimulate the sale of the book by adding to it something not by the French author, but by an Englishman whose work was already popular.

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## A NOTE ON SPENSER'S USE OF BIBLICAL MATERIAL

In an article in the *PMLA.*, xli, 517-544, entitled "Spenser's Use of the Bible and his Alleged Puritanism," Grace Warren Landrum lists the definite instances of biblical influence on Spenser. She makes the statement (p. 520) that in only one instance does Spenser refer by number to a chapter in the Bible, and that once incorrectly. The instance cited is in the letter to Raleigh. The armor which the Queen of Faeries had the knight try on was "the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul v. Ephes." Miss Landrum finds the biblical reference incorrect since "obviously Spenser meant the *sixth* chapter." Now it is true that one of the places in which St. Paul explained his image is the sixth chapter of Ephesians, verses 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17; it is likewise true that no mention of the image occurs in the fifth chapter. But what Miss Landrum fails to realize is that Spenser makes no reference at all to a particular chapter. The 'v.' which she reads as the Roman numeral for 5 is in reality an abbreviation for the Latin word 'vide,' and was intended by Spenser to refer the reader to the whole of Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians. The abbreviation was in common use in the sixteenth century.

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THREE SPENSER ALLUSIONS

The following poems in praise of Spenser have not, so far as I know, been noted. They are not mentioned in Carpenter's *Reference Guide* (229 ff., 331 ff.) except as noted in II, below. All are of some special interest in that they are by known poets, contemporary or nearly so, and in that they bring Spenser's praises into connection with those given to other poets.

## I.

The poem here printed first is ascribed in the manuscript (Bodleian Wood D 32, f. 260, p. 577) to Joseph Hall.<sup>1</sup> If this ascrip-

<sup>1</sup> The poem is an entry in a notebook of Brian Twyne, d. 1644. It is not printed in Wynter's or Grosart's edition of Hall, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1851, in *Camdeni Insignia*, 1624, or elsewhere, to my knowledge. Hall's final volume of verse was printed in 1603, according to the D. N. B.

tion is correct, the stanzas are important as additional support of Cory's argument that all of Hall's definite references to Spenser laud him:<sup>2</sup> here Spenser, Sidney, and Camden are hailed as three of a kind, all bred by that England which Camden makes known, to the envy of Spain. The poem may belong to 1615, when Camden's *Annals* were published, and five years before the monument to Spenser, with its inscription, was erected at the cost of the Countess of Dorset.<sup>3</sup>

One fayre Par-royall hath our Iland bred  
 Wherof one is a liue and 2 are dead  
 Sidney ye Prince of prose & sweet conceit  
 Spenser of numbers & Heroick Ryme  
 Iniurious Fate did both their liues defeate  
 For war & want slew both before their time  
 Now tho they dead lodge in a princely roome  
 One wants a uerse, ye other wants a toome

Camden thou liuest alone of all ye three  
 For Roman stile & Englishe historye  
 Englande made them thou makest Englande knowen  
 So well art thou ye prince of all ye payre  
 Sithence thou hast an Englande of thine owne  
 Lesse welthy, but as fruitfull and more fayre  
 Nor is thine Englande moated wth ye maine  
 But doth our seas, & firmed lands contain

And scornes ye waues wherwth our Ile is pent  
 Spreadinge it selfe through ye wilde<sup>4</sup> worldes extent.  
 Lesse needs it feare ye swellinge of a brooke  
 Whose lowly chanell feeds on priuat lake  
 That can ye powder ocean ouer looke  
 And all ye streames yt thence their courses take.  
 Long may both Englands liue & livinge raigne  
 In sightt of Enuy thine & ours of Spaine.

While in<sup>5</sup> ours in thine may thou in ours abide  
 Thine ages honour & thy cuntries pride  
 And if perchance th' ingratefull age denies

<sup>2</sup> Cory, *Edmund Spenser, A Critical Study*, 1917, p. 385. Cf. Carpenter, *Ref. Guide*, p. 240, under Hall.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l. 8 of the poem; also D. N. B. under Spenser, p. 393, and Carpenter, *Ref. Guide*, pp. 22, 42 f. Sidney's burial place never had a monument (Wallace, *Life of Sidney*, 1915, pp. 396 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Read *wide*?

<sup>5</sup> Omit *in*?



To grace thy death with toombe & scrolled uerse  
 Each uillage, church & house their want supplies  
 Ech stone thy graue, ech letter is thy uerse  
 And if all these should be with thine<sup>a</sup> outwore  
 Ech streame should graue thy name vppon his shore  
 Jos: Hall. Imman.

## II.

The second allusion is here printed from Bodleian Malone MS. 16 (p. 37), another early seventeenth century commonplace book. It exists also in British Museum Addit. MS. 21433 (f. 177 b), there headed "On Spencer y<sup>e</sup> Poett. H. H." A variant couplet, without suggestion of authorship, is found in Harl. MS. 5353 (f. 2), and is printed in Carpenter's *Reference Guide*, p. 240.

The author, H. H., is undoubtedly Hugh Holland, since the quatrain is no more nor less than a variant of lines 8, 13, and 14 of his sonnet "Vpon the Lines and Life" of Shakespeare, prefaced to the First Folio. Perhaps the likeliest guess is that the praises, made current by their position in the Folio, have been quietly transferred "in Spenseru[m]," by error or design.

On Spencer. by H. H.

He was and is see then wher lies the odds  
 Once God of Poets now poet of the Gods  
 And though his line of life be gone about  
 The life yet of his line shal never out.

## III.

The third is likewise printed from Malone MS. 16 (p. 39). It is written also in the commonplace books, British Museum Addit. MSS. 21433 (f. 165 b) and 25303 (f. 187). All three copies ascribe the verses to T. May, the poet, playwright, and translator, who offered an elegy upon the death of Lady Digby in 1633.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Read *time*?

<sup>c</sup> Bright, *Poems from Digby's Papers*, Roxb. Club, 1877. It is worthy of note in passing that this elegy by May has the couplet (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 30259):

And to be lodg'd in that Majestick roome;  
 Th' Ægyptian Queen had not so braue a toombe,

which resembles ll. 7-8 of Hall's poem on Spenser, printed above; cf. ll. 19, 21-2, in Jonson's *Eulogy of Shakespeare*, 1623 Folio.

The patent reference to Digby's *Observations on the . . . Second Book of Spenser's Fairy Queen* dates these lines about 1643-4. It is interesting to note that as Hall linked Spenser and Sidney dead to Camden's living fame, so does May link the same two poets to Digby.

As we esteeme the greatest Princes blest  
 To haue theyr worth by ablest penns exprest  
 So May we thinke best poets happy then  
 When they are read & fam'd by worthy men  
 Such is thy fate braue Spencer thov hast found  
 A noble knowing Reader that Can sound  
 Thy Mistick depths one that [can] <sup>s</sup> giue thy due  
 And make the Age beleue his Censure true  
 A Sidney died to kil thy bleeding Hart  
 A Digby liues to fame <sup>o</sup> thy charming Art  
 Braue Sydne's Arts and Spirrit in him are known  
 And he no less then Sidney is thyn owne  
 Such is thy Digby such thy Sidney was  
 I could almost beleue Pithagoras.

T. May.

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## BIBLICAL ECHOES IN *MOTHER HUBBERDS TALE*

### I

The Priest, in lines 433 ff., argues in favor of the spiritual calling, twisting biblical material to his own use. With lines 437-8,

But God it is that feedes them with his grace,  
 The bread of life powr'd downe from heauenly place.

Miss Landrum<sup>1</sup> compares *John*, vi, 35: "And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never

<sup>s</sup> Supplied from Addit. MSS. 21433 and 25303.

<sup>o</sup> MS. wrongly repeats *to fame*.

<sup>1</sup> Grace W. Landrum, "Spenser's Use of the Bible and his Alleged Puritanism," *PMLA*, xli (1926), p. 543.

hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." While both passages contain the expression, bread of life, is it not rather *manna* (*Exodus*, xvi) the poet is thinking of, a bread of life literally as well as figuratively "poured" down from heaven.

## II

With lines 465-6,

Should with vile cloaths approach Gods maiestie,  
Whom no vncleannes may approachen nie:

Miss Landrum compares 2 *Corinthians*, vi, 17: "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean *thing*; and I will receive you." Obviously the reference of the entire passage (ll. 460-74), in which the Priest emphasizes the need for those of his calling to wear fine clothes, is to the high priest Aaron, whose splendid raiment and its significance are fully described in *Exodus*, xxviii. Compare verses 2, 3: "And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty. And thou shalt speak unto all *that are* wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they may make Aaron's garments to consecrate him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office."<sup>2</sup> Even Aaron's sons are to be sanctified by apparel (verse 41), because by God's command the priesthood was henceforth to be the calling of Aaron and his sons.

## III

For lines 471-2,

And all the peoples prayers to present  
Before his throne, as on ambassage sent.

Miss Landrum cites *Revelations*, viii, 3: "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer *it* with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne." If there is a source, I should say it was rather Aaron presenting the prayers of the Children of Israel (Cf. *Lev.*, ix, 7, 15; *Heb.*, v, 1 ff).

<sup>2</sup> Such references could be multiplied.

Finally, that Spenser had this part of the Old Testament in mind is made clear by his references to him who ruled the Jews with a budding rod (ll. 439-40)<sup>3</sup> and to Aaron by name (l. 463). Spenser's lines are little short of a summary, only for the Priest it is the garments themselves and not their significance which is important. The spirit is that of some of Chaucer's divines.

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### THE *HARPALUS* OF SPENSER'S *COLIN CLOUT*.

To the student of Spenser's biography, no poem is likely to prove more interesting than his *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, that remarkable account of the poet's return to court after a long exile, his disappointments, and his impressions of the people whom he met there. Of particular value are his comments upon contemporary figures of the literary world, as contained in the celebrated list of poets (ll. 380-455). It is our misfortune that so many of these poets still remain unidentified, at least with any degree of certainty, since a study of them might throw considerable light upon Spenser's own poetic tastes and opinions.

An unusually large number of guesses have been hazarded upon the identity of Harpalus, the first of the poets to be mentioned, who is described in the following lines:

There is good Harpalus, now woxen aged  
In faithful service of faire Cynthia (380-81).

Since this reference obviously places its subject among the older poets, the field of choice is somewhat restricted. Malone suggested

<sup>3</sup> For line 439 Miss Landrum cites *Isaiah*, xi, 1: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots." But compare *Numbers*, xvii, 8: "And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds," and *Hebrews*, ix, 4: "Which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant."

Thomas Churchyard as a possibility,<sup>1</sup> but this theory is disproved in Churchyard's own works, where he identifies himself as Spenser's Palemon. In 1805, H. J. Todd suggested Barnaby Googe, but could offer little to substantiate his view.<sup>2</sup> In J. P. Collier's edition of Spenser, he suggests Sir Thomas Sackville on the basis of that gentleman's great repute as a poet and his long service of Elizabeth in affairs of state.<sup>3</sup> This view is accepted by Professor Dodge, the latest commentator, on the ground that Sackville was too prominent to have been left out and that the description fits him.<sup>4</sup> But this very prominence of the illustrious author of the Induction to the *Mirror for Magistrates* has raised grave doubts in the minds of at least three students of the subject.<sup>5</sup> They point out that the reference to Harpalus consists of only two lines and these are by no means extravagant in his praise. It seems incredible, in view of Spenser's fulsome praise of Alcyon (Sir Arthur Gorges), Amyntas (Lord Strange), and Astrofell (Sidney), that he should dismiss a noble of Sackville's standing, and one whose poetic genius was so widely recognized, with so casual a reference. Also, as Nicholson points out, Sackville had written no poetry for many years and Spenser may well have omitted him from the list; Nicholson in turn suggests George Puttenham reputed author of the "Arte of Poesie," as a possible alternative.

In 1891, Dr. Emil Koepfel, in a learned article upon George Turberville, attempted to identify him as Harpalus upon the following grounds:<sup>6</sup>

1. That Turberville had served the Queen (Cynthia) as secretary to her ambassador to Russia in 1568-9 and probably received some office from her in later years, as the latter part of his life seems to have been prosperous.

2. That Turberville was *aged*.

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<sup>1</sup> Malone's Shakespeare, ed. Boswell, 1821, II, 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Todd's Spenser, 1805, I, Introduction, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Collier's Spenser, 1862, v, 44.

<sup>4</sup> The Cambridge Spenser, p. 810.

<sup>5</sup> Brinsley Nicholson, "Spenser's Harpalus," *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, I, 323-4, April 25, 1874; Grosart's Spenser, 1882, IV, 82, Introd.; Koepfel, "Die Englischen Tasso uebersetzungen des 16. jahrhunderts," in *Anglia*, XIII (1891), 42-71.

<sup>6</sup> See Koepfel, *op. cit.*

3. That his name corresponds to that of Harpalus in that each has three syllables.

4. That the term *good* seems to have been applied to Turberville by his friends, also by Thomas Blenerhasset in his introduction to the second part of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, written in 1577.<sup>7</sup>

Clearly, Koeppel's arguments, unsupported, are quite inconclusive, and his theory has never been widely accepted. Unfortunately, he overlooked the one piece of evidence which would have effectively supported his point. Upon examination of Turberville's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567), I find the following lines in his poem entitled "He Sorrowes Other to Have the Fruites of His Service":<sup>8</sup>

But I (vnhappie Wight)  
that spend my loue in vaine,  
Doe seeke for succour at hir hands  
while other get the gaine.  
As thirstie ground doth gape  
to swallow in the shoure:  
Euen so fare I poore *Harpalus*  
whome *Cupids* paines deuoure (9-16).

Turberville's reference to himself as Harpalus seems a fairly definite indication that he was the poet to whom Spenser referred. As Koeppel pointed out, the characterization fits him in other respects. He was almost fifty years old in 1590, the date of Spenser's visit to London, and was generally recognized as representative of the older generation of poets. Anthony à Wood says that "he lived and was in great esteem among ingenious men in fifteen hundred ninety and four."<sup>9</sup> His patroness and friend, Anne, Countess of Warwick and daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, was the favorite of the Queen and is celebrated later in *Colin Clout* as Theana.<sup>10</sup> She and her family are also honored in Spenser's *Ruines of Time*; to her and her sister, the Countess of Cumberland, the poet dedicates his *Fowre Hymnes*. The subject of his elegy, *Daphnaida*, is Douglas Howard, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, who was an

<sup>7</sup> *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, I, 348.

<sup>8</sup> *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, f. 92; Collier's Reprint, p. 163; Chalmers' *English Poets*, II, 626.

<sup>9</sup> *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ed. Bliss, I, 627.

<sup>10</sup> Ll. 492-504.

earlier patron of Turberville and to whom that poet's translation of Ovid's *Heroides* was dedicated. Their attachment to the same patrons increases the probability that the poets were well acquainted with each other's works, and they may well have met in person during Spenser's visit, if they were not already known to each other, as Koeppel thinks they were. Turberville's works were quite popular in their day, his *Epitaphes*, *Epigrams*, etc. being reprinted in 1570, 1579, and 1584, while his translations of Ovid and Mantuan ran through even more editions.<sup>11</sup> We are justified in assuming that Spenser was acquainted with these volumes and in all probability with the particular poem containing the Harpalus passage. Granting this, nothing is more likely than that he should have chosen to represent the older poet by his self-applied name and in this guise preserve him to his own and future generations of readers.

It is to be regretted that, even among students of the period, the works of Turberville are so little known. He is a not inconsiderable luminary among the stars of lesser magnitude and, in this day of research among the small fry of literature, certainly deserves more attention than has been accorded him. Interest in his work should be heightened by the knowledge that he, more probably than anyone else, is the Harpalus of Spenser's *Colin Clout*.

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# APROPOS OF A LETTER OF BALZAC

The letter in question is No. cxxviii of the *Correspondance*, dated: *Lundi, 2 heures du matin, 1834*. There can be no doubt that the year did not appear in the manuscript but was added, as in so many other cases, by the editor.<sup>1</sup> When the opening paragraph of the letter was written, Balzac was already at 13, rue des Batailles. But according to a letter to Madame Hanska he did not secrete

<sup>11</sup> See H. E. Rollins, "New Facts about George Turberville," *Modern Philology*, xv (1918), 135 n.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note of the editor, I, 1, of the duodecimo edition of the *Correspondance*. This note does not appear in the octavo edition included in the *édition définitive* of the *Ouvres*.

himself there till shortly before March 1st, 1835. As he took her so fully into his confidence and made his letters to her so nearly a journal of his daily life, we cannot easily think, when he writes: "Je viens de rompre tous les fils par lesquels Lilliput-Paris venait de me garrotter; je me suis fait une retraite inconnue,"<sup>2</sup> that he is referring to an event that had taken place two months or more before, all the more since, during January and February, he had written to her four times. There are two other letters<sup>3</sup> attributed to the year 1834 in the *Correspondance* which were written while Balzac was at Chaillot. But in both cases the dates were added by the editor, and in both cases they are manifestly wrong.

We must therefore conclude that the beginning of the letter was written after March 1st, 1835. One is tempted to date it in October of the same year. For he tells us in the very same paragraph how "le bon frère avait couru toute la journée pour moi, voir une maison que je veux acheter." Now on the eleventh of October he wrote to Madame Hanska: "Enfin, je pense à acheter une maison."<sup>4</sup> This is, of course, not conclusive, as the idea of buying a house occurred to him more than once. We naturally look further in the letter for evidence as to its date.

The second paragraph begins: "Je viens de conclure une bonne affaire avec *l'Estafette*." What was this *bonne affaire*? The answer would seem to be found in letter CLXXXIX. In it he reassures his sister as to his immediate money difficulties, saying that a newspaper has bought *César Birotteau* for twenty thousand francs. That the newspaper in question is *l'Estafette* appears from an optimistic paragraph farther on.

Tranquillise-toi! trois mois ne se passeront pas sans m'apporter quelque affaire pareille à celle de *l'Estafette*. On donne *César Birotteau* à ceux qui s'abonneront à ce journal; on le tire à cinq mille; si c'est une belle œuvre, quel succès!

The date assigned to this letter is 1837, and its correctness is assured, in this case, by conclusive corroborating testimony. It was in the fall of 1837 that *l'Estafette* offered *César Birotteau* as a

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, I, 234.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. CXXXIII and CXLII. In CXXXIII there is nothing that permits us to assign it a date. No. CXLII is from 1836. Cf. M. Bouteron, "Une amitié de Balzac," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er mai 1923, p. 104, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, I, 276.



prize for subscriptions.<sup>5</sup> And under date of November 14, 1837, Balzac wrote to Madame Hanska: "Il faut se jeter dans un travail inopiné, qui peut me donner une *arachnitis*. On offre vingt mille francs de *César Birotteau* s'il est prêt pour le 10 décembre."<sup>6</sup> On the twentieth of December he could write: "Je viens de terminer en vingt-deux jours comme je l'avais promis et comme je vous l'écrivais brusquement en terminant ma dernière lettre, *César Birotteau*."<sup>7</sup>

Shall we then assign the letter to 1837? Hardly. The reference in the first paragraph to the purchase of a house forbids. It may seem rash to think that a desire to possess anything could not have visited Balzac at any time. But it is next to impossible to imagine him sending his brother-in-law to look at houses for him at the end of this year of 1837. For he had then bought a place, against the remonstrances of his family, and was very conscious of the aggravated acuteness of his financial situation. The house at Ville-d'Avray, *les Jardies*, was in process of construction.<sup>8</sup> I do not see how we can escape the conclusion that we have in these two paragraphs parts of two letters quite widely separated in time.

But we are not yet at the end of the puzzles which this letter offers. If we ask ourselves what probably led the editor of the *Correspondance* to the date of 1834 we may find the answer in the third paragraph, which reads as follows:

Ne te chagrine donc pas, il n'y a pas encore péril dans la demeure; je suis fatigué, il est vrai, malade même, mais j'accepte l'invitation de M. de Margonne et vais passer deux mois à Saché, où je me reposerai et me soignerai. J'y essayerai du théâtre, tout en finissant mon *Père Goriot* et corrigeant *la Recherche de l'absolu*.

We know that *la Recherche de l'absolu* appeared in the third edition of *Scènes de la vie privée* in September, 1834, dated "Paris, juin-septembre 1834."<sup>9</sup> *Le Père Goriot* appeared in the *Revue de Paris* during December, 1834, and January and February, 1835,

<sup>5</sup> Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de H. de Balzac*, 3d ed., p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, I, 448.

<sup>7</sup> *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, I, 449.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondance*, ed. in octavo, pp. 226, 305. *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, I, 427, 429, 436, 444.

<sup>9</sup> Lovenjoul, 5, 179.

dated "Saché, septembre 1834."<sup>10</sup> Balzac's presence at Saché at that time is confirmed by a letter to Madame Hanska dated October 18 and 19, 1834. "Je suis allé passer quinze jours à Saché, en Touraine. . . . J'y ai commencé une grande œuvre, *le Père Goriot*."<sup>11</sup> The paragraph in question was written just before his visit to M. de Margonne, in September, 1834.

We have, then, in the first three paragraphs printed in the *Correspondance* under a single heading as one letter a veritable mosaic. With which, if any, of these three paragraphs does the rest of the letter belong? The answer to this is not absolutely sure, as internal evidence is either lacking or insufficient to give a precise date. It is probable that the fourth paragraph was written after letter CLIII, in which he had confessed to being a little disturbed by a pain in his side. Now he reassures his sister. "Je veillerai moins, ne te tourmente pas de cette douleur au côté." The date given for letter CLIII must be approximately right, as it is confirmed by the reference to the negotiations for the reprinting of the *Œuvres de jeunesse* and the arrangement with Souverain to publish the *Contes drolatiques*,<sup>12</sup> and there is no difficulty in supposing this paragraph to have been written at the same time as the first paragraph and to have formed a part of the same letter.

There is nothing in the following paragraphs that does not fit well with the conjecture that they are from the same date. The dedication to Dr. Nacquart bears the date of October, 1835. New editions, the second and third, of the *Médecin de campagne* came out both in 1834 and 1836.<sup>13</sup> The latter is certainly the one being reprinted at the time of the letter, for the first two editions were nearly sold out when letter CLIII was written.<sup>14</sup> On October 11, 1835, Balzac writes to Madame Hanska: "Nous réimprimons *le Médecin de campagne*."<sup>15</sup> As to the next paragraph also, though it does not connect closely with what precedes in subject, since the

<sup>10</sup> Lovenjoul, 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, 192, 194.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Correspondance*, 224, 228.

<sup>13</sup> Lovenjoul, 157.

<sup>14</sup> "Les lecteurs reviennent si bien sur le *Médecin de campagne*, que Werdet a l'assurance de vendre en une semaine l'édition in-octavo et en quinze jours l'in-douze." *Correspondance*, 225.

<sup>15</sup> *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, 276.

new edition of the *Médecin de campagne* was published by Werdet and not by Madame Béchet, those who know the story of Balzac's relations with his publishers will feel sure that it must have been written but a very short time after letter CLIII. Balzac did not for long use the word *sublime* in speaking of *la veuve Béchet*.<sup>16</sup>

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### THE PYRRHONIST IN BALZAC'S *JEAN LOUIS*

*Jean Louis*, the work of Honoré de Balzac and of M. Le Poitevin Saint-Alme, published at Paris by Hubert in 1822, merits the attention of students of French literature as one witness to the remarkable vogue of Rabelais in France during the nineteenth century, an enthusiasm finding highest expression in such masterpieces as *les Contes drolatiques* and *la Reine Pédauque*. Two direct references are made to Rabelais in *Jean Louis*, one after a quotation at the beginning of Chapter VIII and the second in connection with an imitation of the *Pantagrueline Prognostication* in Chapter XIV. In the latter case, a footnote tells the reader the source of the details, and adds, "Quant à ce livre, n'aurait-il produit que le bien de faire connaître Rabelais à un homme qui ne l'aurait pas lu, c'en serait un très grand." Rabelaisian laughter and incoherence are everywhere present, the plot being a succession of fantastic happenings and the characters decidedly grotesque. Prominent among the latter is a "drôle" named Uncle Barnabé, whose moral physiognomy is modelled largely on that of Rabelais' philosopher Trouillogan but who also voices opinions found in the mouths of Pantagruel and Panurge. Uncle Barnabé is "un des plus ardents disciples de Pyrrhon,"<sup>1</sup> while Trouillogan is called a "philosophe Ephectique et Pyrrhonien."<sup>2</sup> Both men naturally refuse to take a decided stand on any point. As for Barnabé, "il

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, 240, 242, 285, 332, 333, 340, 342 ("cette odieuse Béchet").

<sup>1</sup> *Jean Louis*, p. 12, in *Oeuvres de Jeunesse*, Paris, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Tiers livre*, Ch. XXXVI.

y a du pour et du contre dans tout ceci," is a constant expression on his lips, and we read that in a certain crisis, "quant à l'oncle Barnabé, il ne fut de l'avis de personne, attendu qu'il y avait autant d'arguments pour que contre."<sup>3</sup> He is surely a brother of Trouillogan, who gave such strangely inconclusive advice to Panurge on the subject of marriage and when asked if he himself were married or single replied, "ne l'un ne l'autre et tous les deux ensemble."<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of *Jean Louis*, Barnabé is asked by the young "hero" to give his opinion of marriage and a conversation follows clearly imitated from the famous scene in which Panurge consults Pantagruel about the advisability of becoming a benedict.<sup>5</sup> Though there is no similarity of language, the ideas expressed in the two passages are closely parallel. Barnabé opens the case for marriage, "En effet, rien n'est plus charmant que de trouver quand on rentre chez soi, un visage qui vous sourit au lieu de *visage de bois*, ce qui arrive lorsque l'on est garçon," while Panurge says, "Voire mais, voudriez-vous qu'ainsi seulet je demeurasse toute ma vie sans compaignie coniugale? Vous scauez qu'il est escript, Veh soli. L'homme seul n'a iamais tel soulas qu'on veoyd entre gens mariez." Another point made by Barnabé is, "on se voit renaître dans les fruits de ses amours," which Panurge expresses at greater length, "Voire mais, ie n'aurois iamais aultrement filz ne filles légitimes, es quelz i'eusse espoir mon nom et armes perpetuer: es quelz ie puisse laisser mes heritaiges"—etc. Both men also show the reverse side of the medal, woman's irritability and bad temper and her frequent unfaithfulness to her husband. However, Panurge sums the matter up from the point of view of nature by saying, "de femme ne me peuz passer en plus qu'un aueugle de baston," while Jean Louis questions his uncle, "Mais, mon oncle, s'il m'est impossible de m'abstenir?" and receiving an, "Est-ce prouvé?" he replies, "Mon Dieu, tout autant qu'il est vrai que vous avez besoin de manger quand vous sentez la faim." In much the same way, but with exaggeration that goes to the length of caricature, Uncle Barnabé outlines a scheme of education for Jean Louis based on

<sup>3</sup> P. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Tiers livre*, Chs. xxxv, xxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Tiers livre*, Ch. ix.

the famous plan of studies sent by Gargantua to Pantagruel, but with perhaps a reminiscence of Milton.<sup>6</sup>

Though Barnabé is largely an imitation of Trouillogan, some of his words and actions show a more technical treatment of Scepticism than would come from Rabelais alone and suggest a general acquaintance with the principles contained in such works as that of Sextus Empiricus. For instance, his constant habit of meeting every affirmation made in his presence with a show of contrary arguments recalls Book I, Chapter vi of Empiricus' *Hypotyposes*, where we read, "The fundamental principle of the Sceptical system is especially this, namely, to oppose every argument by one of equal weight, for it seems to us that in this way we finally reach the position where we have no dogmas."<sup>7</sup> Barnabé's reference, in his speech before the Revolutionary tribunal, to the weakness of human judgments due to the confusions of the senses is a restatement of the first four tropes of Empiricus and in his mention of "arguments drawn from time, space and duration,"<sup>8</sup> we find an echo of Empiricus' chapters on "time," "place" and "the permanent state of things."

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## NATHANIEL LEE AND MILTON

Recently I encountered an instance, which seems worthy of notice, of an attitude toward *Paradise Lost* held by contemporaries.

Professor Havens has stressed the earliness of a borrowing from Milton's poem in Nathaniel Lee's *Caesar Borgia* (1680).<sup>1</sup> This is an early date for a notice of *Paradise Lost*, but not so early as an opinion on the same work expressed by Lee in a different connection.

When, in 1677, Dryden finally published his "tagged" dramatization of Milton's epic, he prefixed to it the now famous *Author's Apology for Heroick Poetry, and Poetic Licence*. But it has not

<sup>6</sup> *Pantagruel*, Book I, Ch. viii, and *Jean Louis*, pp. 160-163.

<sup>7</sup> Translation of Mary Mills Patrick, in her *Sextus Empiricus and Greek Scepticism*, London, 1899, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> P. 217.

<sup>1</sup> Havens, R. D., *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, p. 14.

been previously noted that there is another prefixed piece which concerns Milton. Dryden and Lee at the time of the publication of *The State of Innocence* were good friends and collaborators. It was quite fitting, therefore, that Lee should have written and Dryden included some verses, prefixed to the opera, *To Mr. Dryden, on his Poem of Paradise*.<sup>2</sup>

Lee's borrowing from *Paradise Lost* was, of course, a certain evidence of his admiration for Milton's poem. But it was not an unmixed admiration, as his verses to Dryden clearly indicate. He set out to compare Milton's work with Dryden's, and to point out precisely what the relationship between the two works was. Not only did Lee seek these ends in the commendatory verses, but he sought also to weigh the one poem against the other. The fifty-six line verse is too accessible to need quotation but the direct comparison of Milton and Dryden is interesting.

In these lines, Lee's attitude toward *Paradise Lost* is apparent. He considered it powerful, but crude, lacking polish. He compared it to a "Beauteous rustick Maid" whom Milton "To a place of Strength convey'd." But Dryden "took her thence," and brought her to Court, adorning her with "Gemm's" and arranging her "hard spun thought." The latter poet also gave her "manners," and softened her language. Lee seemed to have felt that the rugged strength of *Paradise Lost*, while not exactly a defect, was at least to be deplored and softened. Dryden himself in his *Apology* had called attention to the same aspect, not only of Milton's but of epic poetry of the past in general. He had mentioned, not to condemn but to explain, "this or that expression in Homer, Virgil, Tasso, or Milton's *Paradise*, . . . too far stran'd." He went on to defend the use of difficult passages in (epic) poetry by saying that "Virgil and Horace, the severest Writers of the severest Age, have made frequent use of the hardest metaphors, and of the strogest [*sic*] Hyperboles."

But Lee's comparison of Milton with Dryden is of most value as an indication of Milton's repute almost immediately after his death. Lee accords to him great praise for the power and force of

<sup>2</sup>I have at hand only an edition of 1684. Through the kindness of Professor P. L. Windsor and the University of Chicago Library; and of Professor R. F. Seybolt, I have learned that these verses appear in the 1677 edition also.

his conceptions, but deploras his primitive execution. This judgment appears to have been accepted by Dryden in his *Apology*. High as was his praise therein of Milton and his work, he tacitly accepted Lee's estimate and judgment of *Paradise Lost* when he wrote: "And though I could not refuse the partiality of my Friend, who is pleased to commend me in his Verses, I hope they will rather be esteem'd the effect of his Love to me, than of his deliberate and sober judgment. His Genius is able to make beautiful what he pleases: Yet as he has been too favorable to me, I doubt not but he will hear of his kindness from many of our Contemporaries."

Lee was, moreover, competent to judge of the relative merits of *Paradise Lost* and the *State of Innocence*. He later borrowed from *Paradise Lost* in one of his own plays. And the verses to Dryden also contain evidence of his having read the epic rather carefully. The whole comparison of Dryden and Milton is, in fact, based upon an idea drawn from the latter. This is the conception in *Paradise Lost* that Creation was an ordering of the wild disorder of primeval Chaos.

To Lee, Dryden's work was like that of Creation: he fashioned into order and decorum the chaotic and primitive Miltonic material. He used one idea from *Paradise Lost* to express this in which he retained the Miltonic diction. This was in lines 15-16 when he said,

no perfect World was found,  
Till through the *heap* your mighty Genius shin'd.

For his comparison, Lee has drawn heavily upon the brief account of Creation related by Uriel to Satan at the end of Book III. There, the actual process of Creation is described as follows:

I saw when at his word the formless mass,  
This World's material mould, came to a *heap*:  
Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar  
Stood ruled, stood vast infinitude confined (III, 708-11).

Notices of Milton before 1700 are rare enough to make any additions to those already noted by Professor Havens extremely desirable.

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A NOTE ON *HENRY V*

Sometimes a parallel passage in Shakespeare furnishes a probable or a certain explanation of an obscure word or phrase. In the following lines of *Henry V* (III, 5, 12-13) "nook-shotten" may mean either "full of nooks" or "shot off into a corner, remote":

I will sell my dukedom  
To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm  
In that nook-shotten isle of Albion.

But this passage from *King John* (II, 1, 26-30) clearly supports the second interpretation:

Even till that England, hedged in with the main,  
That water-walled bulwark, still secure  
And confident from foreign purposes,  
Even till *that utmost corner of the west*  
Salute thee for her king.

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JOHN HALL OF DURHAM AND SAMUEL BUTLER:  
A NOTE.

John Hall of Durham has recently received some attention as an essayist.<sup>1</sup> But his first published work was his *Poems* (1646). Hall's first piece here is *A Satire*, a passage from which is worth quoting because it offers an interesting comparison with *Hudibras*.

Barthius has read all books, Jos. Scaliger	81
Proportion'd lately the diameter	
Unto the circle Galileo's found,	
Though not drunk, thinking that the earth ran round;	
Tycho has tumbled down the orbs, and now	
Fine tenuous air doth in their places grow;	
Maurolycus at length has cast it even,	
How many pulses' journey 'tis to heaven.	
A world of such knacks know we; think ye, then,	

<sup>1</sup> Elbert N. S. Thompson, "The Seventeenth-Century Essay," in *University of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, III, 3 (Nov. 1926), pp. 8, 49-50, 103-104; and Edmund L. Freeman, "Bacon's Influence on John Hall," *PMLA.*, XLII (1927), 385-389.



Sooner to peep out than be kick'd from men; 90  
 Whether ye gallop in light rhymes, or chose  
 Gently to amble in a Yorkshire prose;  
 Whether ye bring some indigested news  
 From Spanish surgeons, or Italian stews;  
 Whether ye fiercely raise some false alarm,  
 And in a rage the Janizaries arm;  
 Whether ye reinforce old times, and con  
 What kind of stuff Adam's first suit was on;  
 Whether Eve's toes had corns; or whether he  
 Did cut his beard spadewise or like a T: 100  
 Such brokage as is this will never do't,  
 We must have matter and good words to boot;  
 And yet how seldom meet they? Most our rhymes  
 Rally in tunes, but speak no sense like chimes:  
 Grave deep discourses full as ragged be  
 As are their author's doublets; you'll not see  
 A word creep in, that cannot quickly show  
 A genealogy to th' ark of Noah,  
 Or at the least pleads not prescription  
 From that great cradle of confusion. 110  
 What pamphlet is there, where some Arabic  
 Scours not the coast? from whence you may not pick  
 Some Chinese character or mystic spell,  
 Whereon the critics for an age may dwell;  
 Where there's some sentence to be understood,  
 As hard to find as where old Athens stood:  
 Why do we live, why do our pulses beat,  
 To spend our bravest flames, our noblest heat,  
 On such poor trifles? to enlarge the day  
 By gloomy lamps; yet for no other prey 120  
 Than a moth-eaten radix, or to know  
 The fashion of Deucalion's mother's shoe.  
 It will not quit the cost, that men should spend  
 Themselves, time, money, to no other end;  
 That people should with such a deal of pains  
 Buy knowing nothing, and wise men's disdains.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the comparison offered between these verses and *Hudibras*, four things may be said.

1. It is possible to find lines in *Hudibras* which resemble lines in Hall's verses. Thus, "As far as Adam's first green Breeches"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> John Hall, *Poems* (1642), London, 1816, pp. 29-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Hudibras* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 17, line 9.

suggests "What kind of stuff Adam's first suit was on."<sup>4</sup> But such resemblances may be fortuitous.

2. Despite the fact that Hall uses the decasyllabic couplet while Butler uses octosyllabic, the movement of Hall's verses is not totally dissimilar to the movement of Butler's. And rhymes like *Scaliger, diameter, do't, boot, show, Noah* are altogether in Butler's spirit. Such resemblances as these are less likely to be fortuitous.

3. But it is when one compares the passage from Hall with Butler's two long descriptions, first of Hudibras's learning, and secondly of Ralpho's,<sup>5</sup> that the resemblances between Hall's satire and Butler's become unmistakable. One who knows Butler well and has considered carefully the works which are usually cited as having influenced Butler in his *Hudibras*, will feel, it is believed, that in Hall's *Satire* there is a good deal more of the matter, the manner, and the pervading spirit of *Hudibras* than has usually been realized.

4. Whether or not John Hall as a satirist contributed to Butler's satirical mood, there is no doubt that as an essayist Hall emphasized that particular theme which lies at the heart of Butler's thought. "Judgement," wrote Hall in *Horae Vacivae* (1646), "is long ere it be settled, experience being the best nurse of it; and we see seldome Learning and Wisdome concur. . . ."<sup>6</sup> The contrast lies between learning and wisdom, between mere accumulation of facts and intelligent assimilation of knowledge. Hall was one of a number of Seventeenth Century writers who were gradually developing a theory of intellectual values. Certain intellectual pursuits were worthless; others were of the highest importance. Now, it is this theory of intellectual values which constitutes Butler's satiric norm, and afterwards the norm of *A Tale of a Tub*.<sup>7</sup> Butler's distinction lies in the fact that he was the first English writer who in full consciousness employed satire in the defence of this theory of values. But John Hall, as his essays

<sup>4</sup> Hall, *A Satire*, line 98.

<sup>5</sup> *Hudibras* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 4-9, 17-19.

<sup>6</sup> Hall, *Horae Vacivae*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>7</sup> I hope shortly to deal at length with the development of this theory of intellectual values, and its bearing upon the satire of Butler and Swift.

show, understood the theory; as his verses show, he was capable on occasion of defending the theory by means of satire. And from Hall it is possible that Butler learnt more concerning the matter, the manner, and the pervading spirit of satire than has usually been realized.

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### A POEM FROM TIECK TO OEHLenschLÄGER

The relations of the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger (1779-1850) and the German Romanticist Ludwig Tieck have been treated fully by Albert Sergel in his dissertation *Oehlenschläger in seinen persönlichen Beziehungen zu Goethe, Tieck und Hebbel*.<sup>1</sup> Sergel shows that the friendship of the two men, begun in 1806, lasted until Oehlenschläger's death and that despite certain occasional misunderstandings they were warmly attached to one another and have left unmistakable traces of their cordial sentiments in various literary works. Sergel also points out that they influenced each other to no small degree. Oehlenschläger's *Alladin*, for instance, could never have been written without Tieck's *Octavian*, and Tieck's novel *Die Übereilung* owes its very existence to an incident in which Oehlenschläger played a rather ludicrous part. Moreover Oehlenschläger translated several of Tieck's major works and a number of his lesser writings into Danish.

Oehlenschläger paid four visits to Tieck,—in 1806, 1817, 1831, and 1844, respectively. Tieck wrote three letters to him which have come down to us, two dated 1820 and one 1827, while five of Oehlenschläger's letters to Tieck, dated 1831, 1832, 1834, 1837 and 1843, respectively, have been preserved. In addition there is a dedicatory poem—a *Stammbuchgedicht*—from Tieck to Oehlenschläger. Sergel, who quotes two couplets from it (p. 63), says that Tieck wrote it into Oehlenschläger's album in 1831 at the conclusion of Oehlenschläger's third visit to Dresden, an important visit which served to put an end to a rather serious estrangement brought about by Tieck's dissatisfaction with Oehlenschläger's

<sup>1</sup> Rostock, 1907, pp. 44-67.

German translation of Holberg and by a caustic review of the drama *Correggio*.<sup>2</sup> But in Tieck's *Gedichte*, where it is published,<sup>3</sup> this poem is entitled *An Oehlenschläger bei seinem Besuch in Dresden 1829*. As we shall see below, Sergel's date is correct. Tieck, when collecting his poems in 1841, erred in dating the poem two years too early.<sup>4</sup> Sergel's only error is one of omission. He failed to state that the verses were published in the *Gedichte* and to call attention to Tieck's chronological oversight.

Recently I acquired in Europe, by purchase, what seems to be the original of this poem. It is written upon a sheet of rather heavy paper, 21 cm. wide and 19 cm. long, apparently cut out of Oehlenschläger's *Stammbuch*. Since it reveals marked deviations from the version of 1841, I shall publish both versions in this place.

Stammbuchblatt in Tieck's hand.

Gedichte von Ludwig Tieck  
(1841), pp. 435-436.

An Oehlenschläger bei seinem  
Besuch in Dresden 1829.

Der edle Nordlands<sup>5</sup>-Dichter  
Schenkt mir den Freundes-Grusz:  
Er brachte liebe Kunde  
Und gab mit treuem Munde  
Mir seinen Bruder-Kusz.

Er sprach: Warum denn hadern?  
Verlasz den Stuhl der Richter,  
Und fühl' in allen Adern,  
Dasz Du, wie ich, ein Dichter!  
Gieb' Freud' und Lust den Biedern,  
In Leyerklang und Liedern.

So darf der Dichter sprechen,  
Dem hold die Muse lacht,  
Er wird die Lorbeern brechen,  
Die sie ihm zugedacht.—

Freud' ist mir jetzt geworden,  
Es bringt mir lieben Grusz  
Der Dichter aus dem Norden,  
Und seinen Bruderkusz.  
Er sprach: Warum denn richten,  
Da noch die Kraft gesund?  
Weit besser klingt das Dichten  
Von einem Sänger-Mund.—  
So darf der Dichter sprechen,  
Dem hold die Muse lacht,  
Er wird die Lorbeern brechen,  
Die sie ihm zugedacht.  
Dein freundliches Gemüthe  
Hat sich mir längst bewährt,  
Mit Deines Kindes Blüthe  
Bist Du zurück gekehrt.  
Sie spricht des Vaters Wahrheit,  
Sie lächelt seinen Blick,

<sup>2</sup> *Dresdener Morgenzeitung*, 1827; republished in Tieck's *Kritische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1852, iv, 270 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Ausgabe*, Berlin, 1841, pp. 435-436.

<sup>4</sup> The error is copied by Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters*, II, Leipzig, 1855, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> "Nordlans," with "d" inserted above.

Nimm diese Freundeshand,  
 Dein freundliches Gemüthe  
 Hab' ich schon früh erkannt,  
 Der mit der schönen Blüthe  
 Des Kind's sich zu mir fand:  
 Wir wandeln Hand in Hand  
 Durch das poet'sche Land;  
 Und bleibt Apoll gewogen,  
 Komm' ich zu Dir gezogen,  
 Sonst grüß ich Dich noch hie;  
 Doch wie sich's mag gestalten,  
 Wir bleiben stets die Alten,—  
 Entfremdet sind wir nie!!—

Von Deinem Dich  
 treu liebenden  
 Bruder  
 Ludwig Tieck.  
 Dresden den 25 " Juni,  
 1831.

So bleibt denn Lieb' und Klarheit  
 Der Zukunft auch zurück.  
 Und neu mit dir verbunden,  
 Reich' ich die Freundes-Hand,  
 Wie wir uns früh gefunden,  
 Hast Du mich nie verkannt.  
 Wir Sanges-Brüder wallten  
 Durch manchen schönen Raum,  
 Lebendig fest zu halten  
 Des Lebens Wunder-Traum:  
 Seh' ich einst Deine Auen?  
 Kehrst Du zu unsern Gauen?  
 Grüß ich Dich dorten, hie?  
 Doch wie sich's mag gestalten,  
 Wir bleiben stets die Alten!  
 Entfremdet sind wir nie!!

Apparently the version in *Gedichte* is a redaction of the original. The latter, it will be noted, is six lines shorter and somewhat more personal and specific in its tone. While the original alludes plainly to the strained relations which the visit of 1831 served to patch up, the later version is very general. Eight lines have been carried over unchanged, several others with slight modifications. Sergel was probably familiar only with the published version of 1841, for the four lines which he quotes (Und neu mit dir verbunden, etc.) are lacking in the original.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

*University of Cincinnati.*

#### A NOTE ON GOETHE'S *EGMONT*

In the Klärchen scene of the third act of *Egmont* occurs the expression "*Hab' ich (doch schon manchmal) ein grosses Kind (damit) schlafen gewiegt,*" to which Professor Hatfield in his commentary on the play properly calls attention as having been overlooked by the grammarians. His explanation, however, that *schlafen* is here a "corrupted present participle" is very improbable.

We can best get at the construction from the use of the infinitive with verbs of motion as *schlafen gehen*; <sup>1</sup> then with the substitution of *sich legen* for *gehen* we get *sich schlafen legen*.<sup>2</sup> The next step would be to substitute for the reflexive pronoun any pronoun or noun. Cf. "*Gute Föbe, lege mich schlafen!*"<sup>3</sup> Note also the parallel expression *einen schlafen tragen*: "*Den Kunic drúc min (= man) schláffin.*"<sup>4</sup> That we have similarly in *einen schlafen wiegen* an analogical development, in which *schlafen* is clearly an infinitive, I think no one will deny.

EDWARD H. SEHRT.

*George Washington University.*

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### UNDER THE SONNE HE LOOKETH

As a contribution to the earlier discussion of the meaning of the passage in the *Knight's Tale*, a quotation from Kinloch's *Ancient Scottish Ballads* may have some interest. On a line in the ballad of *Johnie of Cocklesmuir*,

Johnie lookit east, and Johnie lookit west,  
And a little below the sun,

Kinloch makes the following observation (p. 43):

In those stanzas of this ballad published in the *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*, the last line runs thus,

And its lang before the sun, sun.

But the Editor is inclined to hold the former as the true reading; it being a well known practice, especially among huntsmen, in order to discover an object in the twilight, to bend downwards, and look low between the dark ground and the faint glimmering light from the heavens,—which is termed *looking below the sky*. In the Highlands, where the mountain roads are dangerous, and almost impassable in winter, long black poles, with white tops, are placed at intervals along the path, to guide the traveller; and these are only discernible in the dark, by '*looking below the sky*' at every short distance.

S. B. HUSTVEDT.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *DWB.* ix, 282-83.

<sup>2</sup> Paul, *Deutsche Gramm.* iv, 96.

<sup>3</sup> *DWB.* ix, 283.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

## REVIEWS

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*An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students.* By  
RONALD B. MCKERROW. New York, Oxford University Press,  
1927. Pp. xvi + 359. \$6.00.

The perplexed state of mind among students of the modern languages when they confront the term "bibliography" at the present moment is illustrated by the experience of one such student this autumn at an eastern university. At his two first lectures, in successive periods, each professor dwelt on the importance of this term. One of them exhibited McKerrow's *Introduction* as the law and the gospel of a new science, while the other talked for an hour about bibliography and English literature without mentioning Pollard, Greg, or Chapman.

It is fifteen years since Mr. McKerrow put together, in the intervals between managing the publishing house of Sidgwick and Jackson and acting as secretary of the Bibliographical Society, his *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. This hundred-page pamphlet has long been hard to come by, and has now been replaced by a substantial volume into which the London leaders of the bookish science have consolidated the fundamental information upon which that science is building. It is still Mr. McKerrow's work, but he has relied upon Pollard to set him straight upon fifteenth-century matters, and upon Chapman for the changes which came with the eighteenth and nineteenth, while Greg has watched over the crucial intervening decades.

This is an imposing array of names, sufficiently guaranteeing that the results of their collaboration will not only start beginners upon the right road, but that others who supposed themselves well equipped for research in these fields will find here ample warnings against over-confidence. There is even warning against trusting this very authoritative treatise, for the quality in Mr. McKerrow's work which most surely inspires confidence is the matter-of-fact way in which he goes about demonstrating the mistakes in his own earlier *Notes*. Relying upon the thoroughly convincing arguments in the *Notes*, up-to-date American library cataloguers have been looking at wire-lines in old books, as the definitive proof of quarto or octavo folding. The arguments are as good as ever they were, but something more has been learned about the way sheets were put through the press, with the results that wire-lines mean nothing at all in doubtful cases, which are the only cases where their evidence is desired.

No one is likely to get very far in this volume without realizing that a vast amount of investigation remains to be done before there can be any approximation to certainty in deductions about the printing practices of earlier times. Every ordinary printer, then as now, aimed to produce a correct book. They all made mistakes, and they normally corrected their errors in the cheapest and quickest way. Not infrequently, a leaf had to be reprinted, more often because the author changed his mind rather than the printer blundered. In these cases it was customary to cut out the leaf as first printed and paste in the reprinted cancel leaf, oftentimes so cleverly that it does not show except upon minute examination. The wrong leaf is ordinarily marked by a sharp slash through the text, and one of the few things Mr. McKerrow forgets is to point this out, with an accompanying request that anybody finding a slashed leaf in any book, report it to some competent bibliographical authority. There is always a very good chance that this one leaf may be the only one of the original erroneous printing which was not destroyed.

Working as he has, with all the resources of London within reach, Mr. McKerrow falls into the commonest of all errors for writers about books, which is to forget that the books which remain for study are by no means all that ever were printed. The Bibliographical Society has listed 26,000 English books printed before 1640, and anticipates finding another ten per cent. of titles of which copies can actually be located as now in existence. But a single American collection turned up four distinct editions of a title entered only once in the *Short Title Catalogue*, and it is more than likely that a careful study of every other title would result in producing evidence that on the average more printed pieces have disappeared than are now in existence, for this typical period. It is the collection of the data concerning publications that cannot be found, which is the next task of students of bibliography, of literature, and of cultural life.

GEORGE P. WINSHIP.

*Harvard College Library.*

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*Horace on the Art of Poetry.* Latin text, English prose translation, introduction and notes, together with Ben Jonson's English verse rendering. Edited by EDWARD HENRY BLAKENEY. London: Scholartis Press, 1928. Pp. 135.

This book puzzles me. It is a limited edition (750) printed on mould-made paper by the Oxford University press, in beautiful large type of several fonts, on which the expert in the art and the



history of the printing craft could tell us sundry interesting items. But its unhandy format ( $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ ) impedes that comfortable relaxation we normally experience in the genial company of this Roman critic and satirist; and the editor's attempt to popularize "old popular Horace" for the layman, in introduction and notes, gives mainly only what is available in the school editions—except for much irrelevant literary patter. The author's manner is that of a garrulous elderly gentleman, somewhere off on a country estate, who is acquainted merely by social position with living scholars, and to whom the reading of the great books of the dead is merely an elegant accomplishment to be exploited with leisurely good-natured vanity before his politely complacent guests. And the translation scarcely differs in style from that of a pony. Somehow one doesn't easily associate such jejune and smug work in the classics with Oxford.

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

*University of Wisconsin.*

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*William Wordsworth, his Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations.* By ARTHUR BEATTY. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 24. Madison, 1927. 2d ed. Pp. 310. \$2.00.

The first edition of Mr. Beatty's book appeared in 1922. He makes no very important changes in this revised edition: certain passages are rewritten; some material added, and some removed; he hopes that he has made his "argument clear on more than one point" (p. 3). In the interval however the study of Wordsworth has made considerable advances, with the publication of Mr. Garrod's *Wordsworth* in 1923, and above all, of Mr. de Selincourt's edition of *The Prelude* in 1926. But in any case Mr. Beatty's work would merit renewed consideration. He has brought to the study of Wordsworth's thought a fresh method and a fresh point of view; and he has uncovered material which all future students will have to assimilate. His is the first thoroughgoing effort to place Wordsworth against his intellectual, as distinct from his social, scenic, and political, background. The undertaking of this task is Mr. Beatty's great merit.

His interpretation of Wordsworth is based throughout upon two fundamental ideas. In the first place Wordsworth "is the poet of the English philosophy of Locke and his school in general, and of the English associationistic philosophy in particular"

(p. 285). David Hartley, Mr. Beatty thinks, is the associationist who particularly influenced Wordsworth. In the second place he holds that "from 1797-8 to 1820 Wordsworth made habitual use of the doctrine of the three ages of man in dealing with all the important points of his life and art . . . this doctrine and method is fundamental in the poet's attitude towards all the main problems of nature and art, and forms an integral part of his presentation of each" (p. 96).

Mr. Beatty finds the three ages in Hartley, and thus brings together the two ideas which according to his interpretation are fundamental to Wordsworth. He has—on the whole fairly—answered Miss Powell's objection that the three ages as he understands them are not to be found in Hartley (p. 111-113).<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps more pertinent to inquire whether they are to be found in Wordsworth. The three ages as Mr. Beatty conceives them represent a continuous process of growth and development; Wordsworth in *The Prelude* and elsewhere uses his own experience as a type of this development. But did Wordsworth as a matter of fact regard his own development as a progressive improvement? Certainly not. In the first place, a large part of *The Prelude* and the *Letter to Mathetes* are concerned with the diagnosis and cure of one type of "impaired imagination"; an interruption, a definite set-back in the growth of the mind, from which he suffered himself, and which he obviously felt to be a rather common occurrence. Mr. Beatty's scheme allows no adequate place for this stage in development. In the second place, related to this experience, but different from it, although by Wordsworth himself confused with it, is that failure of poetic, of visionary power, beginning in the poet's fourth decade. All Wordsworth's critics have noted and lamented it; none so truly as Wordsworth himself. Mr. Beatty's whole position implies a flat denial of this, the most simple and obvious fact about Wordsworth. When he acknowledges the enormous importance which Wordsworth gives to sensations of infancy and childhood, he confuses without correcting his own position; just as Wordsworth himself complicates the case by insisting upon the calmness and serenity of age. But Wordsworth's confusion does not justify Mr. Beatty's.

The other main point, that Wordsworth is the poet of the associationistic philosophy, is too complex to be discussed in any detail. Mr. Beatty's chief fault is that he fails to distinguish between associationism as a metaphysical doctrine, and associationism as a psychological description of certain mental processes. As a metaphysical doctrine associationism denies or reduces to a minimum the active, creative power of the mind. In his eighth chapter on "The active principle: derivation of the imagination,"

<sup>1</sup> Although he quite ignores Miss Powell's more important objections.

Mr. Beatty is confronted with the difficult task of reconciling Wordsworth's many eloquent vindications of the predominance and importance of the creative power of the mind, with the assumptions and general tenor of the Hartleian psychology and philosophy. Completely ignoring as he does the significance of the voluntaristic philosophies which appeared all over Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century, he undertakes this task with a light heart. Many of his critics have objected in a general way to his high-handed manner of dealing with this aspect of Wordsworth's thought. In his second edition he answers none of them. But the publication by Mr. de Selincourt of the early versions of *The Prelude* provides evidence of growth, complexity, and contradiction in Wordsworth's thought on this subject which should be enough to convince even Mr. Beatty that the case is not so simple as he imagines. In describing Wordsworth's theory of the activity of mind, he summarizes and quotes from the important passage in *The Prelude*, xii, 208-end. In a note on xii, 223-5 he remarks: "The new material furnished by Professor de Selincourt's edition of *The Prelude* shows various stages in the expression of the close of this important passage" (p. 164). But he has not followed the manuscript history of the illustrative episodes used in the passage. Had he done so he would have discovered a curious fact. The episodes here used to illustrate the active power of the mind were originally written (in MS. V), along with the other episodes now in book i with which they belonged, to illustrate the passivity, the receptivity, of the child's spirit. The interpretative passages which Mr. Beatty quotes were written four years later than the episodes to which they are applied; and they provide an interpretation which is the *exact opposite* of that originally intended. The early interpretation is consistent with an associationistic psychology, though the emphasis was not even then laid upon the sensory aspect of the experiences; they are indeed contrasted with pure sensory experiences, in describing which Wordsworth used associationistic terminology (cf. *The Prelude*, ed. de Selincourt, pp. 33-6, notes). The later interpretation is another thing again. What the true significance of this shift is, cannot be discussed here. It seems at least to suggest that Wordsworth developed, during and after the turn of the century, a conception of mental activity absolutely different from the activity of the mind in associating images and ideas.

One wonders why Mr. Beatty chose Hartley as the main source of Wordsworth's associationism. As he himself remarks, there were associationistic poets before Wordsworth. One regrets that he has not made a study of these, as well as of the other theorists. The comparison of Wordsworth with Akenside<sup>2</sup> is perhaps more

<sup>2</sup>The subject of an unpublished Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation, by A. H. Krug, 1910.

enlightening than any other. Mr. Beatty mentions him once or twice on minor points, but notes none of the striking similarities of thought between *The Pleasures of Imagination* and *The Prelude*.

No review could do justice to the many excellencies of detailed exposition in Mr. Beatty's book. Although it is very far from being the definitive work which some of its admirers consider it, that definitive work, if it is ever written, will owe an enormous debt to Mr. Beatty's painstaking exploration of a large and quite new field.

THURSTON TAYLOR.

Baltimore.

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*A History of Modern English Romanticism. Vol. I. Elizabethan and Modern Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century.* By HARKO G. DE MAAR. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. vi + 246.

This is not only the first separate and comprehensive history of English Romanticism since the appearance of the final section of Fraulein Richter's *Geschichte der englischen Romantik* in 1916 and also the first written in the English language during the past thirty years, but it is the most extensive ever attempted. Obviously there is room, not to say need, for such a survey, in the light of the vast additions to our knowledge of the earlier developments of romantic tendencies in the eighteenth century and of the radical modification of our views of the whole period. We have reason therefore to expect much of Dr. de Maar as he undertakes the exacting task of important synthesis and reinterpretation. And so far as the scope of this first volume permits he succeeds in reflecting much of recently won knowledge and of the more recent estimates within his field. Utilizing the studies of many scholars as well as his own, he emphasizes our conviction that the older conception of Spenserian and Miltonic "revivals" is erroneous, "that the force and majesty of the great tide of Elizabethanism did not fall dead against a sullen reef of classical repose, but that they swept on to join the new flood of romance that rose in the eighteenth century" (p. 221).

This is the first and general value of his book. The second is a specific demonstration for the first time of the importance of two minor poets, Samuel Croxall and John Philips: to the former belonging the credit for a new "romantic quality of . . . diction and the wealth of pictorial effect" usually assigned to Thomson (p. 85); and to the latter the distinction of founding, many years before the *Seasons*, "a blank verse school which was highly popular until the end of the century" (p. 141).

These are no slight contributions. Perhaps it would be ungracious to ask for more. But we must wonder, especially in the absence of any prospective outline of his whole survey, whether Dr. de Maar is justified in the rather narrow limitations which he imposes upon himself in this volume. He restricts himself to poetry, and, furthermore, almost exclusively to the aspects of "form, diction, and imaginative power" (p. 228). He is not concerned with other elements such as emotion, or with any other forms of literature, and but slightly with conceptions of nature or with critical ideas, although his purpose of showing Elizabethan and seventeenth century influences on the eighteenth century would appear to demand recognition of these subjects. Can he afford to devote so much precious space to extensive bibliographical and biographical matter, to lengthy quotation and apparatus in general (most of which could be appropriately relegated to notes and appendices), when so many significant elements press for recognition?

Far more controversial is Dr. de Maar's limitation of the term Romanticism. Although he appreciates "new elements" that "went to the making of modern romance, . . . a new treatment of nature, a new interest in popular customs, a growing emotionalism taking several forms, an interest in the supernatural, a more individual spirit" (pp. 14, 15), he defines "romantic literature" as "that which joins a sense of mystery, wonder, and curiosity as well as individuality in form and thought, to ornamental language and technique" (p. 12); adding that, "The essential element of the romantic spirit is curiosity joined to a love of beauty." In this type of psychological or aesthetic explanation of the essential characteristic of Romanticism there are evident advantages, and doubtless this interpretation accounts for Dr. de Maar's preoccupation of interest in form, diction, and imagination. When he comes in future volumes to describe the rise of "new elements" this conception will be inadequate.

PAUL KAUFMAN.

*American University.*

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*Beowulf and Epic Tradition.* By W. W. LAWRENCE. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 349. \$3.50.

*Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, by Professor Lawrence, satisfies a real want. Fuller and more authoritative than the surveys in general works, less technical and controversial than the specialized monographs, the volume presents an excellent analysis "to those who wish to gain a sounder knowledge of *Beowulf* so far as it may

be done without an understanding of Anglo-Saxon, and to those who are just beginning a reading of the poem in that language."

The introduction characterizes *Beowulf* as a "courtly epic," "highly sophisticated and aristocratic," built on pagan tales "with such alterations as would make them acceptable to the church," and assigns it to Northumbria or Mercia in the time of Bede. After a brief survey of the social background (Chapter II), follows a summary of the historical elements (Chapter III). This is excellent. The argument of the poem is filled out, for the sake of clearness, from Scandinavian sources; but the problems of origin, development, and interrelationship are kept in the background. Brevity, at times, leads to the presentation as fact of what to some may seem opinion. A chapter on the Tale of Finnsburg completes the analysis of the historical material. Professor Lawrence here enters the field of controversy and rightly rejects the untenable reconstruction of Professor R. A. Williams based on the Niblung story. In rejecting also the solution of Professor R. W. Chambers, he gives the gist of his own views: "If we make Finn blameless, Hengest's compact with him reasonable, and the final disaster to Finn unfortunate accidents, the whole story seems to me to burst like a pricked bubble."

Three chapters on the non-historical elements classify as fertility myths the tales of Scaef (transferred to Scyld) and of Beaw (= Beowulf I), the son of Scyld; characterize the Breca episode as an adventure story, not myth; and find the sources of Beowulf's adventures in folklore.

The last chapter, a theory of the development of the epic, is the logical conclusion of the earlier interpretations. The Norwegian version of the Bear's Son *märchen*, other derivatives of which are the Icelandic stories of Grettir, Orm, and Samson the Fair (here for the first time presented in an English translation, p. 188 ff.), is fused with sixth-century Scandinavian history. The reign of Beowulf, pure fiction, is added to soften the final defeat of the Geats; the curse of the hord (the original version) accounts for the death of Beowulf and the downfall of his people. In this form the story reached England, where, by the beginning of the eighth century, an English poet composed the epic in essentially the form now preserved.

Details of the findings may be open to question. A slight expansion of the notes, to which controversial matter is largely relegated, would make possible a fairer evaluation of opposing views. With this exception, your reviewer is in full sympathy with the volume; it is vivid, sincere, and logical.

HENNING LARSEN.

University of Iowa.

*Die Sprichwörter der Freidankpredigten. Proverbia Fridanci.* Von JOSEPH KLAPPER. Breslau, M. u. H. Marcus, 1927. 112 S.

*Die schlesischen Sprichwörter und Redensarten.* Von KARL ROTHER. Breslau, Ostdeutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1928. 476 S.

Die deutsche Sprichwörterkunde hat in den letzten Jahren einen starken Aufschwung genommen. Das größte zusammenfassende Werk ist Friedrich Seilers *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* (München 1922). Diesem hatte derselbe Forscher schon zwei kleinere Bücher vorangeschickt: *Das deutsche Sprichwort* (Straßburg 1918, aber erst 1921 erschienen) und *Das deutsche Lehnssprichwort* (5. Band des großen Werkes *Die Entwicklung der deutschen Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Sprichwortes*, Halle 1921). Die beiden oben genannten Bücher sind nun außerordentliche wichtige Ergänzungen zu Seilers Werken. J. Klapper, der beste Kenner der deutschen mittelalterlichen Predigthandschriften, liefert einen vortrefflichen Beitrag zur Geschichte der großen mittelalterlichen Sprichwörtersammlungen, zur genaueren Kenntnis ihrer Herkunft, ihrer Zusammenhänge und ihrer Verbreitung. Er bringt eine Fülle neueren Stoffes aus Predigten, die bisher fast sämtlich unbekannt waren und auch jetzt nur handschriftlich auf den Bibliotheken liegen, zumeist in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Breslau. So ist es ihm gelungen, das schwierige Problem erheblich zu fördern und zu klären, indem er die im deutschen Osten vorhandenen, bisher gänzlich unbeachteten Quellen verwertet und in sorgfältiger Forscherarbeit untersucht. Der Ertrag an Sprichwörtern, der sich in den sogenannten Freidankpredigten findet, ist sehr reich: 632 lateinische und 499 deutsche. Diese Sprichwörter hat Klapper übersichtlich zusammengestellt und durch reichhaltige Anmerkungen erläutert. Er gibt den Tag und den Kanzelspruch der Predigt an, in der sie stehen, und verzeichnet die Abweichungen etwaiger anderer Forschungen, auch gibt er die lehrhafte Nutzanwendung an, der das Sprichwort dient, und vermerkt lateinische und deutsche Parallelfassungen. Neben dem sprichwörterkundlichen Ertrage ist auch der geschichtliche, kulturgeschichtliche und volkscundliche Gewinn groß. Einige Beispiele aus der Gruppe der deutschen Sprichwörter seien genannt:

Wen man dem hunde zu wil, zo hat er daz smeer gessen. Wes dy kw ist, der czihet sy bey dem czayle. Wer ee zcu der mole kumpt, der melet ee. Was eyn gutter hocke werdyn wil, das krommyt sich yn zzeiten. Man darff den tewfil nicht an dy want molen, her kommit wol selbir yn das hawsz. Wer sich zcwisszen thoyr unde angil mengt, der qwetzet sich gerne. Die katze libet den fisch addir terochs in wil sy nicht sich. "Eyn lip sucht gerne das ander lip," sprach der wolff und lughete in den gense stal. Ys müssen ofte dy ferkyl entgeldin, was dy zau gebrewth. Untrawe sleeth seyn eygen hirren.

Das Werk von Rother ist eine hoch willkommene Bereicherung des Schatzes deutscher Sprichwörter und volkstümlicher Redens-

arten. Es ist die erste *landschaftliche* Sprichwörterammlung von großem Ausmaß. Es enthält über 20 000 Belege, die aus der gesamten vorausgehenden Literatur und auf Grund eigener Sammeltätigkeit zusammengestellt sind. Berücksichtigt ist nicht nur die preußische Provinz Schlesien, sondern auch das außerhalb der deutschen Reichsgrenzen liegende Gebiet, in dem die schlesische Mundart gesprochen wird, also die Oberlausitz, Nordböhmen und das ehemalige österreichische, jetzt tschechische Schlesien. Das ist ein sehr großer Vorteil, denn die Stammesgrenzen fallen tatsächlich nicht mit den Staatsgrenzen zusammen, und das gesamte sudeutsche Gebiet zu beiden Seiten des Gebirges ist ja nach geschichtlicher Entwicklung, nach Sitte, Brauch und Mundart durchaus schlesisch. Selbstverständlich sind nun diese 20 000 Sprichwörter und Redensarten nicht alle allein schlesisch, sondern zum erheblichen Teil allgemeines deutsches Gut; aber es sind auch nur solche Wendungen aufgenommen, die wirklich in Schlesien bezeugt sind. Die Anordnung ist nicht alphabetisch, sondern nach Sachgebieten geordnet (Natur, Mensch, menschliche Gemeinschaft; im einzelnen noch weiter gegliedert). Dieses Verfahren gewährt eine ausgezeichnete Übersicht über das sachlich zusammengehörige, während ein sehr umfassendes und sorgfältiges Wörterverzeichnis das sofortige Auffinden jedes beliebigen Sprichwortes ermöglicht. So finden wir z. B., äußerst lehrreich, alle volkstümlichen Ausdrücke für krank sein und sterben, für das Trinken und seine Folgen beisammen, ebenso auch die Bezeichnungen für Kuß und küssen, ferner eine Menge Ortsneckereien, Mundartenscherze; alle Handwerke werden im Sprichwort gekennzeichnet, meist nicht sehr schmeichelhaft.

So enthält das Werk eine Fülle des Wertvollen. Ganz abgesehen von der großen Zahl der Sprichwörter selbst bietet es eine reiche Übersicht über die verschiedenen schlesischen Mundarten und eröffnet auch für den Kenner erstaunlich weite Ausblicke in die Gestaltungskraft dieser Volkssprache, die unerschöpflich ist an packenden, eindrucksvollen Bildern, an Eindringlichkeit, Anschaulichkeit und Wortspielen. Spielt sie doch selbst mit der eigenen Mundart, wenn etwa das Gebirgsschlesische die Formel prägt: "Ala Nala hala ne, neie Nala hala a ne" (Alte Nägel halten nicht, neue Nägel halten auch nicht), oder wenn das Neiderländische (Gegend um Glogau und Grünberg) mit seinen eigenartigen Vokalverhältnissen den Mustersatz aufstellt: "Menne Brot bäckt Braut" für "Meine Braut bäckt Brot." Es gewährt auch tiefe Einblicke in den Kulturstand des Landes und seiner Bewohner, vor allem ist es aber auch volkskundlich und psychologisch von hoher Bedeutung. Glaube und Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch und Weltanschauung spiegeln sich prächtig in allerhand Redewendungen, und auch über Charakter und Gemütsart gibt es treffliche Auskunft.

HERMANN JANTZEN.

Breslau.



*A Lecture on Lectures.* By SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH. London, Hogarth Press; New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1928. Pp. 48. \$1.00.

*The Development of English Biography.* By HAROLD NICOLSON. London, Hogarth Press; New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1928. Pp. 158. \$1.25.

"Pure biography," Mr. Nicolson says, is "the truthful and deliberate record of an individual's life written as a work of intelligence." To be biography, it must not only satisfy interest and curiosity, which memoirs and letters do as well or better, it must also give the conviction that "some creative mind" has selected and composed the materials. There must result for the reader an acquisition of experience as well as of fact. And to be "pure" it must not have "an undue desire to celebrate the dead," nor "a purpose extraneous to the work itself," nor "an undue subjectivity" in the writer, i. e., of the sort that led Izaak Walton to endow some of his subjects with his own characteristics.

It is needless to say that there is not much "pure" biography in English, nor in fact much notable impurity until the end of the eighteenth century. After Johnson's "Lives" there is more to be said. Mr. Nicolson has no desire to change the position generally given Boswell and Lockhart, although he feels that it is easy to give too much credit to Boswell and too little to fortunate opportunity and blind chance. His analysis of Lockhart's achievement is enthusiastic and skillful. He points out the sure artistry with which Lockhart weaves in his themes, subordinates events, holds them to one side until he needs them; how he softens the less pleasing aspects of Scott by introducing them in the proper surroundings; how ably he keeps the story going, for the vast amount of materials he uses; and with what skill he himself slips unobserved into the picture.

The modern period Mr. Nicolson begins with Froude, in whose "Carlyle" occurs, he thinks, the first notable instance of the satirical method. Sir Edmund Gosse's "Father and Son," a striking product of "great courage, great originality, and consummate literary art," he considers also "a triumphant experiment in a new formula"; by "processes of exclusion" (i. e., of forty-eight years of his father's life) Gosse succeeded as far as can be done in combining "the maximum of scientific interest with the maximum of literary form." That it is not possible, however, to combine those two interests satisfactorily, and that future biographers will not try to do so, Mr. Nicolson concludes from his analysis of Strachey's "Queen Victoria." Here the problem was one of condensation and compression, which can be achieved only by the biographer's adopt-

ing a thesis; and that, as Mr. Nicolson recognizes, hardly results in "pure" biography. The entirely pure, in fact, is only to be obtained by a complete separation of the scientific interest, which demands all the facts, and the literary interest, which demands selection and exclusion; and we may therefore look forward to "literary" biographies, mostly imaginary, on the one hand, and on the other to sociological and philosophic biographies—even "studies of internal secretions." It seems that purity is only achieved when literary biography need not be true, scientific biography not readable.

In a shorter lecture introducing this series Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch considers the question Are Lectures Necessary At All? His discussion is polished and witty, his conclusion not very new or helpful. It may be summarily but fairly stated as this: that bad lectures (of which there are too many) are bad, that good lectures (which may be so as much by the lecturer's emotional sincerity as by brilliant elocution) are good, and that the Socratic method is best of all.

FORD K. BROWN.

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*The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham. Edited with notes and introduction by THEODORE HOWARD BANKS, JR. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. xi + 362. \$5.00.*

*Evidences of a Growing Taste for Nature in the Age of Pope. By PRAPHULLA KUMAR DAS. Calcutta University Press, 1928. Pp. 64.*

It is very pleasant indeed that in the year when Cooper's Hill itself came at last to be exploited by a real-estate concern, the poem *Cooper's Hill* should appear, with Denham's other works, in the beautiful and scholarly edition of Professor Banks. His Introduction furnishes an admirable biographical sketch together with a discussion of Denham's place as a poet, and the text is followed by various appendices of considerable value concerning the canon of Denham's works and the vogue of *Cooper's Hill*. In the last appendix (a list of early editions) one could wish that we might have had more complete bibliographical descriptions. One wants to know, for example, if *Cato Major* of 1669 is a 12mo. The British Museum, furthermore, has an edition of a part of *Certain Verses . . . to be re-printed with the second edition of Gondibert* (1653) that seems to differ from the one used by Banks (see page 317 note). It is a 12mo [Sigs: A in 8; B in 4 leaves] of 24 pages,

the last of which is marked "Finis." It seems to differ in small matters of spelling and punctuation from the edition used by Banks, and it does not include the poems printed by him on pages 322-324.

The important thing in such an edition is the text, and that here printed seems, after collation of about a third of it with at least one basic version, to be extremely accurate. The reviewer has found only one apparent misprint in Denham's text: on page 160, line 13, *fit* appears for *sit*. Since either word makes good sense, the confusion was natural. Incidentally one wonders why Banks did not collate the 1668 text of this poem ("The Destruction of Troy") with the original edition of 1656. He would have found practically no variants except *sit*, just mentioned, and *The* for *His* in line 539 of the poem; but technically all the variant spellings and punctuation should have been noted. One is similarly puzzled that in an edition where meticulous care has kept the text so clean of error, the marginal notes of the 1668 printing of *Cooper's Hill* are not reproduced intact—not that it matters much except as technique. Banks has in a very few cases silently corrected obvious misprints in early editions, and since he has done so, would it not have been possible to make, giving due notice, one or two further changes of almost the same sort? Cato Major in I, 133, of his poem lives in Sabinum; and in III, 63, in Sabinum: the first spelling seems wrong. More important is the probable error of the early editions of the poem in failing to place a period after I, 109, of *Cato Major*.

In the part of the volume written by Banks himself there are one or two misprints: page 69 (note) has *Phillip* for *Philip*; and on page 327 in Mr. Wise's letter we have *Aiken* for *Aitkin*. Apparently the last statement in the important but (to this reviewer) unconvincing note on page 202 is a slip. It asserts that *Cato Major* was first printed in 1669; but the poem appears in the 1668 *Poems*, from which Banks seems to have reprinted it. Anthony Wood's manner of listing this poem makes one feel that he probably saw a 12mo edition dated 1648. There may well be other misprints in the volume, but the reviewer feels certain that they are few and that they will not impair the authority of Banks's text, for which he deserves both thanks and congratulations.

The careful editing of *Cooper's Hill* may serve to remind us of the fact that the poem created a special type of descriptive poetry. Such reminders are necessary when works like that of Mr. Das continue to appear in which only one type of "nature" poetry is considered. The old sport of trying to find new bits of landscape in the poetry of 1700-1730 (years of no real unity as a period) ought to give way to a characterization of the several different

fashions in which nature was then used in poetry. Such characterization, while recognizing the sense-perception of landscape, would treat other uses besides the sensuous as notable in the period. Das writes pleasantly and, from the relatively few authors he treats, collects very interesting quotations. He has no new conclusions.

GEORGE SHERBURN.

*University of Chicago.*

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*Quelques Aspects du Romantisme Contemporain.* JEAN THOMAS.

Etudes françaises fondées sur l'initiative de la société des professeurs français en Amérique. Seizième Cahier. Paris. Les Belles Lettres, 1928. 69 pp.

Le titre de ce petit livre indique assez combien le sujet en était brûlant et semé de périls: définitions du romantisme, généralisations sur la littérature contemporaine, voilà des difficultés qui ont exercé, et souvent égaré, ces derniers temps, la sagacité des critiques. M. J. Thomas, l'un des maîtres les plus brillants de la jeune université française, a su écrire là-dessus des pages d'une pensée très mûre et d'un style souple et ferme dans sa belle condensation, qui ne peuvent manquer de faire réfléchir tous ceux qu'intéresse le mouvement actuel des lettres françaises.

L'auteur s'est proposé de rechercher ce qu'il y a de romantique dans la littérature actuelle; il choisit trois traits dominants sur lesquels l'accord semble généralement se faire parmi ennemis et défenseurs du romantisme en quête d'une définition de ce terme redoutable: le primat de la sensibilité, l'épanouissement spontané de la personnalité, et le déclin des disciplines de l'esprit. Dans trois chapitres correspondant à ces trois divisions, il envisage donc le romantisme contemporain. Nous ne chicanerons pas M. Thomas sur cette définition du romantisme, en particulier sur le troisième élément qui prête un peu au vague et correspond en effet au chapitre le moins net de son étude. Puisqu'il faut s'entendre sur le sens de ces mots avant de s'en servir, acceptons, quitte à nuancer ensuite tout ceci, que classicisme veuille dire état d'esprit, (et par suite littérature) de tonalité intellectuelle dominante, et romantisme, l'état d'esprit où la sensibilité et l'imagination l'emportent au contraire sur l'intelligence, sans que jamais, bien entendu, le groupe de tendances réprimé disparaisse entièrement.

Si l'on admet ceci, nous croyons, à l'encontre de M. Thomas, que la grande majorité de notre production contemporaine montre la prédominance d'éléments classiques sur les éléments romantiques,

et que, dans la mesure où l'on peut généraliser en ces matières, nous vivons actuellement dans une période plus proche du néo-classicisme. Il est curieux d'ailleurs que M. Thomas lui-même s'en soit si bien rendu compte qu'il ait dû sans cesse lutter pour ne pas le reconnaître. Pour remplir la tâche qu'il s'était assignée, il a adopté presque partout un ton défensif et commencé par soutenir que toutes les apparences semblent indiquer au contraire que l'intelligence, le désir de comprendre, la froideur et la sécheresse l'emportent actuellement sur le sentiment, mais que ce ne sont là que des apparences. Après avoir noté par exemple la faible place que tient l'amour chez nos jeunes romanciers, le mépris qu'ils professent pour le sentiment en général, pour l'emphase, pour les mouvements violents de la passion, leur goût des techniques et des questions de métier, va-t-il en conclure que l'intellectualité est le trait dominant de notre littérature actuelle? Non, M. Thomas s'ingénie à contredire ces apparences: il veut trouver dans la chasse aux sensations, dans l'attention aigüe que les auteurs d'aujourd'hui accordent à la vie physique, dans "l'effort pour surprendre l'instinct dans son jaillissement," des indices d'un romantisme persistant. Nous répondrions précisément que cette recherche de sensations frappantes, d'images cinématographiques, la littérature sportive d'un Jean Prévost s'appliquant à saisir en lui-même le mécanisme de ses réactions musculaires aussi bien que mentales, sont chez nos contemporains la marque d'une lucidité et d'une maîtrise de soi peu communes, d'une intelligence acharnée à s'analyser, d'une volonté de faire dans l'oeuvre d'art, acte de création consciente, souvent même de combinaison voulue, qui ne laisse rien à l'inspiration aveugle des romantiques et se défie de la spontanéité. M. Thomas, il est vrai, ajoute une remarque très fine: l'ardeur même que mettent les jeunes gens d'aujourd'hui à faire taire en eux la voix du sentiment, leur désir acharné de paraître ironiques et secs, de même que leur recherche quasi mystique de disciplines nouvelles, décèlerait, dans leur poursuite d'un nouveau classicisme, un romantisme caché. Pour désirer l'équilibre avec une telle intensité, il faut se sentir secrètement malade. Et nous l'accorderons bien volontiers. Mais qu'est-ce à dire, sinon que nos contemporains, pas plus qu'un Racine ou qu'un La Fontaine, ne cherchent—ou ne réussissent—à tuer en eux les émotions et les sentiments. Ils veulent les soumettre à l'intelligence, voilà tout.<sup>1</sup>

N'allons donc point conclure que la littérature française depuis

<sup>1</sup> Les goûts mêmes des jeunes écrivains contemporains indiquent assez quel est le ton dominant de notre époque; le dédain pour un Maeterlinck, pour un Ibsen, même pour un Barrès, l'indifférence souvent injuste pour les grands romantiques du siècle dernier, le déclin de faveur d'un Bergson et peut-être d'un Claudel; et par contre l'admiration qui va à tout art qui est voulu, réfléchi, sagement gouverné et consciemment combiné, à un Racine, un Stendhal, un Baudelaire, un Mallarmé, un Valéry.

la guerre rappelle en aucune façon Descartes, Boileau et le classicisme de 1600. Nous restons tous plus ou moins romantiques, et les Maurras et les Benda plus que tous les autres. Le simple fait que nous venons après cet admirable ébranlement du début du dix-neuvième siècle auquel on donne surtout le nom de romantisme, signifie que nous en gardons l'empreinte indélébile; cela seul nous empêcherait à jamais de redevenir pareils aux contemporains de Louis XIV.<sup>2</sup> Seulement ce romantisme latent de nos contemporains est le plus souvent refoulé; il est moins frappant que leur classicisme, moins fécond aussi, croyons-nous. Concluons-nous que notre littérature actuelle, dans sa poursuite d'un nouveau classicisme, applique à demi-consciemment le conseil d'un de ses maîtres les plus aimés: "L'oeuvre classique ne sera belle et forte qu'en raison de son romantisme dompté."<sup>3</sup>

HENRI PEYRE.

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*La Mode des Contes de Fées. 1685-1700. Un Episode Littéraire de la Fin du XVII<sup>me</sup> Siècle. Par MARY ELIZABETH STORER. Paris, Champion, 1928. (Bibliothèque de la R. L. C., vii + 288 pp.).*

It is perhaps not without interest to remark that we have here within a year the third volume in this excellent collection written by a former student at Smith College.

The subject was particularly well suited to a woman's pen, and Miss Storer did it justice. In saying this, the writer surely does not mean that there is no very scientific side to the subject; on the contrary, one is surprised to find how much had *not* been done in a scholarly way before, and the author has spared no effort to solve many problems. As an illustration, one needs only to read her chapter on Mme de Murat, all about her rediscovery, in the bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, of the manuscript of the *Journal*, and her demonstration of the unreliability of the edition given by the marquis de Paulmy, and of the indications regarding the same Mme de Murat's tales in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, from where they passed into the *Cabinet des Fées*. The same minute care is taken elsewhere; there are 23 pages of bibliography, if you please. We also note that the "je", usually so profuse in ladies' writing,

<sup>2</sup> Voir là-dessus les réflexions si suggestives de M. L. Cazamian, auxquelles la seule ambition de ces remarques est de renvoyer le lecteur, dans "La Notion de Retours Périodiques dans l'Histoire Littéraire," *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, Mars, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> André Gide, *Incidences*, p. 38.

is rarely used; and yet in cases like those mentioned above, it would be justified. See another case on p. 160, where Miss Storer calls attention to an important correction to be made in Barbier's classical *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes*.

The scope of the book is clearly limited; the vogue of the "contes de fées" proper lasted just about 15 years (1685-1700) before taking gradually the new form of the "conte philosophique" immortalized by Voltaire and Diderot. The authors treated are Mme d'Aulnoy, Melle Lhéritier, Melle Bernard, Charles Perrault, Melle de La Force, P.-F. Nodot and Jean d'Arras, Mme de Murat, Chevalier de Mailly, Préhac, Mme Durand, Mme d'Auneuil, and a few writers in the Provinces. The chapters on Perrault and on Mme de Murat will be found to be among the most interesting, both as regards erudition and sound appreciation. The book reveals the striking fact that Perrault was far from being the "createur du genre" as one often thinks, but only the most talented representative. Indeed the fashion was in full swing before he took a hand in it. This does not diminish his merit, however, since we have come to understand better and better of late that it is not the one who does first that necessarily lives, but the one who does best.

We notice in Miss Storer the American tendency to take the word criticism only in its adverse sense; her whole chapter—not lacking in interest at all—"les Critiques des Contes de Fées" is made of the attacks on the "genre" (except a few words, p. 217). How relevant it would have been to quote from some of those who contributed to make the conte de fées popular by their praise! The data available on the "Sources des Contes de Fées" (Ch. XV) are only summarized; there is still an immense amount of work to be done in that field. We should hesitate to endorse the idea contained in the "Conclusion", viz., that the contes de fées were taken up in some way to "maintenir pleinement l'illusion du grand règne . . . pour oublier les réalités cruelles" (p. 253). Was it not simply, as so often suggested in the course of the book, a new way for ladies to express their *préciosité*? One must not forget that even on the eve of the French Revolution, the nobility was so little aware of what was going on that a *grande dame* of the court, when hearing of a revolution over lack of bread, coined the well-known phrase, "que ne mangent-ils des gâteaux?"

The author's French is surprisingly good, even "elegant," and the few errors that have crept in may be due to the printer (*e g.* p. 51, *lâchée* for *lâche*; p. 81, *joindre* for *rejoindre*; p. 204, *à St. Miel* for *en St. Miel*).

ALBERT SCHINZ.

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*The Poetic Edda*, translated by LEE M. HOLLANDER. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1928. Pp. xxxi + 396.

For many years Mr. Hollander has lived with the *Elder Edda*. We are now given the fruits of his long intimacy, thanks to the generosity of the University of Texas, which wisely undertook the publication of a work of great cultural value, however small the intake in dollars and cents. Both Press and translator are to be congratulated. It is good to have in print the interpretation of this great monument which Mr. Hollander has given us, line by line and poem by poem. Scholars will profit by the translator's views, even where they disagree with him, and the general public will no longer be confined to the one complete English translation heretofore available.

Mr. Hollander begins with an introduction of 25 pages, designed to give to the general reader enough background to enable him to read the poems with some idea of their historical setting and significance. The task is well carried out. In a few particulars, however, I cannot agree with the writer. Pagan Scandinavian civilization was stimulated, not "occasionally" (p. vii) but continuously, by impulses from the South. The Renaissance (p. ix) did not reinforce the antiquarian activity of the Icelanders, if we take the word in its usual sense; humanism was interested in classical antiquity, and scorned the vernacular literature, so far as this strayed from classical models. If the continental Scandinavians became newly alive to Northern antiquity, this revival of interest was due to the Reformation rather than to the Renaissance; the writings of Arngrim the learned played no small part in the revival, it must be added. It is an error to say that Saxo ascribes to Icelandic sources the substance of his work. I think it unlikely that the sagas owe their "type-form" (p. xx) to Irish models; certainly this origin remains to be proved. Stereotyped figures like kennings are by no means peculiar to Old Germanic verse (p. xxii); compare such well-known modern English kennings as *finny tribe* 'fish.' The juxtaposition of two stresses, without intervening unstressed syllable, is not at all offensive (p. xxv) either to the classical or to the modern ear. Indeed, our ears enjoy lines like Tennyson's

Break, break, break

with its three juxtaposed stresses and a total want of unstressed syllables. The translation itself is a competent one, and shows poetical insight as well as grammatical accuracy. The style would be improved, I think, by the use of a simpler, less archaized diction; for example, *sat* instead of *sate*. Now and then needless emendations are adopted, as *Hávamál* 111, *Hyndhuljóð* 14, *Grottasöngur* 22 (for which see *AfnF* XLII 234 ff.). I can see no excuse for emending a text when the reading of the manuscript makes good sense and good meter, as it does in the three cases cited. The volume has entirely too many misprints and other typographical errors.

KEMP MALONE.



## BRIEF MENTION

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We are indebted to Professor Hyder E. Rollins for two additions to the notable series he is supplying to students of Elizabethan lyric poetry. The first of these, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (Harvard University Press, 1927), gives us our first critical edition of this popular miscellany. It is based upon careful collation of nine of the ten editions that appeared between 1576 and 1606; no copies of the 1577 edition are extant. Mr. Rollins has added facsimile title-pages, a detailed introduction, a commentary and a glossary to the usual critical apparatus. The table of variations in contents and authorship in these nine editions, and the commentary, are valuable not only for the better understanding of the poems but even more to students of general Elizabethan literature. It would be easy to illustrate this point, but a simple instance must suffice: the remarkably full annotations of the proverbs and commonplaces especially characteristic of this anthology.

The second of Mr. Rollins's new books initiates an undertaking of the utmost importance, an edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* (Harvard, vol. I, 1928). The first volume is now available, containing in sumptuous form, the text and the critical apparatus. Mr. Rollins collates the first eight editions of the *Miscellany*, 1577-1587, and supplies also a table of variations from the first two of the three editions of 1577 in Mr. Arber's text. These notes illustrate the deficiencies of Mr. Arber's texts, and his extraordinary habit of putting, in numerous cases, a false reading into his text of *A*, and then calling attention in a foot-note to a "correct reading" which he claims to have found in *B*. Mr. Rollins rightly justifies his own labors of collation of the original editions on the ground that these variants and misprints "throw a flood of light on the degeneration of texts under the hands of Elizabethan printers"; the pages devoted to Arber's reprint also show that such degeneration is by no means attributable solely to the Elizabethans.

Fuller comment must be reserved until the appearance of the volume containing Mr. Rollins's Introduction and Commentary. Meanwhile, since we do not know how large are the editions of these valuable books, it is surely our duty to urge all librarians and good Elizabethans to order their copies forthwith, for they are indispensable.

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E. G.

The publication of *The Poems of Nathaniel Wanley*, in the choice Tudor and Stuart Library (Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928) is somewhat of an event. Mr. L. C. Martin, the editor, first called attention to the work of this previously

unknown poet in an essay in 1925, and published for the first time twelve lyrics and one narrative. Now he gathers all the work attributable to Wanley, forty-three poems, in an admirable edition, with introduction and commentary. Wanley, previously known only as the author of *The Wonders of the Little World: Or, a General History of Man*, from which Robert Browning derived his story of the Pied Piper, now becomes of interest as the continuator, in the last part of the seventeenth century, of the influence of Vaughan and the metaphysical school, and, in his narrative verse, as a forerunner of the Augustans. He lived between 1634 and 1680, was a Cambridge man, a librarian who catalogued the Harleian MSS., vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry. Mr. Martin's introduction reveals Wanley's real charm of character, humor, interest in "wonders," resemblance to Burton in his compilation of Murders, great Lovers, Magicians, Witches, Wizards, Dreams. Mr. Martin finds his lyrical inspiration more level than that of Vaughan, though less fine, and rightly claims for these poems a share of our interest.

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E. G.

B. M. Ward has published a biography entitled *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (London, John Murray, 1928), which contains much material of interest to students of Elizabethan literature. Controversial questions are for the most part avoided, Mr. Ward's purpose being to tell the story of Edward de Vere's life. He presents a quite different figure from the one conventionally known as "Burghley's ill-conditioned son-in-law." The stipend from the Queen, he holds, was in payment for the Earl's literary work, such, for example, as a share in the writing of Lyly's comedies, certainly the lyrics, probably also the text. This contention appears to be based chiefly on the statement in *The Arte of English Poesie* and elsewhere that Oxford was a leading writer of comedies, and on the somewhat fantastic theory (first stated by M. Feuillerat) that a mere secretary like Lyly would not have dared to touch on matters of state through allegorical comedy. Again, Oxford at least compiled the *Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* ascribed to Gascoigne, and it is hinted, though not fully stated, that he had a hand in more important work during the period of eclipse. Thus Mr. Ward appears to lay the foundation for Mr. Looney's wild surmise that Oxford wrote many of Shakespeare's plays.

Students of Spenser will be interested in the discussion of "Willy" and the "Gentle Spirit" of the *Tears of the Muses*. "Willy," he holds, is Sidney; the "Gentle Spirit" is Oxford. That Lyly did not merit the epithet of "gentle" is probably

correct; that Oxford, "sitting in idle ease" after 1591, "gentle" as opposed to "base-born," and a writer of comedies, fits the description better is no doubt true, but Mr. Ward makes no more than a plausible conjecture. Those interested in Gabriel Harvey should study the "Interlude" beginning at page 178, the distinction throughout the book between Oxford's Euphuists and the romanticism of Sidney and others, and the references to Harvey that may be traced through the index.

E. G.

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*A Treasury of English Aphorisms.* Edited by LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928. Pp. viii + 262. \$2.00. This is by no means a collection of familiar quotations. Mr. Smith, while not seeking the bizarre, has avoided the hackneyed and, being a man of thought, taste, and wide reading, has produced a fresh, interesting book. He quotes from Pope's prose not his poetry and gives but three extracts from Shakespeare. The authors most frequently cited are Chesterfield, Emerson, Halifax, Hazlitt, Santayana, and, most of all, Johnson, of whom Mr. Smith writes: "He is the greatest of our English aphorists—indeed for the number, the originality of his apophthegms, he has no equal in the world." The extracts are arranged under seventy-three heads and preceded by an introduction covering fifty pages which is discriminating and sound and at the same time good reading.

R. D. H.

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*Suffixvokal nach Kurzer Tonsilbe vor r, n, m im Angelsächsischen.* By GEORG WEBER. Leipzig, Mayer and Müller, 1927 (Palaestra, 156). Pp. vii + 143. 10 M. The development of the post- tonic vowels in Old English and from Old English to Middle English is one of the most variegated and bewildering chapters of English phonology. Nowhere else is the student so poignantly reminded that although sound developments are certainly not lawless, the laws to be formulated are amazingly complicated. Such simplifications as those of Cosijn and Luick are sound so far as they go, but they give, after all, only an imperfect notion of the real state of affairs. It is the great merit of Dr. Weber's work that it brings together all the scattered and confusing materials, arranges them neatly, and, without concealing the complexity of the data, does enable one to survey them in an ordered way. The first three chapters deal with syncope and developed vowels before *r*, *n*, and *m*, and a fourth chapter gives a lucid and informing summary. The omission of *l* here is explained

by the fact that this has already been treated by H. Weye (*PBB.*, 30, 84-131). Weber's monograph, like Weye's, whose work it carries on, is a model of close and exact linguistic investigation.

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M. B. RUUD.

*Altenglisches Lesebuch für Anfänger.* Von MAX FÖRSTER. Pp. x + 69. Third ed., Heidelberg, 1928. This edition is practically a reprint of the previous one, but certain articles in the glossary have been done over, and three pages of *nachträge* have been added. The little book is well adapted to its purpose.

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K. M.

*An Anglo-Saxon Book of Verse and Prose.* By W. J. SEDGEFIELD. Pp. xii + 473. Manchester, 1928. This volume is an anthology, or book of selections. The *Anglo-Saxon* of the title means 'Old English.' The same term, in another recent anthology, is used in the sense 'Middle and Modern English.' It is unfortunate that scholars persist in using in the very titles of their books a term so ambiguous. Professor Sedgefield's book is divided into two parts, verse and prose, each with its own notes and glossary; the two parts have also been published as separate volumes. The prose part, curiously enough, includes a certain amount of verse. The editor has given us a good selection of texts. His notes, however, are not altogether up-to-date. Thus, his remarks (p. 137) on *Widsith* 115 ignore Jiriczek's conclusive article in *Engl. Stud.* LIV, 15 ff., and many other like examples might be cited.

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K. M.

*La Poésie néo-latine et la Renaissance des Lettres antiques en France (1500-1549).* By D. MURARASU. Paris, J. Gamber, 1928. xvi + 184 pp. 20 fr. This is an interesting study of the neo-Latin poetry written in France during the first half of the Sixteenth Century. The author discusses the spread of the New Learning in France, the influence and example of Italy, the national spirit of these French poets, and their prevailingly religious and moral tone, the patronage of King Francis I, the founding of the Collège Royal, the opposition offered by the Church ("la meute sorbonique"), the triumph of humanism, its contempt for the "barbarism" of the preceding century, and its attitude toward the improvement and development of the French language. The important names are Robert Gaguin, Pierre de Bur, Guillaume du Bellay, Germain Brice d'Auxerre, Valerand de la Varanne; Nicolas Barthélemy, Nicolas Bourbon l'Ancien, Jean Visagier ("Vul-

teius"), Etienne Dolet; Salmon Macrin ("l'Horace français"), J.-C. Scaliger, Théodore de Bèze. On p. 32 the author might have mentioned the sacred eclogues written by Antonio Geraldini, and printed at Rome in 1485. And the Mantuanus mentioned on p. 175 was named Baptista, not Franciscus.

W. P. MUSTARD.

*Aeneas Silvii De Curialium Miseriis Epistola.* Edited by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. 102. \$1.50. It should be unnecessary to call to the attention of Renaissance scholars the work that Professor Mustard is doing, both so unobtrusively and so well, namely, bringing out editions of the Latin writers of the sixteenth century. It should be unnecessary, —but is it? In the development of scholarship there are definite stages;—the Shakespearean bibliography illustrates this. Interest first centered on critical appreciation; then followed the attempt to interpret the play by a study of the life of the author; the next step was the production of a careful text; then came a study of the Elizabethan drama as a whole, to discover Shakespeare's place in the movement; and finally a study of the whole development of the drama in Europe. But this sequence must not be considered chronologically; all the various stages are flourishing simultaneously today, and yielding results.

In the sixteenth century, however, it is the last stage that is particularly important. It seems logical that, in discussing any book, the aim of the author should be chiefly considered, and if a writer is trying to imitate another author, surely the critic should be acquainted with the work imitated. But in discussing English literature of the sixteenth century, the difficulty is two-fold. The writers read Italian and Latin with great facility and a sense of artistic inferiority caused them to copy, or adapt, works that have been forgotten. The Latin works, especially, are inaccessible, in black letter, and in poor texts. Our temptation is, therefore, to ignore the exemplar and to consider the derivative as an independent creation.

It is here that we are all indebted to Professor Mustard's series, "Studies in the Renaissance Pastoral." Its importance may be illustrated by the *De Curialium Miseriis*. This jeu d'esprit, written by Aeneas Silvius thirteen years before he became pope, was imitated in Spanish by Guevara, in French by Octovien de Saint-Gelais, and in English by Barclay. Then in 1548 the Spanish imitation was adapted by Brian for English readers, a second edition of which appeared in 1575. Surely it is not overstating the case to insist that serious students of the literature of the sixteenth century, Spanish, French, or English, should know the original to understand one of the tendencies of the period.

There is no space left to comment on the attractiveness of Professor Mustard's little book, on the convenience of its size, on the clearness of its printing, or on the suggestiveness of its annotations. In the brief space that the editor has allotted me all that I can hope to make clear is that all of us, students in the Renaissance, are heavily indebted to the work of Professor Mustard.

JOHN M. BERDAN.

*L'Encyclopédie.* Par JOSEPH LEGRAS (Collection Grands Evénements Littéraires). Amiens, Malfère, 1928. Pp. 170. *D'Holbach et ses Amis.* Par RENÉ HUBERT (Collection Christianisme et Civilisation). Paris, Delpeuch, 1928. Pp. 224. Deux petits mais excellents volumes sur les "Philosophes." Le premier raconte une fois de plus, mais dégagé de tout élément étranger et de tout parti-pris, les luttes de Diderot et de ses amis pour faire publier la grande oeuvre collective et de propagande. Malgré l'objectivité du récit, on ne peut qu'être presque décontenancé par le manque de scrupule, et aussi par l'ignorance des adversaires de l'Encyclopédie. Il était bon d'avoir le récit de cette lutte fait par un moderne et dans l'esprit que nous réclamons de la présentation des questions d'histoire de la littérature. (Si on veut du reste, s'assurer qu'il y avait à l'occasion manque de science chez les Encyclopédistes aussi, on pourra relire le livre de Dimier, *Buffon*, Paris, 1919.) Le second volume se rapporte aussi à la lutte des idées au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'auteur est pleinement conscient que D'Holbach n'est pas une figure de première grandeur. Elle ne peut cependant pas être laissée tout à fait dans l'ombre. M. Hubert a donné juste sa part à celui qu'on a un peu méchamment, mais pas tout à fait sans injustice appelé "le maître d'hôtel des Encyclopédistes." Toutefois, son activité ne se bornait pas à être très hospitalier et offrir d'excellents dîners. Ses deux mérites littéraires ou philosophiques sont selon M. Hubert: d'abord, d'avoir fait connaître à l'étranger les travaux scientifiques de l'Allemagne d'alors; et en second lieu d'avoir donné dans son *Système de la Nature*, "un compendium de tous les arguments que la métaphysique des sciences naturelles pouvait invoquer au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en faveur des hypothèses matérialistes" (p. 74). Il en a montré la valeur, mais il en a aussi trahi l'insuffisance—ce que Voltaire surtout lui reprochait. Voltaire craignait de voir la cause des "philosophes" affaiblie par tant d'audace—ou de candeur—d'une part; et aussi qu'on ne lui attribuât, à lui Voltaire, la paternité de cet ouvrage, car D'Holbach (comme Voltaire le faisait parfois) ne signait jamais ses livres; et Voltaire avait à répondre d'assez de méfaits sans qu'on le rendît responsable encore de celui-là.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE INTRODUCTION OF THE UNITIES INTO THE FRENCH DRAMA OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

No author of a handbook of French literature, no editor of a French classical text, no lecturer upon modern classicism considers that he has done his duty unless he says something about the three unities and how they were brought to France, though statements and explanations vary. According to a recent textbook, written by a French woman for the edification of American youth, Aristotle, "philosophe et critique grec," invented these unities himself.<sup>1</sup> Others tell us that Chapelain, inspired by Castelvetro, converted Richelieu to this trinitarian doctrine, whereupon the Cardinal proscribed irregularity in dramatic technique with the same zeal that he expended upon heresy and rebellion. Others believe that the introduction of the unities was due to the peculiar nature of what they call "French genius."<sup>2</sup> Others speak of the French Academy, of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, of the direct influence of ancient plays, of Italian plays, etc, etc. The most thoroughgoing studies of the subject are those of Dannheisser<sup>3</sup> and Lanson,<sup>4</sup> but many discoveries have been made since the former wrote and the work of the latter is primarily a syllabus that cannot go far into the dis-

<sup>1</sup> J. Badaire, *Précis de littérature française*, New York, Heath, 1926, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Even the uncritical may wonder why, if the French were naturally inclined to observe the unities, they employed them for no more than a fourth of the period in which they have been writing plays.

<sup>3</sup> *ZFSL.*, xiv (1892), 1-76.

<sup>4</sup> *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*, Paris, Champion, 1927.

cussion of the problem. Their point of departure is, however, eminently sound, for both believe that the unities were not introduced until the first play was written whose author can be shown to have observed them intentionally. Theories that are not followed have a place in the history of criticism, but not in the history of the drama.

Now it was pointed out as long ago as 1639<sup>5</sup> that the first French play of the seventeenth century written intentionally to accord with the three unities as they were understood at the time was the *Silvanire* of Jean Mairet, which was first acted early in 1630 and was printed a year later with a well-known preface in which the unities of time and action are discussed, the unity of place implied. We must, then, begin our investigation with this play, studying first the conditions that existed when Mairet wrote and which determined his acceptance of the unities, then the dramatic production of the years that immediately followed in order to find out whether the case of *Silvanire* was sporadic, or whether the match that Mairet lighted was responsible for firing the whole pile.

Conditions were peculiarly favorable in 1630 for the introduction of the new technique.<sup>6</sup> One thinks at once of tendencies towards unity in the government, organized religion, and social life of the period. It was only at the end of 1629 that a troupe, the Comédiens du Roi, came into practically permanent possession of the leading Parisian theater and only at the beginning of 1630 that their rivals of the Marais were definitely established at Paris. Actors were becoming more ambitious and the older reputations of the farce players were giving way before those of men who were distinguished for playing in other genres, like Bellerose and, especially, Montdory. The audience, moreover, was including more frequently cultivated persons of both sexes. The older generation of dramatists was disappearing. Hardy was almost on his deathbed. Racan had ceased to write for the stage. Théophile had died. The new generation was largely composed of men who had begun to write in 1628-

<sup>5</sup> Sarasin, *Discours de la tragédie*, published with the *Amour tyrannique* of G. de Scudéry.

<sup>6</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the facts contained in this paragraph cf. my *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part I, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, especially Chaps. VII and XI.

29 and its most distinguished member was Mairet, who had brought out two successful plays in 1625 and 1626. It was natural that his youthful colleagues should look upon him as a leader and that he should look about for a doctrine.

Now between 1607 and 1629 the unities do not appear to have been discussed in France by dramatists. The only persons who mentioned them, so far as the records show, were Chapelain, who recommended the unity of time in 1623;<sup>7</sup> Ogier, who attacked this unity in 1628;<sup>8</sup> and a learned lady, of whom Balzac speaks<sup>9</sup> in the same year. There is no evidence that either Chapelain or the learned lady influenced Mairet, while Ogier's influence was exerted, if at all, in the direction of conserving the dramatic irregularity that already existed. We come now to Mairet, who tells us that, about 1629, when he was the guest of the duc de Montmorency and his Italian wife at Chantilly, the comte de Cramail and the cardinal de La Valette<sup>10</sup> persuaded him to write a pastoral with all "les rigueurs que les Italiens ont accoustumé de pratiquer en cet agreable genre d'escire."<sup>11</sup> He accordingly examined the works of the Italian dramatists and found that the secret of their success lay in their following the rules of the Ancients. For the latter he expresses the greatest respect and declares that he would never fail to follow their opinions and usage unless compelled "par vne claire & pertinente raison."<sup>12</sup> At the same time he admits that the plays of the Ancients are "moins remplis" than certain modern works, which he considers "parfaitement beaux, & parfaitement agreables, tels que sont par exemple le Pastor Fido, la Filis de Scire, & sans aller plus loing la Siluanire."<sup>13</sup> It seems, then, that Mairet, despite the erudition that he displays in some parts of his preface, was not a pedant, nor even, primarily, an imitator of the

<sup>7</sup> In his preface to the *Adone* of Marino; cf. E. Bovet, "La Préface de Chapelain à l'Adonis," *Aus romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, Festschrift Heinrich Morf*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1905, and Lanson, *Revue universitaire*, 1905, II, 414.

<sup>8</sup> Preface to Schelandre's *Tyr et Sidon*.

<sup>9</sup> Letter of Sept. 30.

<sup>10</sup> He had recently visited Italy; cf. de Noailles, *le Cardinal de la Valette*, Paris, Perrin, 1906, pp. 100-103.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Otto's edition of *Silvanire*, Bamberg, 1890, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

ancient dramatists, but an ambitious young author and courtier, desirous of pleasing his hostess and his distinguished friends, anxious to surpass the local reputation of Alexandre Hardy and win the European fame of the Italians.<sup>14</sup>

Now the structure of the Italian pastorals that Mairet had selected as models was not very different from that of several of the most important French plays that had preceded his in the seventeenth century, for the action of Racan's *Bergeries* and of Théophile's *Pyrame* takes place within twenty-four hours, the space represented in the latter play is little larger than that of a city, and the plots of Mairet's earlier productions had not violated the unity of action. He did not feel, then, that he was leading a forlorn hope when he brought out *Silvanire*, and, before his preface was published, he had had the support of Gombauld's *Amaranthe* and of Pichou's *Filis de Scire*, an adaption of Bonarelli. But the pastoral was a genre that was destined to flourish only two or three years longer, so that Mairet's attempt might have proved abortive, if no one had come to his assistance in other genres. Indeed, when he wrote his next play, a comedy, he did not keep the unity of time himself, but before the end of 1630 Claveret had written *L'Esprit fort*, a comedy that observes the unities, and, either in that year or the following, Rotrou had adapted to the French stage the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, another comedy that cannot be accused of irregularity. Indeed the movement was more successful in comedy than in pastoral, for, while only two-fifths of the pastorals performed in the years that immediately followed the first performance of *Silvanire* were regular, almost two-thirds of the comedies of that period observed the rules.

Tragi-comedy, which depended for its effects primarily upon variety of incident, was naturally more resistant, so that only about a fourth of those acted between 1630 and 1634 were regular, but, if we consider only the more successful tragi-comedies, we find that about half of them observe the rules. Here the leader appears to have been Corneille, who, having gone to Paris to learn what success his *Mélite* was having, heard of the unity of time and

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18: "le Tasso, le Guarini & le Guidobaldi se sont plus acquis de gloire . . . que tel qui parmy nous a composé plus de deux cents Poemes."



applied it to his next play, *Clitandre*. He was followed closely by Boisrobert in his *Pyrandre*, who, however, could hardly have been influenced in this matter by Richelieu, for he tells us that he did not dare dedicate his play to the Cardinal, though he would have liked to do so. Finally, tragedy, which was written little in the years 1630-33, began to revive in 1634 with adaptions of Seneca by Rotrou and La Pinelière. These respect the unities and Rotrou gives even greater concentration in space than his model had done. In the last half of the year appeared Mairêt's *Sophonisbe*, an excellent example of classical tragedy, keeping the rule of twenty-four hours, achieving perfect unity of action, and reducing the space required to two adjoining rooms and a place in a street not far away. The success of this play was extraordinary and under its influence tragedy became again a popular genre. Whereas only nine were written in the five years 1630-34, all but two of them by obscure authors, in the two years that followed the first performance of *Sophonisbe* fourteen appeared, including plays by all the leading dramatists, and of the fourteen all but two observe the unities.

By observance of the unities I do not mean what Racine subsequently meant by the term. I use it in Mairêt's sense: time that does not exceed twenty-four hours, but may include a night and parts of two days; space that is restricted, but may include various localities in a city, forest, island, or place of similar extent; action in which the various episodes are closely connected, though they do not necessarily influence one another. By the end of the year 1634 the unities in this sense were well established. About 38 per cent of the 87 plays that have survived from the years 1630-34 are regular and include the majority of the more successful ones and of those whose technique was imitated in the years that followed. In 1635-36 six out of nine comedies, six out of fifteen tragi-comedies, twelve out of fourteen tragedies observe Mairêt's rules, that is, about 63 per cent of the plays; in the years 1637-39, six out of ten comedies, twenty out of thirty tragi-comedies, and 17 out of twenty-four tragedies, or 67 per cent. Moreover, the authors who brought out their first plays in 1634 or 1635 and subsequently achieved success are almost unanimous in their adherence to the unities. These are the facts as nearly as I have been able to determine them. What conclusions may be drawn from them?

In the first place it seems evident that, when we talk about the introduction of the unities, we must consider influences that operated up to the performance of *Sophonisbe* in 1634, for by that time original plays in all the genres had been written in accordance with these rules. Forces that acted later may have given the unities a firmer and more permanent hold, but they did not introduce them. With this fact in mind, let us consider the rôles of certain persons much discussed in this connection.

Chapelain and Richelieu are thought, even by so able a literary critic as M. Magne,<sup>15</sup> to have introduced the unities, but what evidence is there that they did? Chapelain was not a dramatist himself. His remark in 1623 that plays should observe the twenty-four hour rule seems to have passed unnoticed. His letter to Godeau in November, 1630, again champions the unity of time, but Godeau was even less a dramatist than he was. The letter was not published for over two and a half centuries.<sup>16</sup> M. Collas thinks that it circulated in "cercles lettrés."<sup>17</sup> Perhaps it did, but we have no evidence to that effect, for there are notable differences between Chapelain's statements and those of the dramatists who discussed the unities in 1631-34, while what they have in common had already been found in earlier commentators upon Aristotle. Besides, *Silvanire* and other plays were written in accordance with the unities before his letter appeared. The document remains, then, unimportant, except so far as it shows the attitude of Chapelain towards unity. The same statement can be made in regard to Chapelain's *Sommaire d'une poétique dramatique*, undated, but probably written in 1631-34.<sup>18</sup> It was in these years that he collaborated with Rotrou in the composition of a play, but we do not know what play it was, or even whether it was regular or not. In any case his influence upon Rotrou could not have been great, for the latter continued to produce a certain number of irregular plays for some years after this association. Finally, at the end of 1634 or early in 1635, Chapelain seems to have been employed by Richelieu to plan

<sup>15</sup> *Mercur de France*, CLXXXIV (1925), 164.

<sup>16</sup> It was published by Charles Arnaud in his *Théories dramatiques au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Picard, 1888, pp. 336-347.

<sup>17</sup> *Jean Chapelain*, Paris, Perrin, 1911, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> Published with a variant form of it by Arnaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-351.

the *Comédie des Tuileries*, a play written in accordance with the unities, but which appeared after *Sophonisbe*, so that it could only have aided the movement, not inspired it.

As for Richelieu, the first evidence that he was interested in the stage lies in the fact that he entertained the king with a play in December, 1629.<sup>19</sup> But we have seen that even in 1633 Boisrobert hesitated to dedicate a play to him and it is in the organization of the "five authors" that his first interest is shown in anything like dramatic technique. And this was after *Sophonisbe*. Now I think that we may conclude, from the fact that the five plays which Richelieu probably helped compose<sup>20</sup> are regular, that he preferred that type of technique, but there is absolutely no evidence that he dragooned authors into conformity with his tastes. Certainly no one can draw any such conclusion from his attitude during the *Cid* quarrel and there is good reason to believe that he did not disapprove of plays that violated the rules, for Chapoton dedicated to him in 1638 his irregular *Coriolan*; Rotrou, who was one of his "five authors," dedicated in 1637 his irregular *Agésilas de Colchos* to the Cardinal's niece; and d'Ouville, brother of Richelieu's favorite, Boisrobert, published in 1638 an irregular play, *les Trahisons d'Arbiran*, in the dedication to which he declares that it was written at the command of a master whom no one can or should disobey, meaning either Richelieu or the king, probably the former. He goes on to say that, though he knows the rules of the Ancients, he keeps neither the unity of time nor that of place, for, though he follows these rules when he can, he does not put himself out on their account. Richelieu appears, then, to have been comparatively late in concerning himself with dramatic technique and not to have insisted upon dramatists' conforming with his own preferences.

The facts regarding Corneille are quite different, but equally misunderstood. He had no political power, but, as he was by far the ablest dramatist of the period, his influence was immeasurably great. The Romanticists, who wished to claim him as their own, represented him as bowing his neck to the yoke most unwillingly and critics seem unanimous in declaring that his interest in the rules was half-hearted and that he used the full resources of legal

<sup>19</sup> *Mémoires de Bassompierre*, edition of Michaud et Poujoulat, p. 308.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Léopold Lacour, *Richelieu dramaturge*, Paris, Ollendorff, 1925.

sophistry in his efforts to escape them. But let us not be misled by the opinions that Corneille expressed in 1660. Let us see what he actually did between 1630 and 1640. When he brought out his first play, he had never heard of the unities. As soon as he learned that there was a rule of twenty-four hours, he introduced in into his first tragi-comedy, probably before any one else had attempted to do so in that genre. His conversion was, however, not yet complete, for he violated the unities in his next two comedies, but after that, when he became more deeply interested in character than before, he respected them in his *Suivante* (1632-33), and not only so, but gave in that play the most perfect example of a regular play that had been written in France up to that time. From then on his usage proclaims him a follower of the rules. The *Cid* was the fifth play in which he observed the rules as they were understood by most of his dramatic contemporaries, though it is less regular than the four plays that had preceded it. In it he kept the rule of twenty-four hours. The places he represents are comparatively near together and within the limits of a single city. This was common usage among his contemporaries who considered themselves regular, and Scudéry did not criticize him for violating the unity of place, but for setting his stage in such a way that one could not always tell with which compartment the action was supposed to be related.<sup>21</sup> Chapelain, it is true, in the *Sentiments de l'Académie*,<sup>22</sup> not only makes the same criticism, but recommends the unity of place, though he admits that Corneille's usage was that of most contemporary dramatists. Both Scudéry and Chapelain note that the unity of action is violated by the presence of the Infanta,<sup>23</sup> but this merely means that they had become more exacting than Mairet had been when he wrote the preface to *Silvanire*, for the *Cid* is as regular as the latter play and Corneille's interest in the rules is evident, if we consider how much he eliminated from his Spanish model. That he did not go so far as he had done in the *Suivante* is probably due to the fact that he was handling much more complex material. At any rate, what is important about the *Cid* quarrel is not the specific recom-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gasté, *la Querelle du Cid*, Paris, Welter, 1898, p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 392.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 377.

mendations that it contained, to many of which Corneille paid little attention,<sup>24</sup> but that it made him, as M. Lanson says, reflect upon his art. He was not made to adopt a system of which he disapproved, but to develop in tragedy the system that he had already used to a modified extent in *Médée*, the *Cid*, the *Illusion*, the *Place royale*, and notably in the *Suivante*. The result was that he produced in *Horace* a play that d'Aubignac considered, seventeen years later, the only production that met completely his requirements for unity of place.<sup>25</sup> It was doubtless this play and the tragedies that followed it that gave to the unities their triumph. Far from being a victim of the pseudo-Aristotelians, Corneille was one of the leaders in the introduction of the unities and, perhaps, the principal cause of their acceptance in France.

The participation of other authors in the movement is somewhat similar. Some of them protested vigorously in the early thirties, but were observing the rules before these were over. Scudéry, for instance, wrote five irregular tragi-comedies and an irregular comedy before 1635, but when, after the success of *Sophonisbe*, he turned to tragedy, he wrote in accordance with the rules. A second tragedy, *Didon*, and a tragi-comedy that followed were, however, irregular, but after that he applied to his tragi-comedies the rules for unity he had tested in his *Mort de César*. Du Ryer, after composing several irregular plays, wrote

<sup>24</sup> This is obvious to any one who studies in detail later editions of the *Cid* and the plays that Corneille wrote after the criticism of the Academy had appeared. His attitude is that of an intelligent man who takes suggestions when they appear good and rejects the rest. For instance, he was severely criticized for not having Chimène refuse to marry the man who had killed her father, yet he chooses for the subject of his next play one in which his hero kills his sister and his three brothers-in-law!

<sup>25</sup> *Pratique du Théâtre*, edition of Martino, Paris, Champion, 1927, p. 111. It will be noted that Corneille went further than Chapelain had suggested, for unity of place is not defined by the latter as exact equivalence in size between the stage and the place represented. He does define it as "Unité de Scène" (Arnaud, *op. cit.*, p. 350), but Mairet uses this term in the preface to his *Roland furieux* and claims to have kept it in that play because all the places he represents are in a single forest. Chapelain would probably have been satisfied with the unity of the *Comédie des Tuileries*, but Corneille went further and represented in *Horace* only a single room.

in 1631-32 a pastoral and a tragi-comedy that are regular, followed by an irregular comedy and tragi-comedy. Then, like Scudéry, he wrote a tragedy in accordance with the rules, which he followed afterwards in tragi-comedies as well. Rotrou's plays of 1630-37 are almost equally divided between regularity and irregularity, but in the years 1637-39 he wrote three plays, of which two are regular and the irregularity of the third is due to his imitation of Plautus. Mairet, strangely enough, wrote a comedy after *Silvanire* and two tragi-comedies after the *Cid* quarrel that do not observe the unity of time, for even the man who introduced the unities regarded them as ideals to be attained, if the subject permitted, rather than as inviolable rules.

Just how much weight each individual author attached to each argument for unity can, perhaps, never be determined, but the evidence points to the fact that, when the playwrights fell into line, they acted not as pedants, for pedants would certainly have varied less in their usage, but as practical dramatists who wished to gain the same success that had been won by Tasso, Mairet, and Corneille. When the subject was intractable, they violated the unities even in the mild form that originally prevailed, but, as they became more skillful with their technique and saw that regular plays were more successful than irregular, they carried further their tendencies in the direction of unity. If a certain approach to unity was good, a further approach would be better and authors vied with one another to produce the kind of play that found in Racine its fullest expression.

But why, one may ask, were the regular plays more successful than the irregular? Probably because they forced authors to conform to the classical principle of artistic economy and especially to depend upon analysis of character rather than upon variety of incident and spectacle. The love of psychological investigation that had found such ample expression in Montaigne interested seventeenth-century dramatists, even before the introduction of the unities, far more than it had interested their predecessors of the sixteenth century. We can find evidence of such interest in some of Hardy's plays, in Théophile's *Pyrame*, and in Mairet's first tragi-comedy. It developed along with the unities and is especially noticeable in such plays as *Sophonisbe*, Tristan's *Mariane*, the *Cid*,

*Horace*, etc. Now, of course, one may have psychological analysis without the unities, but they turned young authors, who had delighted in tragi-comedy, to the creation of psychological problems, which might otherwise have been left untouched. The unifying of the form was, moreover, in accord with the general taste of the period and the greater simplicity of location made it easier for the audience to understand the scenery.<sup>26</sup> The unities had not only the charm of novelty, but the support of the prevailing tendencies of the day in almost all spheres of French life. Finally, the preceding generation had produced no genius of irregularity like Shakespeare or Lope, whose distinction might have caused the unities to meet in France the reception that was accorded them in Spain and England. On the contrary, they had the advantage of almost immediate association with the first great French dramatist and, largely on this account, they became for two centuries the most conspicuous elements in European dramatic technique.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

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#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE CUCKOO AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

At the conclusion of the Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 1. 6. of the well-known poem, *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, occur the words "explicit Clanvowe." Professor Skeat discovered the colophon, and he attempted to identify the author with Sir Thomas Clanvowe.<sup>1</sup> Professor Kittredge, on the other hand, cast his vote for Sir John Clanvowe, whom he took to be the father of Sir Thomas.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Brusendorff recently attempted to fix the authorship upon Sir Thomas.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, three men by the name of Clanvowe who might be eligible.

<sup>26</sup> This argument probably was ultimately of great assistance in causing the unities to prevail, but at the beginning, when the space represented might include localities in the whole of a town or island, unity might be respected without simplifying the spectacle; cf., for instance, the setting required by Mahelot for Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*.

<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, pp. lvii ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Chaucer and Some of His Friends," *Mod. Phil.*, I (1903), 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *The Chaucer Tradition*, pp. 441 ff.

The first of these, in point of chronology, is Sir John Clanvowe, 'the elder.'<sup>4</sup> He was of a Herefordshire family and was probably the son of Philip de Clanvowe.<sup>5</sup> The year of his birth is unknown, but it was probably not later than 1327 and very likely was some time before this.<sup>6</sup> From 1348 we have little difficulty in tracing him. In 1354 he and his heirs were granted a weekly market and two yearly fairs at the town of Michelchurch in Wales,<sup>7</sup> and in the same year he was granted exemption from service on "assizes, juries, and recognitions" against his will.<sup>8</sup> In the same year "John de Clanvowe, donsel, and Matilda his wife of Hereford" were granted an indult to choose confessors to give them "plenary remission at the hour of death, with the usual safeguards."<sup>9</sup> Several years later he held one-fourth of a knight's fee in the same town of Michelchurch.<sup>10</sup> In this year, 1361, the heir of John Clanvowe is mentioned as being in his nonage.<sup>11</sup> In 1362 Sir John was on a recognisance with Thomas Beauchamp and others.<sup>12</sup> In 1373 he received a grant for life of £50 yearly from the city and county of Hereford.<sup>13</sup> In 1374 he was referred to as "John Clanvo, knight," and in 1378 as "John de Clanfowe, knight."<sup>14</sup> On May 5, 1378, he was granted payment of arrears on his grant of 1373.<sup>15</sup> In 1379 John Clanvowe, knight, was again given exemption from service on assizes, juries, and recognitions as above.<sup>16</sup> On November 18, 1379, he obtained a pardon for a Philip atte Grove, who had been convicted of felony.<sup>17</sup> On May 2, 1380, he was a witness, with Sir William de Beauchamp

<sup>4</sup> 'Elder' and 'younger' will be used merely to clarify the references.

<sup>5</sup> For this man, see Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> He was in Parliament in 1348, and it is doubtful whether he could have sat in that body before reaching his majority.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 27 Edw. III, p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 28 Edw. III, p. 101.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers* III, 1354, p. 533.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 36 Edw. III, 1360-64, p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 35 Edw. III, 1361-4, p. 123.

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. III, 1360-4, p. 421.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 47 Edw. III, 1370-4, p. 301.

<sup>14</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 48 Edw. III, 1369-77, p. 259, and *Cal. Close Rolls*,

1 Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 123.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Rich. II, p. 323. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Rich. II, p. 406.



and Sir William de Neville, to Cicely Chaumpaigne's general release of Chaucer.<sup>18</sup> In May, 1381, he was appointed steward and constable of the king's lordship of Haverford in Wales for life.<sup>19</sup> At the same time he was granted 100 marks yearly from the issues of Haverford.<sup>20</sup> Later in the same month he was placed on a commission to survey the condition of Wales and its people.<sup>21</sup> In November of the same year he and Ralph Maylok, "protector in England of the alien abbot of Lire," were entrusted with the keeping of all lands and possessions of the abbot in England.<sup>22</sup> He was granted, on March 24, 1382, the custody of the forest of Snowdon in North Wales.<sup>23</sup> On December 25, this year, Richard le Leche, a surgeon, "in consideration of his services in surgery to John Clanevou, knight of the king's chamber," was granted exemption from jury service, etc.<sup>24</sup> On May 12, 1385, he was preparing to depart for Wales on the king's service,<sup>25</sup> and in August of the same year he was granted (perhaps for distinguished service in Wales) the town, castle, and lordship of Haverford for life.<sup>26</sup> On March 7, 1386, he and John Cheyne were granted license to treat with the "abbot and convent of Bec, who are subjects of France, touching their holdings from Easter next."<sup>27</sup> With William de Neville, in September, 1386, he made a survey for the king of the port of Orewell.<sup>28</sup> Sir John seems to have enjoyed the greatest confidence of the king, for in 1387 he was one of the two ambassadors who concluded the peace with Portugal.<sup>29</sup> In 1389 he was one of the envoys who negotiated the truce with France.<sup>30</sup> In 1390 he went on the expedition to Bar-

<sup>18</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 374.

<sup>19</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Rich. II, p. 627.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Rich. II, 1381-5, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>22</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 5 Rich. II, 1377-83, p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Rich. II, 1381-5, p. 104. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 Rich. II, 1381-5, p. 214.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 Rich. II, p. 575. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Rich. II, 1385-9, p. 8. See also p. 14, this volume.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Rich. II, p. 130.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 Rich. II, 1385-89, p. 214. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>29</sup> *Materials for the Hist. of Henry VII*, II, 474.

<sup>30</sup> Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, II, 179, 182. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

bary with the Duke of Bourbon.<sup>31</sup> He died on October 17, 1391.<sup>32</sup> On January 10, 1392, his grant of Haverford was transferred to the Earl of Huntingdon.<sup>33</sup> This Sir John was one of the chiefs of the Lollards.<sup>34</sup>

Another Sir John Clanvowe,<sup>35</sup> whom previous investigators have overlooked, may also make a bid for the authorship of *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*. On December 18, 1399, he was placed on a commission of array in Hereford.<sup>36</sup> On September 8, 1403, he was put on a "commission of array for defense against the king's enemies, who have lately invaded the realm."<sup>37</sup> This Sir John, 'the younger,' was less prominent than his namesake. He seems to have stayed in Hereford. There is no evidence of his having been about the court, and his name is never mentioned with that of William de Neville or Lewis de Clifford. The elder Sir John was a companion of these men.

The third possible candidate is Sir Thomas Clanvowe. The first reference to him is in 1391 when he, as king's esquire, was granted 40 marks a year.<sup>38</sup> On October 2, 1392, by a grant dated at Woodstock, he and Perrin, his wife, were granted £10 a year on their marriage.<sup>39</sup> On August 14, 1394, Thomas and Perrin were

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 17, n. 4; also Higden's *Polychronicon*, ix, 234.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 261: "Item xvii die Octobris dominus Johannes Clanvowe miles egregius in quodam vico juxta Constantinopolim in Graecia diem clausit extremum." Kittredge had already deduced the probable date.

<sup>33</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Rich. II, 1391-6, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> See Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, p. 245, *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 377, and Walsingham, *op. cit.*, II, 159. (The last reference was noted by Professor Kittredge.) With regard to Lollard affiliations, Skeat confuses Sir John with Sir Thomas. I find no references to Sir Thomas as a Lollard.

<sup>35</sup> I have been unable to discover the date of his birth or death. References to him cease as abruptly as they begin. The relationship of this man to Sir John, 'the elder,' is merely conjectural.

<sup>36</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Henry IV, 1399-1401, p. 211.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 Henry IV, 1401-5, p. 288. It seems probable that this Sir John is the man who was placed on a commission of *oyer and terminer* in Hereford in 1382 (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Rich. II, 1381-5, p. 138), and the John Clanblowe who was "recently appointed justice of the peace in Hereford" on August 12, 1382 (cf. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 6 Rich. II, 1381-5, p. 148).

<sup>38</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Rich. II, p. 496. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 Rich. II, p. 183. This is the same Perrin Whitteneye who

granted £20, and Thomas 40 marks yearly from the castle and cantred of Buelt.<sup>40</sup> In March, 1394, Thomas was granted £18 for 45 days in Parliament.<sup>41</sup> In March, 1397, Thomas and Perrin were granted "two tuns of wine a year of the prise of the king's wine."<sup>42</sup> In February, 1397, Sir Thomas received £11 4s for 28 days in Parliament,<sup>43</sup> and in January, 1398, £10 16s for 27 days.<sup>44</sup> In July, 1397, he was placed on a commission of *oyer and terminer* in Hereford.<sup>45</sup> Later in the same year he is mentioned as being one of the justices on this commission.<sup>46</sup> In March, 1399, Robert de Whitteneye,<sup>47</sup> "going on the king's service to Ireland," nominated Thomas Clanvowe, knight, and John Gomonnd his attorneys for one year.<sup>48</sup> On March 18, 1399, the grant of £20 and 40 marks from the castle and cantred of Buelt was confirmed, and the arrears ordered to be paid.<sup>49</sup> In the next month Sir Thomas was granted a part of the remainder of the manor of Bury in Chalfont St. Giles which Lewis de Clifford gave to Philip de la Vache and his wife.<sup>50</sup> On February 20, 1400, he was a witness when Philip de la Vache was assigned the castle of Ewyas Harald.<sup>51</sup> In April, 1401, he was on a commission of arrest in Hereford<sup>52</sup>; in May on another commission to inquire into the estate of one Simon de Bureley in Hereford.<sup>53</sup> In 1402 he was on a commission to arrest all persons in Hereford "preaching lies against the king."<sup>54</sup> On November 1, 1402, the letters

was granted, on May 26, 1390, £10 for good service to the Queen (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Rich. II, p. 250).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 Rich. II, p. 496. This grant cancelled that of October 2, 1392.

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Rich. II, 1392-6, p. 278. (Noted by Professor Kittredge.)

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 Rich. II, 1396-9, pp. 46, 101.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Rich. II, 1396-9, p. 135.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Rich. II, 1396-9, p. 303.

<sup>45</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 21 Rich. II, p. 227.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 Rich. II, p. 203.

<sup>47</sup> This is apparently Sir Thomas' father-in-law.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 Rich. II, p. 487.

<sup>49</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 22 Rich. II, 1396-99, p. 445.

<sup>50</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Rich. II, p. 553.

<sup>51</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Henry IV, 1399-1402, p. 116.

<sup>52</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Henry IV, p. 520.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 Henry IV, p. 517.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 Henry IV, 1401-1405, p. 128.

patent of June 14, 1395, are inspected and confirmed.<sup>55</sup> On May 8, 1404, the king's knight, Thomas Clanvowe, was granted that "nothing shall be taken of his goods to the king's use" in Hereford and the marches of Wales.<sup>56</sup> In October of the same year he shared in the lands, rents, and fees resulting from the reversion of the castle of Moresende, which belonged to the king's kinswoman, the Duchess of Ireland.<sup>57</sup> On October 8, 1405, Thomas and Perrin were granted £20 and 40 marks, a confirmation of the previous grants of the castle of Buelt, and they were allowed the arrears for the last five years.<sup>58</sup> On March 7, 1409, an entry refers to the reversion of an estate to Thomas Percy, Thomas Blunt, and Thomas Clanvowe, "Chivaler."<sup>59</sup> In 1412 "Thomas Clanbowe, chivaler, habet in villa de Stebenhith etc. que valent etc. xxvjs.viiij." <sup>60</sup> On May 25, 1414, confirmation was made "to Perina the wife of Thomas Clanvowe, who has survived her husband" of former grants.<sup>61</sup> He had died in 1410 or 1412.<sup>62</sup> If he was the heir of Sir John, 'the elder,' it is possible, on the basis of the conjectured date of his father's birth (see above), to date his birth between 1340 and 1360.

If we can rely upon the colophon at the end of the Cambridge MS, these three men are the only Clanvowes eligible for the authorship. As we have seen, Sir John, 'the elder,' had a rich and varied career, and, like Chaucer, was given responsible posts and sent on diplomatic missions. He was prominent about the court, and he probably knew Chaucer. But there is no external evidence to show that he was ever interested in poetry or that he ever wrote any. The claim of Sir Thomas, on the other hand, seems more valid than that of Sir John, although in his case there is likewise no external evidence showing that he was a man of letters. He, like Sir John, was about the court, and he was a close friend of Philip de la Vache and Lewis de Clifford, both friends of Chaucer. Accordingly, it is not improbable that he

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 18 Rich. II, p. 583.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Henry IV, p. 392.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1405-1408, p. 52. See also *ibid.*, 6 Henry IV, 1401-1405, p. 471.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1405-1408, p. 94, 114, 382.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1408-1413, p. 59.

<sup>60</sup> *Feudal Aids*, VI, 488.

<sup>61</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1413-16, p. 229.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Kittredge*, p. 17, n. 8.

was also a friend of Chaucer. Furthermore, he is definitely connected, by the grant of October, 2, 1392, with Woodstock, of which mention is made in the closing lines of the poem. Lastly, his age at the date of the probable composition of the poem points to him as the author, rather than to Sir John, 'the elder.' The claim of Sir John, 'the younger,' because of the paucity of evidence, must lie idle until further hints are discovered which would connect him with the court or with poetic effort.

In order to attempt to arrive at a date for the poem, it is now proper to turn to the text itself and consider what internal evidence it affords. The author was evidently acquainted with Chaucer's work, for the first two lines of the poem are taken from *The Knight's Tale* (A 1785-6). This poem is variously dated between 1382 and 1386. Hence, if we take Sir John, 'the elder,' for the author, our poem would date between 1382-6 and 1390, the year Sir John went to Barbary. The weight of the evidence, however, points to its composition at a somewhat later date.

Now, two of the MSS entitle the poem *The Book of Cupid, God of Love*, which Skeat believes was imitated from the title of Hoccleve's poem of 1402 entitled *The Letter of Cupid*. But, as Professor Kittredge pointed out, his argument does not hold, for the mere alteration of the word of the title is of no significance as evidence. Moreover, if there was a borrowing, it might just as easily have been by Hoccleve.

Upon examining the metrics of the poem, Skeat discovered an abundant use of the final *-e*; and comparing its frequency in this poem and in a passage of equal length in the *Parlement of Foules*, he concluded that this abundant use points a date of composition in the early fifteenth century.<sup>63</sup> The treatment of the final *-e*, as was shown by Professor Kittredge, is favorable to an earlier date.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Skeat, VII, lix. His test is not conclusive, however, for he used but one passage for comparison. Moreover, a careful reading of the poem seems to indicate that Clanvowe follows with considerable consistency the same practice of Chaucer in sounding the final *-e*.

<sup>64</sup> A study of the poem, with regard to the apocopation of the final *-e*, by the method used by Miss Babcock in her treatment of Chaucer (cf. "A Study of the Metrical Use of the Inflectional *E* in Middle English, with Particular Reference to Chaucer and Lydgate," *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 59 ff.) reveals that the apocopation follows in part the practice of Chaucer.

Therefore, if Clanvowe's handling of the final *-e* is natural, and not (as Skeat implied) an affectation, 1390 or the years immediately following will stand as a more probable date than one in the fifteenth century.

At line 37 of the poem Clanvowe represents himself as being *old and unlusty*, but as being capable of feeling the quickening impulses of May. If we assume Sir John, 'the elder,' to be the author, he would have been at least 55 in 1382 (the earlier date for *The Knight's Tale*) or at least 59 in 1386; and it is always to be remembered that 1327, which is the basis of this reckoning, is the latest possible date for Sir John's birth. That is to say, if Sir John is our poet, he must have written *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* at about the age of 60. Further in the poem, however, we discover that the poet is sad because of the apparent failure of his suit, and the Nightingale promises him success before the next St. Valentine's day. It seems rather unlikely that a man 60 years of age (who at that age in the fourteenth century, we must remember, was older than a man of the same age today) would be moved to write a love poem of this sort. The poem, furthermore, obviously has the tone of a younger man. Now, Sir Thomas, who might have been wooing Perrin Whitteneye in 1391 or 1392, was at this time between 31 and 45 years of age.<sup>65</sup> If he were 31, the *old and unlusty* is to be taken as a pleasant exaggeration. But if he were 45, and the hero of his own poem, the phrase would fit reasonably enough. Sir Thomas, then, from the considerations of age, seems to be a more likely candidate than the older man.

The final piece of internal evidence to be examined is the reference, at the end of the poem, to the Queen at Woodstock. Skeat believes that the reference is to Joan of Navarre, who was married to Henry IV on February 7, 1403, and who held as part of her dower the manor and park of Woodstock.<sup>66</sup> But the slight

The percentage of apocope in *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* is about 20, thus standing between *Troilus* (17.6%) and the *Canterbury Tales* period from the *Physician's Tale* (24.3%) to the *Miller's Tale* (29%). Since Clanvowe was following in the Chaucer tradition, and since his use of the final *-e* approximates Chaucer's use during the period 1387-1391, may we not assume that our poem was written about this time?

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 222.

<sup>66</sup> Skeat, *op. cit.*, VII, p. lviii.

evidence we have, the handling of the final *-e*, would suggest a date earlier than 1403 and the years immediately following. The only other Queen of England to whom the reference might apply is Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, who died in 1394. She also held dower in Woodstock. Both of the Clanvowes, of course, could have referred to her; it now remains to find a link between one or both of them and Queen Anne.

There is yet to be discovered any definite connection between Sir John and Woodstock. There are, however, at least two links between Sir Thomas and the Queen's Manor. The first of these is the letter (already mentioned) dated at Woodstock on October 2, 1392, granting to Thomas and Perrin, his wife, £10 a year on their marriage. Brusendorff has noted this (p. 443), and he believes that the couple was married about this time and that the poem is a wooing poem written by Thomas to Perrin earlier in the year, possibly in May.

If we can believe it is a love poem from Thomas to Perrin, we may be able to place the date of composition rather definitely. The poet, we remember, was assured success in love before the next St. Valentine's day. If he wrote this before the final success of his suit, he was no doubt prophesying; and in that event he might have written it either in May, 1391 or May, 1392, with the marriage culminating the affair in the early fall of 1392. It seems more probable that the poem was composed in September or October, 1392, at the time of the marriage. Happy with his lady, he might have written the poem to her, describing his sadness and uncertainty in the spring, contrasted with his present happiness which was so truly forecast by the Nightingale. Our known evidence, moreover, tends to support the second conjecture. I have been able to find that the Queen was at Woodstock in September and October, 1392<sup>67</sup>; but I can not find that she was at the manor in the spring of 1391 or 1392. Since this important piece of internal evidence corresponds to the known facts, it seems to me that we should date the poem in the early fall of 1392.

The second link between Sir Thomas Clanvowe and Woodstock is his friendship with Philip de la Vache, the son-in-law of Lewis de Clifford.<sup>68</sup> Vache was keeper of the Royal Manor and Park

<sup>67</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 16 Rich. II, 1392-96, pp. 7, 14, 17, 75, 87.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Miss Edith Rickert, "Thou Vache," *Mod. Phil.*, XI (1913), 209 ff.

of Woodstock, the office having been extended to him for life on April 25, 1379.<sup>69</sup> Since he returned to England in 1390, we may suppose that he was at Woodstock in 1391 and 1392; and it is not improbable that Sir Thomas visited him there, especially since Perrin was in attendance on the Queen.

These two bonds between Sir Thomas and Woodstock, while not conclusive evidence in his favor, are indicative that he, and not Sir John, might have been able to speak of the Queen and Woodstock with some knowledge.

The authorship of *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, then, lies between these two men, the 'younger' Sir John having been dismissed because of the paucity of evidence. Sir John, 'the elder,' certainly has a claim, but his age during the years when he could have written the poem, 1382(6)-90, makes him a less likely candidate. Furthermore, we can not link him with the significant piece of internal evidence, the reference to Woodstock. The claim of Sir Thomas is more valid. His age at the probable date of composition of the poem is favorable, and he is connected with the Queen's Manor in two ways: by the grant of October 2, 1392 and by his friendship with the keeper of Woodstock, Philip de la Vache. Until positive evidence is discovered showing that one of the Clanvowes was a man of letters, it seems that we should, with Brusendorff, accept 1392 as the date of the poem and Sir Thomas Clanvowe as the author.

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Vache was born probably in 1346 and died in 1408. After several years in France he returned to England in 1390 and remained there until his death. Sir Thomas was a friend of both Clifford and Vache. He shared in the former's will, and was one of the supervisors of the latter's estate and probably shared in it. Being a companion of Vache and dying two years after him, Sir Thomas might well have been about the same age.

<sup>69</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 341.



## MEDIAEVAL PROTOTYPES OF LORENZO AND JESSICA

The sub-plot of the *Merchant of Venice* which involves Lorenzo and Jessica is commonly referred to the fourteenth Novella of Masuccio di Salerno.<sup>1</sup> This tale, although placed by its elaborate intrigue in a class apart from the idyll of young love in the drama, does indeed offer certain resemblances to it. In both we have a damsel carefully guarded by a jealous father, an elopement with robbery, the lovers taking with them jewels and money from the hoard of the rich old merchant; the despair of the latter over the loss of both daughter and ducats ("and for the last-named loss he felt no less grief than for the first,") and the eventual marriage and happiness of the lovers.<sup>2</sup>

In one important respect, however, the Italian tale, viewed as a source for the drama, is unsatisfactory,—the father and daughter do not belong to the Hebrew race. For the element indispensable to Shakespeare's plot—the love of a Christian for a Jew's daughter—we must turn to a narrative tradition older than the Italian *novelle*, but popular through several hundred years. Stories whose interest centers in the love of a Christian youth for a Jewish damsel occur in collections of exempla from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and must by Shakespeare's time have become widely diffused as popular tales.

The narrative which most closely approximates Shakespeare's is found in MS. Royal 7 D. 1, a collection of theological pieces probably compiled by a Dominican friar at or near Cambridge in the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The text is as follows:

(fol. 79) Narratur quod quidam iuuenis diues omnia que habuit amittens ad talos et inde [Welter modo] dolens adiit iudeum quendam et ministrabat ei, ut ipse per incantaciones faceret eum diuicias suas

<sup>1</sup> The parallel was first pointed out by Dunlop (cf. *History of Fiction*, 3d ed., 1845, p. 254). Dunlop's summary of the story and his discussion are reprinted in the *Variorum Merchant of Venice*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Novellino of Masuccio*, translated by W. G. Waters (London, 1895), Vol. I, No. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Catalogue of Romances* III, 484-5; contents fully described in *Cat. Royal MSS.* I, 185. The compiler has made use of Jacques de Vitry, Peter the Venerable and other stock sources, but has also included many tales which, like the exemplum under discussion, are not found in other early collections; many of these are localized in England.

recuperare. Cui per [W. cum] vii annos ministraret et cum ei bene placuisset, reliquit ei iudeus filiam suam unicam in custodia. Qui cognouit eam et filium genuit. Quo facto dixit puella iuueni: "Pater meus scit demones incantare, et per istos sciet factum nostrum, et faciet te occidi. Sed cito accipe satis de thesauro patris mei et fuge." Quod cum faceret per quandam siluam uadens uidit quendam religiosum intrare quandam capellam, illucque porrexit et ei omnia peccata sua reuelauit. Cui confessor eius iniunxit ut omnia que abstulerat iudeo restitueret, qui sic adimpleuit iniunctum. Iudeus uero interim demonem incantauit ut ei ostenderet quis cum filia sua rem haberet et suum thesaurum asportauerit, et ubi fuisset (sic). Cui cum ille demon respondisset, "Nescio aliquid de hiis que a me queris," uocauit secundum demonem et tercium, qui idem per omnia responderunt. Qui inde [W. modo] cum demones forcius incantaret, respondit unus [W. suus] demon sic dicens: "Tria genera hominum habeo in mea potestate; iudeos, sarracenos et falsos christianos. Sed iudei et sarraceni per nullam cautelam euadere possunt de manu mea dum tales sunt. Sed falsi christiani quandoque per quandam cautelam que dicitur confessio et penitencia euadunt et recedunt de cognicione mea, et propter hec modo nescimus respondere tibi de hiis que nunc interrogas." Quo audito rogauit iudeus filiam suam ut diceret ei omnem ueritatem, promittens ei omnem impunitatem, vnde comperto quod a iuvene confesso factum fuerat, Iudeus percipiens uim pure confessionis et uere penitencie, sacerdotem adiit et confitens ei omnia peccata sua, cum tota familia baptizatus est.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The above text is printed from a transcript with which I was supplied through the kindness of Mr. J. A. Herbert, formerly Assistant Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum; I later found the exemplum had been printed from the same MS. by J. G. Welter in his edition of the *Speculum Laicorum* (Paris, 1914, p. 146), No. 465 in the *Speculum*, the item in connection with which our story is cited as analogue, contains only the concluding portion ("Tria genera sunt," etc.), which is referred by the scribe to Odo of Cheriton. This portion stands also in MS. Harl. 2385 (cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 525). The complete text as found in MS. Royal 7 D.1 is duplicated in B. M. Addit. MS. 33956, a MS. of the XIVth cent. with which the former MS. agrees textually throughout (cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 623 and 634). A variant of the story, in which the Jewess refuses to name her lover, occurs in an Italian MS. of the XVth cent., now B. M. MS. Addit. 27336 (cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 659).

The story reproduced above has obvious affiliations with several other groups of exempla. The hero's breach of trust in injuring a maiden committed to his guardianship links it with the popular tale of the faithless steward, to which Ophelia makes reference (*Hamlet*, IV, v. 71-72). This tale occurs in several of the early collections, gaining specially wide currency in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterley No. 212; variant in No. 183). For the text of the XVth cent. English version cf. *The Early English Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herrtage, E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. XXXIII, 139-147 (from MS.

Stripping the tale of its theological harness, we observe certain obvious likenesses to the play. We note the three essential characters,—Christian lover, fair Jewess, rich old father,—who fit readily into the main dramatic structure, the father's character as a Jewish hoarder of treasure being in so far coincident with that of Shylock the usurer. We may note also the conjunction of the themes of seduction and robbery (although in the exemplum the lover flees alone, taking the money at the girl's instigation), and the distribution of the father's concern over both his grievances. The conversion of the Jew and his household is a parallel not to be pushed too hard, in view of the highly involuntary nature of Shylock's acceptance of Christianity. But an item of some significance is the

Harl. 7333 and B. M. MS. Addit. 9066). It occurs sometimes in combination with the familiar apologue of "friendship tested" (cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 525).

The theme of love-intrigue with robbery suggests the tale of the monk and matron who elope, taking with them treasure from the store of the deserted husband, who, like Shylock, grieves over the discovery of his double loss (*The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane, 1890, No. 282; further references in *Cat. Rom.* III, 24; English version, Herrtage, *ed. cit.* pp. 419-21). This latter story is in turn linked with the "Sister Beatrice" group (the "nun who saw the world") not only by the escape of one of the lovers from a religious house, but by the Virgin's substitution of supernatural beings (in this case devils!) for her unfortunate devotees who find themselves in a difficult situation. (For other references to the story of the "devil in the stocks," cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 24.)

Finally, as an instance of the power of confession prevailing against denunciation by demons, the story is related to a countless number of exempla, virtually all of which, it may be noted, have to do with sins of sexual indulgence. Typical of this general class is the story told by Jacques de Vitry of a knight who goes to question a demoniac, taking with him another knight whom he suspects of adultery with his wife. The demoniac denounces the wife, but cannot name her lover, who had confessed before going there (*ed. cit.* No. 261, cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 22, 86). With a special group within this class—the so-called "confession in a stable" type—our original story is more directly related by the circumstance of the hero's confessing to a person met by chance on his journey. A story of this type concerns a "Christian slave" accused of adultery, whom a pagan idol cannot denounce because he has previously confessed to a shepherd met by the roadside (from the *Manuel des Pechés*; cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 284; for other references to stories in this group, *ibid.* 352, 542, 605, etc. In the last-named instance an "adulterous steward" is the accused person).

The oldest ancestor of the exemplum is doubtless the "seven years'

"spendthrift" character attributed to the lover in both instances. One recalls Lorenzo's words:

In such a night  
Did Jessica steal from the wealthy Jew,  
And with an unthrift love did run from Venice.<sup>5</sup>

The form in which this story, modified inevitably through oral transmission, was known to Shakespeare, we can hardly hope to determine, even though further investigation might conceivably bring to light versions offering more precise correspondences. Nor can we measure the extent to which the tradition was re-emphasized for Shakespeare by the characters in the *Jew of Malta* of Marlowe—himself a dramatist steeped in mediaeval legend. But in view of the fact that the two main plots of the *Merchant of Venice* are related to stories preserved as exempla, it seems reasonable to suppose that the sub-plot was derived originally from the same type of source. The stage at which the combination of plots was made,—whether by the author of the lost *Jew of Venice* or by Shakespeare himself—is a matter not affected by the present inquiry.

The theme of a Jewish maiden loved by a Christian is, of course, common to a large number of exempla. In addition to the "spendthrift" story discussed above, at least three types are to be distinguished, two of these likewise illustrating the efficacy of confession. The exception belongs in the class of "trickster tricked," or at least brought to confusion. It is the unpleasing tale of a Jewess seduced by a clerk; the latter persuades her parents, by means of a pseudo-supernatural device, that she is appointed to give birth to

service" of Jacob under the prosperous Laban for the winning of Rachel. It is an interesting coincidence, although probably without significance, that another incident in this Old Testament narrative comes forward in the conversation between Shylock and Antonio (*M. of V.*, I, III, 72-94).

<sup>5</sup> *M. of V.*, V, I, 14-17. It is obvious that for Shakespeare's purposes the original situation of the hero as a hireling of the Jew could not be carried over. Some remnant, however, of the original steward-hero seems to have adhered to the servant in the play who, as in the exemplum, makes his escape from a Jewish master; cf. Shylock's reference to Launcelot Gobbo (I, III, 176-7):

—my house, left in the fearful guard  
Of an unthrifty knave.

It is to be observed also that Lorenzo becomes "steward" to Portia.

a Messiah. She herself, acting under his instructions, avers this to be the case; unfortunately her child proves to be a girl.<sup>6</sup> The story is linked with the Lorenzo-Jessica type by the circumstance that the young Jewess is jealously guarded by her father and meets her Christian lover clandestinely. It is of some present interest as having, like Shakespeare's story, an analogue in Masuccio's *Novellino*. Here a Dominican friar persuades a beautiful but singularly naïve young woman that she is divinely appointed to bring forth the fifth Evangelist.<sup>7</sup> This type of theme, indeed, appears to have been popular with the novelists of the Italian Renaissance,<sup>8</sup> although enjoying, and with reason, little favor at the hands of the collectors of exempla.

Of greater interest to the ecclesiastical moralist was another story of a Jewess loved by a clerk (in some versions an English canon) who, in this instance, offends with his mistress on Good Friday night. Serving at Mass on Easter Sunday, he is suddenly overwhelmed by the enormity of his offence, and prays silently but fervently for forgiveness, that he may continue with his sacred duty. At this juncture, the father of the girl and other relatives force their way into the church to accuse him before the bishop. They are miraculously struck dumb, and gape helplessly as the service proceeds. The girl is eventually converted and becomes a nun.<sup>9</sup>

The list may be somewhat ignobly terminated by the account of a Christian seducer cleansed in a fountain of confession after each

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*. Dist. II, Cap. xxiv (ed. Strange, 1851, pp. 94-95; the scene is here laid at Worms. For other MSS. of Caesarius, cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 351). The same story, taken from Caesarius, stands in the XVth cent. *Alphabet of Tales* (ed. M. M. Banks, E. E. T. S. 126, II, 277-8). The scene in this version is placed in London.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Waters, *ed. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the mythological origins of this situation, and facetious adaptations of it by Boccaccio and others, cf. Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-3.

<sup>9</sup> The version of this story given by Caesarius (*ed. cit.* I, 92-94) was taken over into the *Alphabet of Tales* (*ed. cit.* I, 143-4; here the clerk is a canon in Lincoln Minster). It also appears in *Jacob's Well* (ed. A. Brandeis, E. E. T. S. 115; I, 177-8). In one MS. of Caesarius (B. M. Addit. 18346) the canon (according to *Cat. Rom.* III, 351-2) marries the girl. The version in the English MS. *Gesta* (*ed. cit.*, pp. 377-9) is the normal one, but the story is not localized. For other references, cf. *Cat. Rom.* III, 54, 257, 612, 685, etc.

visit to his Jewish mistress,<sup>10</sup>—an extraordinary transference of the exemplum of the adulterous stork.

The process of illustration could doubtless be extended indefinitely; it must suffice here merely to point out the existence of early racial prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica, together with Shylock in his character of parent. We need not dwell on the modification they undergo at the hands of Shakespeare; his refining alchemy is apparent enough. A historian of the proprieties in literature might perhaps trace with profit the evolution of this triad of characters who, first serving the uses of the mediaeval moralist, eventually reappear, void of offence, in the pages of Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott. But the student of Shakespeare who is interested in reconstructing not only the immediate but also the remoter background of his work, finds it useful to take into account material of the type under consideration, as exemplifying the survival in his dramas of the literary tradition of the mediaeval church.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Attributed to Odo of Cheriton in a XVth cent. MS., Harl. 219 (cf. *Rom.* III. 56).

<sup>11</sup> Instances of this type of survival were noted frequently by Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1807). In connection with the *Merchant of Venice* we may recall his comment on Launcelot Gobbo's debate with himself as to the advisability of "budging" (II, II, 1-33): "It is not improbable that this curious struggle between Launcelot's conscience and the fiend might have been suggested by some well-known story in Shakespeare's time, grafted on the following monkish fable." Then follows the account, from an unidentified MS., of a debate between the "conscience and flesh" of a woman who, while lying comfortably in bed, is disturbed by the thought that it is her duty to rise and go to Mass. This tale Douce ascribes to Hugo of St. Victor or Odo of Cheriton (*op. cit.*, I, 155-6). Again, Professor Hope Traver has pointed out the striking similarity between the trial scene and the "Proces" in Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* (XVth cent.), the allegorical theme of which derives from patristics (*The Four Daughters of God*, Philadelphia, 1907, Ch. v; cf. especially p. 94, note 18).

The *M. of V.* is admittedly a play rich in mediaeval connotation; but the extent to which all the plays of Shakespeare are pervaded by reminiscence of ecclesiastical literature has probably not been recognized. The present writer has in hand some contributions toward a study of this subject.

## ST. MARTIAL OF LIMOGES IN THE YORK PLAYS

In the York play of the Last Supper (xxvii), just before the foot-washing scene based on John 13:5, Jesus demands water (l. 39-40):

Marcelle, myn awne discipill dere,  
Do us have watir here in haste.

To which Marcelle answers (41-2):

Maistir, it is all redy here  
And here a towell clene to taste.

After this episode, in a scene reminiscent of the *Northern Passion*,<sup>1</sup> St. James asks Jesus which of the Apostles shall be "princepall" when He shall have left them (cf. Luke 22:24: And there was also a strife among them which of them should be accounted greatest.). The playwright, departing from the Biblical account of the Last Supper, but remembering the similar dispute among the disciples at Capernaum (Matthew 18:1-4, Luke 9:46-8, Mark 9:34-7), incorporates this earlier episode in the Last Supper and has Jesus answer (85-9):

Here shall I sette 3ou for to see  
þis 3onge childe for insaumpills seere  
Both meke and mylde of harte is he,  
And fro all malice mery of chere,  
So meke and mylde but if 3e be. . . .

(Here a leaf of the Ms. is lost.)

Lucy Toulmin Smith, the editor of the York Plays, supplies as a stage direction before these lines: "He sets a child before them."

It can be shown, I think, that "þis 3onge childe" whom he places before them is actually the "Marcelle" of line 39 and that Marcelle in turn is St. Martial of Limoges who, according to tradition, was Jesus' "discipill dere," and was present at the Last Supper<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, Early English Text Society, 147, p. 82-3, who points out the resemblances. A verbal parallel exists between the play (l. 89, cited above) and the *Northern Passion* (l. 307: As milde and meke bihovos 3ow be).

<sup>2</sup> This legend of St. Martial was very popular in the middle ages. The Latin *Vita S. Martialis apostoli* is printed in Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum* (June 30), ed. Cologne (1617-8), and by Charles-Félix Bellet in *La prose*

who also, according to some versions of the legend, was the little child that Jesus set before the Apostles as an example of humility.<sup>3</sup>

Now, both the *Northern Passion* and the York Play combine the strife at the Last Supper with the earlier dispute at Capernaum. Moreover, from the parallels of phrase and episode between them it is clear that the playwright knew the poem. But he also knew something that the poet did not mention, namely the identity of the little child. Where he obtained this additional information—whether from his knowledge of the Latin life of St. Martial, some vernacular poem, a gloss, or merely from the general learning that a well-versed clerk of his day might possess—I am unable to say. It seems worth noting, however, that the same curious combination of apocryphal incidents occurs in a French narrative poem of the fourteenth century (to be published in *Les classiques français du moyen âge* as *La Passion du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*) where St. Martial is present at the Last Supper in the rôle of the child who was set before the Apostles as an example of humility (l. 496-521):

Après lez apostres enprirent	Cy aval exauchié seront.
Et ad parollez entendirent	Soiez petis, je vous en pri,
Le quel d'ieu estoit le grenieur.	En guisse de ches enfant chi,
Lors Jhesucrist par grant douseur	Et par cest point vendrés en gloire.
Appella un petit enfant.	L'enfant out non, che dit l'istoire,
Sa main mit sus son chief devant.	Sus qui Jhesucrist sa main mist,
Aux apostres dit: "Entendés:	Saint Marcel. <sup>4</sup> Plussieurs grant
Touz ceulx seront lez plus prisiez	bien fist.

*rhythmée et la critique hagiographique . . . suivi du texte de l'ancienne vie de S. Martial* (Paris, 1899). French versions in prose are cited in *Hist. Litt. de la France* XXXIII, 398, 413, 423, 430, 436, 440, 444 and in *Romania* XVII (1888), 385. A prose version from Lyons (thirteenth century) is printed by Mussafia and Gartner, *Altfranzösische Prosallegenden* I, 129, and an Italian version (fourteenth century) by Ceruti, *Propugnatore* III (1870), 326. I have found no versified version of the *Vita* in French. On the much discussed question of the authenticity of this *Vita*, cf. *Acta SS.* (June 30), p. 490 and Duchesne, *Annales du Midi* IV (1892), 289; for the iconography of the legend, see E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), 196; for dramatic performances connected with the saint, see A. Thomas, *Romania* XIII (1884), 411-2.

<sup>3</sup> This addition to the legend is found in the Italian prose version cited in note 2, where, however, the incident is not represented as occurring during the Last Supper; in the *Northern Passion*, where the child is not named; in the *Passion du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, quoted above, and in the York play.

<sup>4</sup> Of the five Mss. only two have Saint Marcel, which, from the context,



Qui se tendront las et petis.  
 Ceulx qui sont de grans biens garnis,  
 Qui se portent gros mitenant  
 Ne seront mie li plus grant,  
 Mez ceulx qui s'umilieront

Pour Dieu soufri moult de misere.  
 Il fu dez desiplez saint Pierre.  
 En Limosin par verité  
 Mist la foy de crestienté.  
 A Limogez gist son saint corps.  
 Bon fait estre misericorps.

GRACE FRANK.

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## DANTE NOTES, X

### THE SEVEN NYMPHS AND THE SEVEN LIGHTS

(*Purg.*, XXXII, 98)

The grand processional Pageant of the Church, at the close of the Purgatory, is led by seven flames (XXIX, 43, 52, 73) at the top of what Dante took at first, in the distance, for seven golden trees (or masts: *alberi*, vs. 43); but which on nearer view he found to be "candelabri" (vs. 50). No bearers are here mentioned; but in XXXII, 98-99, the seven Nymphs who represent the Virtues are said to be sitting around Beatrice—now that the procession is over—"con quei lumi in mano che sono sicuri d'Aquilone e d'Austro."

The allegory seems to require the identification of these seven "lumi" with the seven flames of the van; and therefore most of the commentators assume—with a more or less evident reluctance—that the "lumi" which the seven nymphs now hold are synonymous with the seven flaming "candelabri" which headed the procession, and that they must have been taken over from the first bearers while Dante was in the deep sleep of vs. 68.

This reluctance on the part of the commentators is easily understandable; for the "candelabri" are described as of imposing dimensions, being first compared to trees (or masts), and then said to paint overhead with the sweep of their seven flames a sevenfold strip of rainbow colors which forms a "bel cielo" (XXIX, 82) worthy of the Pageant. Even in the secondary sense of "ceiling," *cielo* can connote nothing of less height than the vaulted ceiling of a church or of a palace hall. Such huge candelabra were, and still are, not uncommon in Italian churches; they are certainly not adapted for being held by nymph-like creatures.

And the problem is further complicated by the fact that there is some reason to suppose that Dante had in mind the seven-branched golden candlestick of the Tabernacle (*Exodus*, xxv, *et alibi* in O. T.); though the main, and indeed only textual, evidence for this is vs. 52: "Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese," with its verb and subject-noun in the singular number.<sup>1</sup> Many of the commentators<sup>2</sup> make no reference to the passages from *Exodus*, etc., in this connection, but consider the candlesticks to be separate, as are the seven in *Revelation*, i, 12, 13, 20, and ii, 1—of which passages there is certainly a clear echo in Dante's description. It is most probable, though, that Dante had *both* the passages from *Exodus*, etc., and those from *Revelation* in mind: this would be not only quite characteristic of him—as a sample take his references both to *Ezekiel* and to St. John of the *Revelation*, in vss. 100 and 105 of this very Canto xxix, in describing the Four Creatures—but there is also further corroborative evidence of various kinds, among which not least is the fact that in *Exodus*, etc., is to be found immediately, and very simply, the solution of the difficulty about carrying the "lumi."<sup>3</sup>

When Dante planned these closing cantos of the *Purgatorio* he had the following task before him: he must present a *proceSSIONAL* pageant of the Church which should correspond to the static presentation of the Church Triumphant as given in the fourth chapter of *Revelation*. There, in Heaven, by a crystal sea is a throne upon which One is sitting, and around Him sit twenty-four elders, and the four Winged Creatures stand; and the seven lamps, "which are the seven Spirits of God," burn "before the Throne":—here, in the Earthly Paradise, by a *running* stream *moves* a triumphal

<sup>1</sup> An interesting possibility which may be worth mentioning here, is that Dante may have seen at Milan the famous bronze candelabrum commonly known as the "Virgin's Tree" (cf. *alberi*, xxix, 43), dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century, which has apparently been popularly known for a very long time: it is seven-branched, and is over eighteen feet in height. In January of 1311 Dante did homage to Henry VII; and it is not unlikely that this meeting took place in Milan; what other special occasions Dante may have had to visit Milan we are not certain; on which, see, *e. g.*, G. L. Passerini, *Dante* (Milan, 1921), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.*, among the late ones, Casini, Torraca, Passerini, Scarano, Steiner, S. A. Barbi, Pietrobono.

<sup>3</sup> Among those who admit the importance of the passages from *Exodus*, etc., are Scartazzini, Moore, and (Scartazzini-)Vandelli.

car (XXIX, 107; XXXII, 119), before which *march* the twenty-four elders, and with it *advance* the four Winged Creatures; so that it was necessary to make the seven flames which are the seven Spirits of God *lead* them all, like the ensigns (*insegne*: XXIX, 154) of a marching host. What parallels, what memories, had Dante to aid him—outside of current practice with elaborate religious processions,<sup>4</sup> similar morality pageants, and *trionfi*?

Dante's own paralleling of the "curru(s) Sponse" with the Ark of the Covenant, in *Epist.*, XI,<sup>5</sup> and two striking cases of verbal coincidence, make it a practical certainty that he was thinking of the jubilant processions in which the Ark was conveyed from place to place on a wagon drawn by chosen cattle, and especially of the occasions described in *II Sam.* (*Vulg.*: *II Reg.*), VI (= *I Paralip.*, XIII), when David joined in the demonstrative rejoicings of his people. For, in *Purg.*, XXXII, 125, Dante calls the body of the car "arca"; while in vs. 95 of the same canto he calls the car itself "plaustrum," a word which he uses nowhere else in all his works and which exactly corresponds to *plaustrum*, "wagon," in the Vulgate texts referred to.<sup>6</sup> And that he knew this Bible story well is attested by the fact of his having himself selected it as one of those found worthy of portrayal in the lovely marble reliefs of *Purg.*, x.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A sentence from the earliest *Ordo Romanus*, about 730, which describes an elaborate rite may be of interest; it is translated thus in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, II, s. v. "Procession": "The seven acolytes of the region, whose turn comes on that day, precede the pontiff up to the altar, carrying seven stands of lighted wax candles."

<sup>5</sup> Sec. 5: "Vos equidem, Ecclesie militantis veluti primi prepositi pili, per manifestam orbitam Crucifixi currum Sponse regere negligentes, non aliter quam falsus auriga Pheton exorbitastis." Sec. 9: "Forsitan 'et quis iste, qui Oze repentinum supplicium non formidans, ad arcam, quamvis labantem, se erigit?' indignanter obiurgabitis."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *I Reg.*, VI, 7 ff., where the Philistines send back the Ark on a new *plaustrum*.

<sup>7</sup> He, however, combined, or confused, two successive stages in the transporting of the Ark (as, among others, Scartazzini noted): *II Reg.*, VI, 3 ff., and *I Paralip.*, XIII, 7 ff., describe the first—when it was drawn upon the wagon, and Uzzah's officiousness led to his mortal sin; and *II Reg.*, VI, 12 ff., and *I Paralip.*, XV, 14 ff., give the second stage—when it was carried on the shoulders of the priests. The dancing and the rejoicings of David and his people took place on both occasions; but it was only in the second stage that David's wife is said to have despised him for his unseemly capers.

Now, the seven-branched candlestick of the Tabernacle was so closely associated with the Ark of the Covenant, first in *Exodus*, xxv, where the specifications for both are laid down, and on later occasions, that Dante here, with the seven candlesticks of *Revelation* in mind, could hardly have failed to think of it; and yet the Bible seems to give no hint that it was ever taken from the Tabernacle, and indeed it was apparently quite unsuited for processional use.<sup>8</sup> So perhaps Dante conceived the seven "candelabri" which led his pageant as being separate candlesticks: for the "arnese" of *Purg.*, xxix, 52, may easily be a collective noun, grammatically singular, semantically plural; and still, with the seven-branched candlestick so near the surface, or on the surface, of consciousness, Dante would have found in the specifications given in *Exodus*, xxv—did he need it—as we can find, the solution to the apparent incongruity with which we are here primarily concerned, namely: the fact that in this "candelabrum," as in others of similar type, the lights were not furnished by candles, but by oil-burning lamps.<sup>9</sup>

Another occasion, when the Ark was brought to its resting-place in the Temple, offers suggestive points of contact with the greeting given to the Car of the Church when it stopped before Dante: *Purg.*, xxx, i, 7 ff., and 19: "Quando il settentrion del primo cielo . . . fermo s'affisse, la gente verace" (the elders representing the *Old Testament*) "venuta prima tra 'l Grifone ed esso, al carro volse sè come a sua pace; e un di loro" (the one symbolizing the *Song of Solomon*) raised his voice in greeting; and those who rose upon the Car at his call continued the greeting thus: "Tutti dicean: 'Benedictus qui venis!'"—compare *III Reg.*, viii, 6: "Et intulerunt sacerdotes arcam foederis Domini in locum suum, in oraculum templi, in Sanctum sanctorum, subter alas cherubim" (cf., incidentally here, *I Paralip.*, xxviii, 18: ". . . similitudo quadrigae cherubim, extendentium alas, et velantium arcam foederis Domini"—and reflect how the Griffin's wings reached up over the Car); 14: "Convertitque rex faciem suam, et benedixit omni ecclesiae Israel, omnis enim ecclesia Israel stabat." 15: "Et ait Salomon: Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel . . ." The wording is practically the same also in *II Paralip.*, v, 7, and vi, 3 f.

In a secondary way, the Ark of Noah, as one of the traditional symbols of the Church, would also be in mind; and the sevenfold strip of rainbow colors over the Car in the Purgatorial pageant would hold an analogy to the rainbow of promise at the end of the flood: Brunetto Latini's *Trésors*, I, i, 44 (Chabaille ed., p. 54), says, *e. g.*: ". . . l'arche que Noé fist . . . fu senefiance de sainte Eglise."

<sup>8</sup> When transferred from place to place it was wrapped: see *Num.*, i, 50; iv, 9, and 15; vii, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly candles were occasionally put in *lucernae*; for in *Purg.*, viii, 112 f., "cera" at least seems to have been.

(and "lamp," by the way, is one of the commonest meanings of "lume": *Purg.*, xxxii 98), which were *separate* from the "candelabrum"<sup>10</sup>; and which, therefore, could easily be held in the hand ("in mano," *Purg.*, xxxii, 98) by the Nymphs as they sat about Beatrice.<sup>11</sup> One thinks of the "Wise and Foolish Virgins."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Exodus*, xxv, 37: "Facies et lucernas septem, et pones eas super candelabrum." Other references to the *lucernae* of the same "candelabrum," or of others similar in type, are found in *Exod.*, xxxv, 14; xxxvii, 23; xxxix, 36; xl, 4, 22 f.; *Lev.*, xxiv, 2, 4; *Num.*, iv, 9; viii, 2, 3; *III Reg.*, vii, 49; *I Paralip.*, xxviii, 15; *II Paralip.*, iv, 20; xiii, 11; *Ecclus.*, xxvi, 22; *Zach.*, iv, 2 (cf. Hieron., *Paulino*, vii); *I Mach.*, iv, 50. And in the four passages in the New Testament which contain the famous reference to putting one's lighted "candle" upon a "candlestick," rather than hiding it under a bushel, or a bed (*Matth.*, v, 15; *Marc.*, iv, 21; *Luc.*, viii, 16, xi, 33), the Revised Version has, correctly, "lamp," representing the Latin *lucerna(m)* of each passage (directly, of course, from the Greek *λύχνος*,—ον) and "stand," for *candelabrum* (*λυχνία[s]*).

<sup>11</sup> Josephus speaks of the sacred seven-branched "Candlestick" several times in the *Antiquities of the Jews*; e. g., in III, viii, 3, he says that "the priests were also to keep oil ready purified for the lamps; three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted in the evening." [The distinguishing of three lights thus, from the remaining four, is somehow related to the 3-and-4 arrangement of the details and decorations, according to the careful specifications laid down in *Exod.*, xxv, 32-35, and elsewhere in the references given above, n. 10; and it recalls, though it does not exactly parallel, the 4-and-3 groupings of the symbolic stars of *Purg.*, i, 23, and viii, 89-93. In this latter connection it is worth while to note (1) that the seven lights of the sacred Candelabrum were thought to signify, among other things, the seven "planets" (e. g., Josephus, *op. cit.*, III, vi, 7: ". . . the Candlestick was of cast gold, hollow within . . . with its knops, and lilies, and pomegranates, and bowls . . . by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them; it terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another, and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets."); (2) that in *Purg.*, xxx, 1, the seven "candelabri" with their lights are called "il settentrion del primo cielo"—which may mean many things at once, among them 'the seven guiding stars of the heaven of Man's early Age of Innocence, of the Heavenly guidance given to the Chosen People of the Old Dispensation,' or, more literally, 'of the Southern sky'; the sky whose pole lies above the horizon of the Terrestrial Paradise, the First Parents'; and (3) that the seven-branched Candelabrum of the Tabernacle was always set *south* of the golden altar, on the south side of the Temple: *Exod.*, xxvi, 35, xl, 22; *Num.*, viii, 2; Josephus, *op. cit.*,

It is of course well known also for secular Latin literature that the word *candelabrum* did not always imply candles. Dante's use of the Italian "candelabro" in this less usual sense should, therefore, be classed as one of his (conscious or unconscious) "Latinisms";—there are many of them here in the closing cantos of the *Purgatorio*.

VIII, III, 7; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, I<sup>a</sup>, Qu. 102, Art. 4, Loc. 6: "ponebatur candelabrum ex parte *australi*; quia ex illa parte est nobis *planetarum* cursus." Ursa Major was regularly called "*plaustrum*" (Eng. "Wain"), as the seven bright stars suggested a *wagon*.]

In the *Jewish Encyc.*, s. v. "Ark of the Law," is illustrated an old representation, now in the Museo Borgiano at Rome, of the seven-branched candelabrum of the Jewish type, in which one makes out quite plainly small longish low lamps that strongly suggest the general ancient, or Roman, type, with flaming wick at one end and what is apparently a round handle at the other.

The most celebrated representation of the Jewish candelabrum is of course that of the Arch of Titus, in Rome; and one is strongly tempted to speculate as to whether Dante may have seen that relief, or some drawings or copy of it (remember his own relief of the triumphant procession of the Ark, in *Purg.*, x). We know that it was not buried, as was so much of what lay in the lower parts of the Forum, in his day; in fact it is a certainty that the relief in question was known, for the Arch of Titus was actually called "*Arcus septem lucernarum*" in the Middle Ages, because of the representation of the famous Candelabrum which is the most striking feature of the relief (*v.*, *e. g.*, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, 1492). The Arch of Titus was connected by masonry with the Coliseum and other large buildings on the Palatine and Celian hills, and the whole made into a great fortress by the Frangipani family; of this fortress the Arch formed the entrance, and therefore was open. Certainly if Dante ever did see this relief the impression made upon him must have been deep. There he would have found conspicuously portrayed among the spoils from Jerusalem the venerable seven-branched Candelabrum, borne on the shoulders of a wreath-crowned group, to which the sculptor has given an astonishing lifelikeness, and an air of rejoicing which is heightened by an apparently fortuitous locating, in the composition, of the jubilee-trumpets of the Temple—as if they were being exultantly blown, as described in *I Paralip.*, xv, 24 ("clangebant tubis coram arcam Dei"), 28 ("ducebant arcam . . . sonitu buccinae et tubis"), and elsewhere in the O. T. (Compare also the trumpet-blowers who led the procession of the Ark round the walls of Jericho.) Opposite is a relief of Titus being crowned by Victory, in figure which represents Roma; soldiers (or lictors?—or both?) precede; and around the car seem to be dancing two small groups of women. All of which reminds us of various details and analogies; for example: the first time Dante mentions the Car in his pageant (*Purg.*, XXIX, 107) he

And after all, even one who denied that Dante had the seven-branched candlestick in mind in the slightest, would have to agree that, even so, it is quite possible that Dante understood, as we do, that *single* "candlesticks" could also be holders for lamps as well as for candles.

Who it was that Dante conceived of as the original bearers of the "bello arnese" must remain unclear. Perhaps it is sufficient to reflect that such tasks normally fell to acolytes, or to even more robust menials, whom no one would expect to share in the honor of being named with the *personaggi*.

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calls it a "carro . . . triunfale" and he describes it (vss. 115 ff.) with the words, "Non che Roma di carro così bello rallegrasse Affricano, o vero Augusto; ma quel del sol saria pover con ello"; and in xxxii, 119, as before mentioned, it is again called a "triunfal veiculo." About its wheels dance the seven nymphs (the Virtues), three on one side and four on the other. Upon the Car Dante is to see the regal figure of Beatrice, personifying the revelation of Heaven to him; that is, the ministry of the Church, the spiritual Rome, to Man. The very fact that it was in reality Titus whose triumph was being thus portrayed would have in itself recommended the Roman reliefs to Dante's interested and sympathetic attention: in *Purg.*, xxi, 82, referring to this very occasion of his capture of Jerusalem, Dante calls him "the good Titus"—where the standard Imperial epithet of "buono" seems to bear special significance. Hardly any scene could more appealingly suggest Imperial Rome in her churchly mission to all the world: the seven flames with their gifts of the Holy Spirit are no longer to be cooped up in the Temple of the Old Covenant, but are to be carried forth with rejoicing to Rome, and through Rome to all mankind. (That the flames of the seven-branched candlestick of the Tabernacle symbolized the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, though the Bible says this only of the "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne," *Rev.*, iv, 5, we have—and Dante had—on no less authority than that of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, i<sup>2</sup>, Qu. 102, Art. 4, Loc. 6.)

<sup>12</sup> *Matth.*, xxv, 1-12. The word here is *lampus*; but in *Luc.*, xii, 35 f., Christ says: "Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentes in manibus vestris, Et vos similes hominibus, expectantibus dominum suum, quando revertatur a nuptiis . . ."

## TWO NOTES ON DANTE

## I

The meaning of the eleventh verse of the sonnet (*Vita Nuova*, xxi) beginning

Ne li occhi porta la mia donna Amore

is still puzzling to students of Dante. The commonly accepted reading for the verse is

Ond' è laudato chi prima la vide,

although in some editions *beato* appears instead of *laudato*. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of *chi*. Casini offers no explanation of his own, but gives D'Ancona's to the effect that Dante himself is meant by *chi*. Flamini thinks that "chi prima la vide" refers to the person who has known Beatrice longest, but offers no clue as to who the person may be. Professor McKenzie calls attention to other interpretations: Scherillo's "whoever early in life saw her," Melodia's "whoever has seen her even once," and Rajna's "every one who has seen her."

I would offer the suggestion that *chi* refers to the parents of Beatrice or to either of them; for it is not too much to assume that they were the first to see her, surely the first with whom the poet's thought would be likely to associate sight of her.

It is natural and usual for people to praise the parents of remarkable children, and especially of well-bred children. Now what stands out in this as in other verses in praise of Beatrice is her gracious bearing, her fine breeding. Nor should we forget Dante's favorite and almost invariable epithet, "la gentilissima."

To assume, then, that Dante's *chi* refers to Beatrice's parents and that what the poet wants us to understand is that people praised the parents of a well-bred daughter, does not seem extravagant.

Moreover, this interpretation has the further advantage of fitting in with the rest of the poem, whether we accept *laudato* or *beato* as the correct reading. If we accept *beato*, we may even assume that the *chi* refers not only to the parents of Beatrice, but specifically to her father—"colui che era stato genitore di tanta meraviglia quanta si vedea ch'era questa nobilissima Beatrice."



Dante had mourned his passing, had praised him as a *buon padre*, and it may well be that he now thought of him as *beato* for having been, among other things and, perhaps, primarily, the father of Beatrice.

## II

The symmetrical arrangement of the poems in the *Vita Nuova*, based on their metrical forms, was pointed out long ago by Charles Eliot Norton. It seems to me that there is further evidence in this book of Dante's conscious and symmetrical patterns. The subject-matter seems to be distinctly tripartite: the first part being essentially a record of Dante's love of Beatrice; the second, his praise of her; the third, his contemplation, after her death, of her meaning to him and, through him, of her meaning to others.

If we count the *Proemio* as the first chapter, we shall have forty-two chapters for the entire book; and if we are not too exacting, we shall see that the three parts of the subject-matter mentioned above coincide, or very nearly, and in the order in which I give them, with the first fourteen, the second fourteen, and the last fourteen chapters. Even if the reader will not admit this parallel, he will admit, I believe, the tripartite aspect of the subject-matter; and three, we know, is a significant number with Dante. And while speaking of numbers, let me stop for one more suggestion. Of the thirty-one poems included in the book, twenty-six are sonnets. The sonnet would seem to be, then, the metrical unit of the collection. Now there may be something more than accidental in the arrangement of a book of Dante's which contains *forty-two* chapters, which deals with *three* aspects of the poet's life, and in which *fourteen*-verse poems predominate.

And now for a last word on the tripartite aspect of the book. Dante may have seen in the three phases of his amatory life, and put into the three parts of his little book a spiritual lesson not unlike that to be found in the three canticles of the *Divina Commedia*. The worldliness, withdrawal, and ultimate peace of the *Commedia* may not be paralleled by love of Beatrice, praise of her, and contemplation of her meaning; yet, there is, I think, a distinct kinship. And this may serve to show that when Dante composed the *Vita Nuova* he already had clearly in mind the nature of the larger book which he was to write, and the meaning he would give to it.

The *Vita Nuova* is not merely Dante's book of love; it is the prelude to the *Divina Commedia*, is like it in its larger outlines, and carries the same *motif*.

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### LE "BOURRIQUOT" DE TARTARIN

M. Léon Degoumois a exploré *L'Algérie d'Alphonse Daudet* (Genève, 1922) et inventorié les emprunts faits par l'auteur de *Tartarin* à Jules Gérard, le tueur de lions et à Bombonnel, le tueur de panthères. Il a en particulier étudié la fameuse scène de "l'affût du soir dans un bois de lauriers-roses," et lorsque nous voyons Tartarin se souvenir de ce qu'il a lu "dans ses livres," nous savons désormais de quels ouvrages il s'agit. Un seul point reste inexpliqué: quand retentit le fatal "Pan! pan!," la victime n'est, hélas! que l'innocent "bourriquot" de l'irascible Alsacienne. Or, s'il est vrai que le jour de son premier affût, Bombonnel lui-même a commis une méprise du même genre, ce n'est pas un âne qu'occit le massacreur de panthères, mais "un bouc, le plus grand bouc qu'il soit possible d'imaginer." Pourquoi Daudet remplace-t-il le bouc par le bourriquot? Sans doute n'avait-il besoin de personne pour opérer la substitution: mais on peut se demander si, dans quelque coin de sa mémoire, ne s'était pas niché le souvenir d'une page de *La Prairie* de Fenimore Cooper (Trad. Defauconpret, I, 164 sq.):

Levant ses tablettes vers le ciel, le docteur se mit à lire à haute voix: "Six octobre 1805. Quadrupède: vu au clair de la lune . . . Genus inconnu . . . cornes longues, divergentes et formidables . . . voix sonore et imposante . . . naturel farouche et indomptable. Voilà, s'écria Obed, une bête qui va très probablement disputer au lion son titre de roi des animaux" . . . Il y eut un moment, je l'avoue où le *fortiter in re* faillit lâcher prise devant un ennemi si terrible. . . . "Eh! qu'est-ce que cela?" Hélène, regardant du côté que lui indiquait son compagnon, vit en effet un animal qui courait dans la Prairie, et qui semblait venir droit à eux. La jour n'était pas encore assez avancé pour lui permettre d'en distinguer les formes et les proportions, mais pourtant ce qu'elle voyait suffisait pour lui faire présumer que c'était quelque animal sauvage et terrible.—"Le voilà! le voilà!" s'écria le docteur, tandis que ses jambes tremblaient sous lui. . . . Sa voix fut arrêtée par un mugissement de l'animal . . . (Puis silence solennel) interrompu par les éclats de rire répétés et irrè-

sistibles qui partirent de la bouche d'Hélène.—“C'est votre âne en personne. s'écria Hélène, votre cher âne qui vous est si attaché”—“*Asinus domesticus*” marmotta le docteur en reprenant son haleine.

Daudet connaissait-il *La Prairie*? Son fils nous assure qu'il possédait “de nombreux ouvrages de voyages et d'aventures” et, depuis la thèse de M. M. Gibb, on sait encore mieux la popularité de Cooper en France. Au moment où, avec des réminiscences de Gérard et de Bombonnel, se construisait le récit de “l'affût,” il est possible qu'un lointain souvenir du bourriquet de la Prairie soit venu traverser l'esprit de Daudet, et amener l'amusante substitution de l'âne au bouc que lui proposait le “tueur de panthères.”

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## UNA RÉPLICA

Séame permitido replicar al crítico que ha hecho la censura de mi *Historia* en *Modern Language Notes*, número de febrero. De su serenidad, justicia y competencia nada tengo que decir: juzguen de todo ello los lectores de mi libro y de su reseña. En cuanto al mérito o desmérito de la obra, ni él tiene autoridad para juzgarla, ni soy yo el llamado a defenderla. He de limitarme, pues, con la mayor medida a puntos de interés para los estudiosos de nuestras letras.

1. Refiriéndose a las adaptaciones extranjeras de las *Novelas ejemplares*, dice el crítico: “Hasta pudiera ser que algunas de las comedias que toma por adaptaciones no hayan existido jamás.” Como me he propuesto abstenerme de todo comentario sobre la buena ética y la buena erudición, me reduzco a consignar que de todas aquellas comedias se conservan ediciones:

Bickerstaffe, ed. W. Oxberry en *New English Drama*, t. XXI.—Hardy, en *Le Théâtre d'Alexandre Hardy*, ed. E. Stengel, Marbourg-Paris, 1883-84.—Fletcher, en *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. G. Darley, London, 1839.—Garnier, *Adélaïde, ou la Force du sang, anecdote*, Paris, 1771, en 8°, y en *Oeuvres complètes de “Regnard,”* Paris, 1789-90. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)—Middleton, en *Best Plays*, ed. H. H. Ellis, London, 1890, t. I.—Quinault, *Les Rivaux, comédie*, Leyde, 1657, en 12°. (Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Supplément.) *Le Docteur de verre*, ed. Fournel en *Les contemporains de Molière, Recueil de comédies*, Paris, 1875, t. III.—Rotrou, *Les deux Pucelles, tragi-comédie*, Paris, 1639, en 8°. (British Museum.)—

Sallebray, *La Belle Egyptienne, tragi-comédie*, Paris, 1642, en 4°. (British Museum.)—Scudéry, *L'Amant libéral, tragi-comédie*, Paris, 1638, en 12°. (British Museum.)

2. Dice el crítico: "La lista de comedias francesas imitadas de nuestro teatro clásico está llena de errores." El número de dichas comedias citadas en mi libro (y no me propuse, ni mucho menos, agotar la lista) es de *ciento ocho*. Y el crítico sólo declara *dos* falsas atribuciones y pone en duda la imitación de tres comedias más, sin decidirse a negarla. Puntualice el crítico los errores de que *está llena* la lista, y yo me ofrezco a hacer la comprobación y a dar a conocer el resultado.

3. "Hasta en pleno siglo de oro se dan casos de imitación que nó hay por qué callar." Refiérese todo el pasaje al teatro. En la pág. 428 del libro, menciono dos imitaciones que nuestros clásicos hicieron de piezas francesas. El crítico prestará buen servicio a la erudición diciéndonos cuáles sean esas otras imitaciones de comedias francesas, en dicho período, desconocidas hasta hoy.

4. Tiene nuestro crítico por cosa desatinada o muy deplorable al menos, que el autor celebre entre los poetas españoles del siglo XIX a Campoamor y Núñez de Arce, y tenga por uno de sus favoritos a Espronceda, siendo los otros el Duque de Rivas, Zorrilla y Bécquer. Si tales poetas le parecen mal al crítico, ¿cuáles son entonces los buenos poetas españoles de aquella centuria?

5. El crítico, difiriendo del autor, opina que Espronceda "fué con toda probabilidad<sup>1</sup> un buen burgués a quien el sarampión de la adolescencia le duró demasiado." Pues bien, a los veintidós años de edad se bate el poeta en las barricadas de París los tres días de julio de 1830, por defender la causa popular; alístase luego en la cruzada para libertar a Polonia; a los veintisiete y a los veintiocho años de edad torna al fuego de las barricadas en Madrid, y sus conspiraciones y actividades revolucionarias le acarrearán destierros y encarcelamientos; y como Espronceda, además, murió seis años después de batirse la última vez en las barricadas, senténciese si fué "un buen burgués" o un revolucionario.

6. "En resumen, este manual no es peor ni mejor que los anteriores." ¿En resumen de lo que deja dicho el crítico? En su

<sup>1</sup> El crítico emplea constantemente en su reseña las expresiones *es probable, es posible, es dudoso, es discutible, hasta pudiera ser*: muletillas nada científicas del que camina por senda poco familiar.

resumen, debe de ser dicho manual el peor de todos, ya que en sus setecientas páginas no ha encontrado el crítico ni una sola cosa siquiera que le parezca laudable.

Y permítaseme ahora con indulgencia cuatro palabras más, entre personales y literarias. Según el crítico, he olvidado, “sin duda por patriotismo,” citar las fuentes francesas o italianas de muchas obras españolas. Dejé de hacerlo en muchos casos porque no entraba en el plan del libro recargarlo con noticias bibliográficas y con notas secundarias de problemas de investigación: al final de cada capítulo, cuando procede, se consignan las obras en que el lector puede estudiar dichas influencias extranjeras. Señalé, sí, la que ejerció el teatro español por ser una de sus principales glorias. Y en cuanto a lo del patriotismo, que es lo que ahora importa, le responderé con el autor del *Diálogo de la lengua*: “Que sea de mi tierra o no, esto importa poco, pues cuanto a mí, aquel es de mi tierra cuyas virtudes y suficiencia me contentan, si bien sea nacido y criado en Polonia.” Es otra cosa, que el crítico habla de los que no son de la *cuerda* del autor. En castellano, es cierto, se dice *cuerda de literatos*, como la famosa granadina, pero decir sólo *de su cuerda* tiene para un caballero toda la vileza de *cuerda de presos*. Y esto tampoco necesita comentarios.

M. ROMERA-NAVARRO.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

[1. El señor R.-N. se molesta inútilmente en citar imitaciones conocidas de todo aficionado. Al poner en duda la existencia de alguna comedia, sin afirmar nada categóricamente, aludía yo a la *Adelaïde* de Garnier, que no figura en el catálogo de la Bibliothèque Nationale ni en el del British Museum, y a las cuatro adaptaciones de Hardy, únicas que se conocen. El señor R.N. supone equivocadamente que existen otras.

2. No traté de enumerar en mi reseña todos errores del manual reseñado, pero, puesto que el mismo autor insiste en puntualizarlos, añadiré ahora algunos títulos a los cinco citados como ejemplos de su descuido. *Lucrèce*, p. 254, y *Les visionnaires*, p. 352: fuente desconocida. *Les intrigues amoureuses*, p. 322: fuente italiana. *L'infidèle confidente*, p. 254: fuente probablemente española pero no cervantina. *Cosroès*, p. 322: procede de una tragedia latina de Cellot. *L'heureux naufrage*, p. 322: se ignora el paradero de

la comedia española desde el siglo XVIII. *Clarice* y *Les morts vivants*, p. 322 y 323 respectivamente: imitaciones de Sforza d'Oddi. *Diane*, p. 367: procede de *La villana de Getafe*, de Lope, y no de *La doncella de labor* de Montalbán. *Rhadamiste et Zénobie*, p. 389: esta Zénobie, reina de Armenia como la de Montauban, no tiene nada que ver con la Zenobia calderoniana . . .  
¿ Sigo?

3. No me refería exclusivamente al teatro, y si mencioné el caso de *En esta vida* fué para demostrar que la influencia extranjera subsiste aun en la época de mayor originalidad y en un género español por excelencia. Explica el señor R.N. al final de su réplica, que no entraba en el plan del libro recargarlo con problemas de investigación secundarios. No me parece a mí tan secundaria la cuestión del origen francés de nuestros poemas medievales para pasarla por alto en una historia de setecientas páginas y pico.

4. ¿Que cuáles son los buenos poetas españoles del siglo XIX? ¡Ninguno! En la novela tenemos un Galdós que no desmerece de Balzac ni de Dickens, y que hasta les supera desde ciertos puntos de vista, pero en la lírica quedamos muy por bajo de otras literaturas. ¿Qué vates de la pasada centuria pueden compararse con Shelley, Byron, Baudelaire, Carducci? ¿No es vergonzoso que en la época de Verlaine fueran Campoamor y Núñez de Arce los *grandes* poetas españoles?

5. Ya sabíamos que Espronceda jugaba a las revoluciones. Era algo que entraba en el programa del romanticismo. Yo, a pesar de todo, sigo creyendo que no se merece la aureola de calavera que le han puesto.

(En nota a este párrafo alude el replicante a mi tono de duda, más cortesía que vacilación. Los lectores de mi reseña habrán comprendido que, aunque por pura fórmula emplease un giro dubitativo, tenía que estar muy seguro de mí mismo al observar, verbigracia, que cierta comedia no podía ser fuente de otra publicada seis años antes.)

La obcecación del señor R. N. llega a su colmo en el último párrafo. Yo usé la frase "ser de su cuerda" dándole el sentido inocente que se le da en Madrid, y que registra el Diccionario de la Academia. "No ser de la cuerda de otro: No ser de su opinión o carácter."

Después de esto comprenderá el señor profesor que "peor es meneallo."

## SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT, l. 1704

'And he *fyskeȝ* hem byfore; þay founden hym sone.' Tolkien glosses *fyskeȝ* 'scampers,' and derives from ON. *fýsask*. *NED.* (s. v. *fisk*, v. obsol.) gives 'move briskly, scamper about, frisk, whisk,' and other uses with the adverbs 'about, abroad, in and out, to and fro,' and believes that the word may be a frequentative (formed with *k* suffix as in *walk*, *talk*, *lurk*) of OE. *fýsan*, 'hurry,' or from OE. *fēsian*, *fýsian*, 'drive, drive off or away' (s. v. *feeze*, v<sup>1</sup>, 1), suggesting also further connection with synonymous Swed. *fjäska* [*fjeska*], frequent. of *fjäsa*, 'bustle, make a fuss.' Björkman<sup>1</sup> suggests derivation from two possible words, 1, Norweg. dial. *fjaska*, 'flatter, fawn, bungle, huddle, hoax,' or 2, Swed. dial. *fjaska*, *fjäska*[=*fjeska*], 'scamper about fussily, bustle about,' though he admits that the derivation in *NED.* is possible. *EDD.* (s. v. *fisk*, v.) cites a Shropshire meaning, 'wander, roam about idly.' Menner<sup>2</sup> accepts Tolkien's 'scampers,' but regards the word as a contamination form between ON. *fýsask*, 'desire,' and OE. *fýsan*.

If *fyskeȝ* be glossed 'wander, roam about idly,' its subject cannot be 'fox,' for no fox would 'roam about idly' with hounds so close. Emerson,<sup>3</sup> following the text of Morris which separates *byfore* from *þay* by a comma, proposes derivation from Norweg. dial. *fjaska*, 'hoax,' and makes the following possible suggestion: 'The Norweg. dial. *fjaska*, 'hoax' from 'wander about' would admirably fit, if we take & as 'if': 'if he ran here and there before them to deceive them, they soon found him.' The semicolon which Tolkien places between *byfore* and *þay* called my attention to the marked pause between the two parts of the line, and raised the question of a possible change of subject. Certainly the antecedent of *he* (1704) is vague. The pronoun may refer to fox (1699) or kennet (1701). The meaning of *fyskeȝ* would certainly seem to depend on the antecedent, and there is no more reason for taking it to be fox than hound. If the antecedent be *kenet*, the passage would read thus: 'A kennet cries thereof [on the scent], the huntsman encourages him; his fellows fall to him that was

<sup>1</sup> *Scand. Loan-Words in Middle English*, I, 137.

<sup>2</sup> *MLN.*, xli, 400.

<sup>3</sup> *JEGP.*, xxi, 395.

sniffing full thickly, run forth in a rabble on his correct guidance [cf. NED. *fare*, 'conduct'], and he *fisks* before them.' Björkman's second suggestion gives us the meaning required. The kennet 'bustles' or 'scampers about fussily' before his fellows, because he is picking up a scent from point to point. He does not hasten ahead on a straight line, as he would on a hot scent, but wanders forward hither and yon. *Hym* I regard as referring to the fox, and therefore retain the semicolon within the line.

There is a further connotation which *fyske*<sup>3</sup> might possibly bring to the mind of a mediaeval reader or auditor. Skeat<sup>4</sup> quotes a phrase *fieska wiska rumpan* found in the *Dictionarium* of Sereinius, 'to fisk the tail about' (cf. 2nd. ed. of that work under English *fisk*). *Cent. Dict.* (s. v. *fisk*, v.) gives the word as associated in sense, but not in etymological form, with *fike*<sup>2</sup>, *fig*<sup>1</sup>, *fidge*, etc., and *frisk*, *whisk*. Thus to the primary meaning (?) of the word, quick, restless movement, there is the derived (?) idea of a similar movement of the tail. A quotation from a modern book on hunting<sup>5</sup> will, perhaps, show us the picture before the poet's mind that prompted him to use the word:

When a hound has a fancy that he scents his game, but is not yet quite certain enough to give tongue or speak to it, his stern will be observed to be violently agitated: this is called 'feathering on the scent.'

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#### HEBBEL'S *HERODES UND MARIAMNE*, II. 1289-1295.

In a conversation between Mariamne and Joseph (Act II, Sc. 5) Mariamne says:

Hör's zu Deinem Fluch!  
Dass ich mit eig'ner Hand mich töten will,  
Wenn er—O, hätt' ich das geahnt! Nicht wahr?—  
Dann hätte ich an einen kalten Gruss  
Mich nie gekehrt, ich hätte fortgefahren,  
Wie ich begann, und Alles stünde wohl!  
Denn Anfangs warst Du ein ganz and'rer Mann!

<sup>4</sup> Note on *Piers Plowman*, C. x, 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Hunting* (Badminton Library), 1889, p. 351.



In all my experience in teaching this drama, whether to graduates or undergraduates, I have never found a student who understood this passage. The solution of the puzzle, the only one which makes every statement fit, is that the *four lines*—*O, hätt' ich das geahnt! to Alles stünde wohl!*—are Mariamne's interpretation from the expression on Joseph's face of what is going on in his mind. She has just revealed to Joseph the fact that she has taken an oath to kill herself, if Herodes does not return.<sup>1</sup> Now Joseph's whole conduct has been determined by the fear, instilled into him by Herodes, that Mariamne and her mother will kill him in case of Herodes' death. So when Mariamne shows him what her real intention was, he realizes that all his plans for her quick execution, if need be, were worse than useless, and that he had incurred her deadly enmity by threatening her life. Thus if Herodes does return, he is lost. His face reveals his consternation when he realizes that his own too eager precaution—quite in keeping with his character—has fatally entangled him. Mariamne at once penetrates his mind, and says, in effect: This is what you are thinking—"O, if I had only guessed that!" (Nicht wahr? Am I not right?) "Then I should not have worried over an unfriendly greeting, I should have continued as I began, and everything would be well!" For, she goes on in her own words, in the beginning you were a very different man. The words in quotation marks are the words she attributes to Joseph, everything else is her own.

As far as I can see, no other interpretation of these lines will solve them completely. I once asked Mr. Max Montor whether he remembered this passage, when without a moment's hesitation he recited it dramatically, so that no one could be in doubt as to what words Mariamne was putting in Joseph's mouth, and exactly in keeping with the explanation given above. And he added of his own accord that Mariamne read those lines in the mind of Joseph.

As the passage stands here, however, there seems to be one very obvious objection to putting more than line 1291 in this mind-reading process, and that is the presence of the *dash* after *Nicht wahr?* But this *dash* is not in Hebbel's manuscript, nor is it in the first edition published under his supervision (Vienna, 1850). It was in fact inserted by R. M. Werner in his critical edition. He was

<sup>1</sup> A variant reading to line 1291 is: *Wenn ihn in Rom sein Tod ereilt!* See R. M. Werner, Hebbel, Werke Bd. II, Lesarten u. Anmerkungen.

obviously influenced by the supposition that only l. 1291 represented the mind-reading process, a supposition that will not interpret the passage as a whole. He says (*op. cit.*, p. 444), to l. 1291: "Wie sich aus dieser Interpunction . . . ergibt, ist dieser Einwurf trotz den vorgebrachten Bedenken in dem Munde Mariamnes verständlich; ich habe nur nach Hebbels sonstiger Art den Gedankenstrich hinter *wahr* eingeschoben." The only edition I have seen that follows this reading is that of Adolf Bartels. The American college edition by Professor Meyer tells us in the Preface that Werner's text is followed, but by a happy inadvertence this particular *dash* has been omitted. Professor Meyer makes no comment on the lines in question.

What R. M. Werner alludes to in the words "trotz den vorgebrachten Bedenken," is probably a note on this passage by Julius Glaser given by Emil Kuh in the latter's edition, the first by the way, of Hebbel's *Sämtliche Werke*, 1865. This note is on p. 362 of Vol. I. The same note is also quoted by Adolf Stern in his edition of Hebbel's *Sämtliche Werke*. Inasmuch as Glaser bases his explanation on the passage without the dash, it may be interesting in this connection. He does still greater violence to the text as Hebbel wrote it. Emil Kuh says (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 362):

Die Stelle: "Hör's zu Deinem Fluch" bis: "Denn Anfangs warst Du ein ganz and'rer Mann" S. 188 hat bei Professor Glaser das Bendenken erregt, ob es nicht ein Versehen Hebbels gewesen, die ganze Rede Mariamnen sprechen zu lassen—ein Versehen, nicht ein Druckfehler, denn nicht nur in der ersten Auflage des Stückes, auch im Manuscripte von des Dichters Hand ist die Stelle so zu lesen. Glaser meint, es müsse heissen:

*Mariamne.* Hör's zu deinem Fluch!  
Dass ich mit eigner Hand mich töten will,  
Wenn er—  
*Joseph.* O, hätt' ich das geahnt!—  
*Mariamne.* Nicht wahr?  
Dann etc. etc.

Denn die Worte: "O hätt' ich das geahnt!" schienen die eines geäugstigten Mannes zu sein, der plötzlich sehe, wie nahe er daran war, aller Verlegenheit zu entkommen; dass sie ihm aber Mariamne in der Seele lese, sei weniger glaublich; für ihn seien sie ein Schritt mehr auf dem Wege des Sich-verratens, während sonst das in den folgenden Worten Josephs: "Ich habe nichts zu fürchten!" liegende Geständnis zu rasch käme.

As we have seen, the correct interpretation of this passage,

which does no violence to the approved text, puts not only l. 1291, but ll. 1291-1294 in the mind-reading process. This is nothing unusual in Hebbel's case, who somewhere remarked that he would rather trust to the dramatic penetration of a good actor than attempt to explain his text by inserting directions in prose. That the passage, however, is liable to be misunderstood, we have seen. Besides the illustrations from Glaser and Werner, there is another in the edition of this drama, described as a *Versuch einer Erläuterung zwischen den Zeilen für Schauspieler und Hebbel-Verehrer*, von Otto Spiesz, Halle, 1913. On p. 89, he quotes the lines, without the *dash*, and adds as his sole comment: "Diese Verse verstehe ich nicht."

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#### NEW THOREAU MATERIAL

While examining in the Morgan Library in New York City Thoreau's eleven manuscripts of extracts on the Indians,<sup>1</sup> I came across material of an entirely different nature. Thirty pages from the end of the last of the notebooks appear two pages of remarks evidently put down before the other material, presumably sometime in 1860. Like all of Thoreau's notes on the Indians, they are in ink in a hand fairly legible, although one passage presents insuperable difficulties. Later Thoreau made slight corrections in pencil and dated the pages "Dec. 4—60," the day after he caught the cold which led to his fatal illness. The remarks probably would have found a place in his journal had not sickness and death interfered. The two pages are given below as corrected by Thoreau. Although the ideas may be neither brilliant nor profound, they are so characteristic as to deserve preservation.

Many public speakers are accustomed, as I think foolishly, to talk about little things and occasionally to patronize them, suggesting by them neglected things—but by these things mean those whose diameter consists of but few inches or lines and which few men know much about. In making this distinction they really use no juster measure than a 10 foot pole and their own ignorance. According to this measure, a small potato

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<sup>1</sup> See my article, "Thoreau's Manuscripts on the Indians," in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for April, 1928.

is a little thing, a big one a great thing. Whatever is thought to be covered by the word education—whether reading, writing or 'rithmetic—is a great thing, but almost all that constitutes education is a little thing. In this country a political speech—whether by Mr. Seward or Caleb Cushing—is a great thing, a ray of light a little thing. But the truth is that almost everything good or great is little in their sense. What is the greatest thing anywhere but that little community of comparatively wise or righteous men in it? But this the particular journals never speak well of, the appointed authorities never protect; but instead of this they recognize the interests of the merchants as the greatest thing to be celebrated and protected.

Greater is the diameter of the husk of any fruit than that of its kernel, but it is commonly the husk only that is gathered and stored up. It is only the husk of Christianity that is so bruited and wide-spread in the world—the kernel is still the very least and rarest of all things.

I have observed that English naturalists quite generally have a pitiful habit of speaking of their proper pursuit as a bit of trifling or wasting of time for which they will ask pardon of the reader, a mere interruption of their great and serious enterprises as if they would have you believe that all the rest of their lives they have been employed in some truly great or serious affair. But it happens that we hear never more of this as we certainly should if it were only some public or philanthropic reverie. But they have only been engaged in the magnanimous and heroic enterprise of feeding, clothing, housing, and warming themselves, the chief value of which was that it enabled them to pursue just these studies of which they speak so slightly. It is in effect at least mere cant.

A hippopotamus is a great thing, a dove a little thing. The big cheese which it took so many oxen to draw is a great thing, a snowflake a little thing.

A hogshead of tobacco or . . . or a big cheese or a fat ox or hog or the Norse Columbus or Mr. . . . [*is a big thing*]; there is no danger that anybody will call these little things.

Then, great things are not great but *gross*, or great only as some pumpkins are—they are *some pumpkins*. Then little things are not little but fine—they are some huckleberries.

ALBERT KEISER.

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## JOEL BARLOW AND GEORGE WASHINGTON

On May 25, 1788, Joel Barlow, now remembered as an independent thinker in politics and social philosophy, and as the Connecticut Wit who composed the mock-heroic poem, *Hasty Pudding*, and that ambitious epic, *The Columbiad*, left the United States for France. Since he was the European representative of the Scioto

Company and desired to sell lands in Ohio to Frenchmen and Englishmen, he carried with him letters of introduction from various prominent Americans to several Europeans of note. Among these letters was one from Thomas Jefferson to Doctor Richard Price of London,<sup>1</sup> a second from George Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette,<sup>2</sup> and a third, hitherto unpublished,<sup>3</sup> from George Washington to Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeure, Count de Rochambeau, who was in command of French forces in America from 1780 to 1783.

During the Revolutionary War, Barlow, then Chaplain of the Fourth Massachusetts Brigade, delivered "a flaming political sermon, occasioned by the treachery of Arnold" which was listened to by "a number of gentlemen from the other brigades"<sup>4</sup> and very warmly praised by the auditors. Since George Washington heard about the success of this discourse, he became interested in Barlow and invited the latter to dine with him at his personal headquarters at Passaic Falls, New Jersey, on October 17, 1780. This was the only known meeting of the two. During 1787 and 1788, Washington heard about the favorable reception of Barlow's first poem of length, *The Vision of Columbus*, by English and American critics. He had, moreover, subscribed for twenty copies of the poem, and, as we shall see, had read portions.

It was not, then, without some knowledge of the poet that, at the possible request of Barlow, or some mutual friend, Washington

<sup>1</sup> February 7, 1788, see *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Lipscomb and Bergh), Washington, 1904, vi, 424.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is dated May 28, 1788. In it Washington observed: "Notwithstanding you are acquainted with Mr. Barlow in person, and with his works by reputation, I thought I would just write you a line by him, in order to recommend him the more particularly to your civilities. Mr. Barlow is considered by those who are good Judges to be a genius of the first magnitude; and to be one of those Bards who hold the keys of the gate by which Patriots, Sages and Heroes are admitted to immortality. . . ." See *The Writings of George Washington* (ed. Worthington C. Ford), New York and London, 1891, xi, 265.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of May 28, 1788. See *A Calendar of Washington Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, compiled by Herbert Friedenwald, Washington, 1901, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, New York and London, 1886, p. 35.

wrote the following letter which is now in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C.

Mount Vernon May 28<sup>th</sup>. 1788.<sup>5</sup>

My dear Count.

I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Mr Barlow, the person who will have the honor of handing this letter to you.—He is a Gentleman of liberal education, respectable character, great abilities, & high reputation for literary accomplishments.—He is peculiarly & honorably known in the Republic of Letters both here and in Europe, for being the Author of an admirable Poem; in which he has worthily celebrated the glory of your Nation in general & of yourself in particular <sup>6</sup>—Attended, as he is, with so many interesting circumstances & under so many unusual advantages, I need add no more than just a recommendation to your attention & civilities.—

Since I had the pleasure of writing to you by the last Packet,<sup>7</sup> nothing worthy of notice has happened in America, except the adoption of the Constitution in Maryland by a very great Majority.<sup>8</sup>—I embrace you, my dear Count, with all my heart; and have the honor to be—with the highest sentiments of friendship and esteem

Your most O bed t. and

Most H ble Servant

Go. Washington

A Monsr.

Monsr. le Compte de Rochambeau.

THEODORE A. ZUNDER.

*Hunter College.*

### AN EARLY MARK TWAIN LETTER

In the issue of the *Hannibal Daily Journal* for September 10, 1853,<sup>1</sup> is an unsigned letter which has never been reprinted but which obviously had been written by Sam Clemens in New York

<sup>5</sup> This letter is dated three days after Barlow left the United States.

<sup>6</sup> *The Vision of Columbus*, vi, 313-316.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of April 28, 1788. See *The Writings of George Washington* (ed. Ford), xi, 259-261.

<sup>8</sup> In his letter of May 28, 1788, to the Marquis de Lafayette, Washington remarked: "the Convention of Maryland has ratified the federal Constitution by a majority of 63 to 11 voices. That makes the seventh State which has adopted it." See *ibid.*, xi, 267.

<sup>1</sup> Files presented to the State Historical Library, Columbia, Missouri, by the League family of Hannibal. In 1917 Mr. A. B. Paine wrote (*Mark Twain's Letters*, i, 20): "It is not believed that a single number of Orion

to his mother in Hannibal. Prefixed to it is a note by the editor, Orion Clemens, Sam's brother:

The following letter is some encouragement to apprentices in country printing offices, as it shows that it is practicable to acquire enough knowledge of the business in a Western country office to command the best situations West or East. There are a great many who suppose that no mechanical business can be learned well in the West.

New York, Aug. 31, 1853.

*My dear Mother:*

New York is at present overstocked with printers; and I suppose they are from the South, driven North by the yellow fever. I got a permanent situation on Monday morning, in a book and job office, and went to work. The printers here are badly organized, and therefore have to work for various prices. These prices are 23, 25, 28, 30, 32, and 35 cents per 1,000 ems. The price I get is 23 cents; but I did very well to get a place at all, for there are thirty or forty—yes, fifty good printers in the city with no work at all; besides, my situation is permanent, and I shall keep it till I can get a better one. The office I work in is John A. Gray's 97 Cliff Street, and, next to Harpers is the most extensive in the city. In the room in which I work I have forty compositors for company. Taking compositors, pressmen, stereotypers, and all, there are about two hundred persons employed in the concern. The "Knickerbocker," "New York Recorder," "Choral Advocate," "Jewish Chronicle," "Littell's Living Age," "Irish ———," and half a dozen other papers and periodicals are printed here, besides an immense number of books. They are very particular about spacing, justification, proofs, etc., and even if I do not make much money, I will learn a great deal. I thought Ustick was particular enough, but acknowledge now that he was not old-maidish. Why, you must put exactly the same space between every two words, and *every line must be spaced alike*. They think it dreadful to space one line with three em spaces, and the next one with five ems. However, I expected this, and worked accordingly from the beginning; and out of all the proofs I saw, without boasting, I can say mine was by far the cleanest. In St. Louis, Mr. Baird said my proofs were the cleanest that were ever set in his office. The foreman of the Anzeiger told me the same—foreman of the Watchman the same; and with all this evidence, I believe I *do* set a clean proof.

My boarding house is more than a mile from the office; and I can hear the signal calling the hands to work before I start down; they use a steam whistle for that purpose. I work in the fifth story; and from one window I have a pretty good view of the city, while another commands a view of the shipping beyond the Battery; and the "forest of

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Clemens' paper, the *Hannibal Journal*, exists today." The letter is reprinted in the weekly *Hannibal Journal*, September 15, 1853.

masts," with all sorts of flags flying, is no mean sight. You have everything in the shape of water craft, from a fishing smack to the steamships and men-of-war; but packed so closely together for miles, that when close to them you can scarcely distinguish one from another.

Of all the commodities, manufactures—or whatever you please to call it—in New York, trundle-bed trash—children I mean—take the lead. Why, from Cliff street, up Frankfort to Nassau street, six or seven squares—my road to dinner—I think I could count two hundred brats. Niggers, mulattoes, quadroons, Chinese, and some the Lord no doubt originally intended to be white, but the dirt on whose faces leaves one uncertain as to that fact, block up the little, narrow street; and to wade through this mass of human vermin, would raise the ire of the most patient person that ever lived. In going to and from my meals, I go by the way of Broadway—and to cross Broadway is the rub—but once across, it is *the* rub for two or three squares. My plan—and how could I choose another, when there *is* no other—is to get into the crowd; and when I get in, I am borne, and rubbed, and crowded along, and need scarcely trouble myself about using my own legs; and when I get out, it seems like I had been pulled to pieces and very badly put together again.

Last night I was in what is known as one of *the* finest fruit saloons in the world. The whole length of the huge, glittering hall is filled with beautiful ornamental marble slab tables, covered with the finest fruit I ever saw in my life. I suppose the fruit could not be mentioned with which they could not supply you. It is a perfect palace. The gas lamps hang in clusters of half a dozen together—representing grapes, I suppose—all over the hall.

P. S. The printers have two libraries in town, entirely free to the craft; and in these I can spend my evenings most pleasantly. If books are not good company, where will I find it?

The earliest letter of Mark Twain's published in the two-volume collection edited by Albert Bigelow Paine is the fragment to his sister Pamela "written during the summer of 1853."<sup>2</sup> It describes the Crystal Palace in New York. "The next existing letter," the editor says, "—also to his sister Pamela—was written in October." That published in the *Hannibal Journal* evidently belongs between the two letters to his sister. The first of these closes with the words:

You ask me where I spend my evenings. Where would you suppose, with a free printers' library containing more than 4,000 volumes within a quarter of a mile of me, and nobody at home to talk to?

—data similar to those in the postscript of the *Journal* letter.

<sup>2</sup> *Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 21.



Mr. Paine says that in New York "he was working in the printing office of John A. Gray and Green on Cliff street,"<sup>3</sup> which facts are noted in the letter given above. And in the first letter to his sister he says that four times a day he walks "a little over a mile"; in the *Journal* letter the writer tells his mother that his boarding house is "more than a mile from the office." The young printer refers, furthermore, to his experience on a St. Louis paper and we know that Sam Clemens, when he was seventeen years old, becoming dissatisfied with his brother's treatment of him, left Hannibal in June, telling his family that he was going to St. Louis to visit his sister Pamela and find a job. He did get a position as compositor on the *Evening News*, but he stayed with it only long enough to make money to buy a ticket to New York.<sup>4</sup>

M. M. BRASHEAR.

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#### AN UNKNOWN POEM BY FATHER RYAN

It is the purpose of this note to call to the attention of students of American, especially of Southern, literature an unknown poem by Father Ryan, and to contribute a fact or two regarding his life.

Father Ryan visited Danville, Kentucky, in the summer of 1885. On what day in August he arrived I do not know, but the *Danville Advocate*, in its weekly issue under the date of August 7, 1885, announced that "The distinguished Southern poet and priest, Rev. Father A. J. Ryan, is in our city this week." He seems to have stayed for several days—at least ten days or two weeks. As to his purpose in coming to Kentucky I have been unable to find any information. Perhaps he came for social reasons or, more probably, on business connected with his church.

While in Danville, Father Ryan was the guest of the Reverend A. J. Brady, a priest then serving St. Paul's Catholic Church. There were a good many Confederate soldiers living here at that time, and they gave the poet a hearty welcome and were delighted to have the old army chaplain among them. But of more interest are the relations he had, while on this visit, with Dr. Fayette Dunlap

<sup>3</sup> *Mark Twain's Letters*, I, 23; cf. *Autobiography*, II, 287.

<sup>4</sup> Paine, Albert Bigelow, *Mark Twain*, I, 94.

and Mrs. Robert Harding, old residents of Danville, both of whom are still living. Dr. Dunlap, in 1878-79, was an interne in the Charity Hospital, in New Orleans. During the yellow fever epidemic there at that time, James Patrick Pepper, also an interne in the same hospital, died of the disease, and Dr. Dunlap wrote a sketch concerning him, which was published in an afternoon New Orleans newspaper.<sup>1</sup> Father Ryan knew Pepper and his family, and when asked to speak at a memorial service held for him, wrote and asked Dr. Dunlap for a copy of his article. When, therefore, the poet came to Danville, he inquired for Dr. Dunlap, and the two spent many pleasant hours together. When Mrs. Harding, an admirer of Ryan and an appreciative reader of his poems, learned that he was in Danville, she, with her husband, called on him at the parochial house and later had him, Dr. Dunlap, and a few others as guests to a dinner given in the poet's honor at her home.<sup>2</sup> During the evening, Father Ryan, apparently deeply appreciating Mrs. Harding's hospitality and genuine interest in him and his poetry, expressed his intention to write her a poem, and a few days later, while surrounded by a group of admirers who had called on him at Father Brady's home, he wrote the following:

To Mrs. Robt. Harding <sup>3</sup>

In the Eclipses of your soul—  
 How oft their shadows fall!  
 On you and one and all—  
 In life's lonesome days of dole,—  
 And when you cry:—

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Dr. Dunlap gave the original of this article to George W. Cable, at the request of Mr. Cable, for whom the Doctor used to write down any unusual incidents that occurred in the hospital and that Cable might make use of in his stories.

<sup>2</sup> Father Ryan had brought with him only a linen duster, according to Mrs. Harding, and so at first refused to accept her invitation to dinner because he had nothing suitable to wear. Father Brady managed to get him a Prince Albert coat, and he then consented to go.

<sup>3</sup> This poem has never been published, except in the Danville newspaper and in the Clinton County (Ohio) *Democrat*. A young minister who had known Mrs. Harding while he was a student at Centre College and to whom she had given a copy used it in a sermon delivered in Clinton County, and the Ohio paper published it. The original manuscript Mrs. Harding has kindly given to me.

"Oh God! give less of Dark and more of Light."  
 And when you sigh:—  
 "Sweet Christ! give more of Day and less of Night—"  
 And when you pray  
 Heart-wearied of some Cross your soul must bear.  
 And when you say:—  
 "How hard the Crown of Thorns my brow must wear."  
 And when your eyes  
 Are shrines of tears  
 And your lips the Home of Sighs—  
 Then ponder this thought that floats from me  
 Veiled in the Song I sing for thee:—  
 Every Sorrow is the Shadow  
 Of God closely passing by.  
 He is near us when we're smiling—  
 He is nearer when we sigh.  
 He is by us in our Gladness  
 When our hearts are all a-bright—  
 He is near us in Life's day-time—  
 He is nearest in its Night.  
 He is *with* us in Joy's losses—  
 With a love that never parts.  
 He is *in* us when life's crosses  
 Seem to crush our very hearts.

Aug. 16th, 1885.

ABRAM J. RYAN.

I have been informed that Mr. R. G. Egan, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is gathering facts for a biography of Ryan, and that he believes the poet was born, not in Norfolk, Virginia, but in Hagerstown, Maryland. He will doubtless in time present the evidence he has for his belief. But it is of importance to note here that at this dinner given in the poet's honor at Danville, Kentucky, in August, 1885, Mrs. Harding asked Father Ryan whether he was born in Ireland. I do not know why she thought he was from Ireland, but she says that she asked him that question and that his reply was: "Why, my child, I am no more a son of the Emerald Isle than you are. I was born in Norfolk, Virginia."<sup>4</sup> Father Ryan ought to have known what he was talking about.

JAMES HOWELL HEWLETT.

*Centre College.*

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<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Harding and Dr. Dunlap both told me that they heard Father Ryan make this statement.

## REVIEWS

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*The Modernity of Milton.* By MARTIN A. LARSON. University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. 277.

*Milton's Semitic Studies.* By HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. University of Chicago Press, 1926. Pp. 155.

*The Poems of John Milton.* Edited by H. J. C. GRIERSON. New York: Brenatno's. n. d. 2 vols. Pp. xlii + 375; lxiv + 371.

Mr. Larson writes with assurance concerning medievalism and the blessing to the world that followed upon its disintegration, and he is equally dogmatic concerning the nature of Hellenism. To support his thesis that Milton's thought is Stoic and therefore modern he quotes liberally from Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. There are indeed resemblances, but it is with a widely diffused Renaissance Stoicism that we have to do, rather than with particular sources; Mr. Larson seems to wish to prove direct debt of Milton to definite authors and works. Somewhat strained, also, is the conclusion that by his repudiation of Puritanism and absorption of essential Stoic doctrine Milton is marked as a man of the modern world. Surely contempt for riches, fame, fortune, the Stoic ideal as Mr. Larson conceives it, is not characteristic of the present day.

There are errors, too, in Mr. Larson's chapter on Milton's metaphysics. He gives no attention to the Lucretian physics, where he might have shown direct influences upon *Paradise Lost* II. The chapter on evolution is well-written and suggestive, but surely the "surrender" in *Samson Agonistes* is anything but "Puritan"; much could be said in defense of the thesis that it shows the farthest reach of Milton's thought in the direction of complete independence from the old dogmas. I think, too, that Mr. Larson fails to take into account the symbolic nature of *Paradise Regained*, a pitfall which has trapped many Milton critics because they do not read the poem as Spenser, for example, would have read it.

On the other hand, there is much that is stimulating about Mr. Larson's work. He is one of the few who have sought to define Milton's alleged Puritanism more sharply by comparing his thought with that of New England writers like Mather, Wigglesworth (who wrote, however, of *Doom*, not "Judgment"), and Edwards. He also renders service to beginners in Milton studies who need nothing so much as a clear understanding that a great writer like Milton cannot be interpreted without knowledge of his inheritance from the past. And he supplies excellent muni-

tions for combating the hoary view that Milton may be pigeon-holed "Puritan" and so dismissed from discussion of influences or any convictions as to the complexity of his thought.

Interesting evidence as to this complexity of his thought is given by Mr. Fletcher's little book on Milton's Semitic studies. Hebrew was regarded in Milton's time as the parent language, the basis for philological investigation. Such study appealed to Protestant scholars, who found it necessary to arm themselves with learned weapons to combat the influence of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius in which the whole case of Rome was set forth. Moreover, the prevailing tendency in university education was toward theological study, and in Cambridge, especially, there was a strong Semitic tradition. All these influences, Mr. Fletcher holds, would appeal with special force to a youth of Milton's tastes and abilities. His interest in Semitics is discernible so early as 1625; it is prominent in his translations of the Psalms in 1648, which show thorough familiarity with Hebrew whatever their defects as poetry; it is evident in *De Doctrina Christiana*, in his daily reading from the Hebrew scriptures, and subtly but pervasively in *Paradise Lost*.

Evidence is drawn from Milton's own testimony about his studies; indirectly by comparing Milton's severe course in the languages set forth in his tract on Education with the even severer discipline of Hoole's *New Discovery* (1637); in the prevalence of Semitic studies at Cambridge. Milton knew the pointed Hebrew, Aramaic, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Syriac. Most interesting is the examination of *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Fletcher holds that while the plot, the theology, and the larger structural qualities of the epic are matters of universal knowledge, and are therefore not immediately Semitic, the "majestic results" of the poem come from Milton's "marvelous certainty of detail." To show this, he gives us an admirable analysis of the invocations to the Muse found in Milton's poetry, proving indebtedness to the Hebrew Shekinah. Other details, such as the animal forms assumed by Satan, the device by which Satan learns of the interdict by listening to Adam's talk with Eve, the description of Satan's interview with Eve, and in the jealousy motive, are all traced to Rabbinical learning. The influence of Yosippon, previously pointed out by Mr. Fletcher, is more fully treated, and appears convincing. Yet the book is a bit disappointing. The positive evidence, after all, is slight, and Mr. Fletcher nowhere grapples with the positions taken by M. Saurat.

Professor Grierson's two volumes appeal to us, first, for the beauty of the typography. There are no notes, but each volume contains a preface compact with material that no student of Milton can afford to disregard. Mr. Grierson attempts an arrangement of the poetry in as exact chronological order as can be ascertained.

His reasons for his chronology are given briefly but clearly; some of his conclusions, as he says, are conjectural, and from some of them scholars may dissent. But there can be no difference of opinion as to the value of the experience to which he invites us, that of reading this body of literature from beginning to end, to contemplate the tragedy of Milton's life, "a tragedy as sublime and poignant as any in the history of literature," all of it "written as clearly in the changing contours and decoration of his poetry as in the sentiments he or his characters give utterance to."

The second volume is devoted to *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Grierson gives a detailed account of the genesis of the poem; avoids the vexed questions of sources and influences; supplies a detailed and very interesting account of the constitution of his text. He prefers the second edition, holding that Beeching, who wished to give an accurate impression of Milton's spelling as a clue to the way in which the poet wished his words to be pronounced, would have done better had he used the second edition as the basis of his text. But Mr. Grierson makes no attempt to follow seventeenth century spelling save in the cases in which the old form throws light on pronunciation, metre, and meaning. Thus there is a difference between "thir" and "their," and the edition of 1674 shows how carefully Milton attended to this distinction. Words like "mee" "hee," "wee" show variation for emphasis. "Blanc" is quite different from "blank." Mr. Grierson has then, in effect, given us a new text, so that his edition is not merely a beautiful book but one certain to arouse the interest of thoughtful readers.

EDWIN GREENLAW.

*Richard Dehmel. Der Mensch und der Denker. Eine Biographie seines Geistes im Spiegelbild der Zeit.* Mit einem Geleitwort von Julius Bab. Von HARRY SLOCHOWER. Dresden: Carl Reissner-Verlag, 1928. xiv + 289 Seiten.

Had this book been written in English and published in the United States it could be set down as one of the most remarkable that have come out in this country since 1900. Germany, on the other hand, is flooded with treatises of this sort. But, praise-worthy though many of them are, it has never been demonstrated that they have ever influenced a creative writer of genius outside of Germany, while their influence inside of Germany has been negligible always and sometimes negative. Dr. Slochower attacks both directly and by implication the Romantics at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has written nevertheless a romantically-attuned book in that he has persistently mixed the genres: the treatise is partly on literature

and partly on philosophy. The case is deserving of attention, for Dr. Slochower contends that though Dehmel at times failed to read his Hegel and at times misinterpreted what he had read, the influence of Hegel on Dehmel was pronounced.

The capital feature of the work is the enthusiasm with which it has been written. In his introduction, Julius Bab says that he does not believe in this kind of treatises but that he had to admire Slochower's energy, enthusiasm, fire, and broad reading. The study is meritorious; it is in truth so good that the reviewer can devote his entire space to its faults; to comment on its good points would be news rather than criticism.

Slochower writes (p. 70): "Die Gestalt Goethes ist der mächtigste Protest aller Zeiten gegen die romantische Gesinnung." The fact remains that German Romanticism is unthinkable without Goethe, and he is unthinkable without it. Slochower saves himself by his use of the word *Gestalt*. That conceals much. The late Carl Hauptmann wrote a treatise entitled *Das Geheimnis der Gestalt*, and when he was through the conception of *Gestalt* was still a *Geheimnis*. The fact is, Goethe never seemed so romantic because his genius enabled him to keep from slopping-over. No Romanticist, such, for example, as Clemens Brentano, lived or wrote erratically because he thought this was a good thing to do; he did it because he was too weak to do otherwise. Dehmel himself visualized Goethe's surpassing genius in his poem entitled *Drei Blicke*. The poet goes into a cheap second-hand shop and sees three pictures: one a doll with glass eyes, one a tawdry picture of Christ in a dusty frame, and one of Goethe. Of the latter Dehmel says:<sup>1</sup>

O habe Dank, du Ewiger, jede Stunde:  
du hast uns Hoheit über Tod und Leben  
mit deiner selbstbewussten Stirn gegeben!

All that Slochower writes about Dehmel's insistence on the need of more good will could have been condensed into a sentence of not more than ten words, for Dehmel said absolutely nothing new on this subject. He said only what any very humble country parson dilates on each of the fifty-two weeks, "Peace on earth to men of good will."

So many authorities are worked in and quoted that it is strange not to find the name of Maurice Maeterlinck in Slochower's detailed comment on Dehmel's never-failing interest in the relation of the material to the spiritual and the other way about. Maeterlinck would have been more to the point than Heinrich von Kleist in this connection (p. 202).

Slochower writes (p. 196): "Es war Théophile Gautier . . ., der dieses Schlagwort [*l'art pour l'art*] geprägt hatte." It is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hundert ausgewählte Gedichte*, Berlin, 1924, p. 116.

always hazardous to say precisely who said something first, but was it not Victor Cousin who gave this expression its initial currency?<sup>2</sup> What Slochower writes regarding Dehmel's enrichment of the German language is good, but it could have been made much more effective by a little compilation. Such words as *Allmensch* (as opposed to *Übermensch*), *triebselig*, *nichtsdestotrotziger*, *Ahnsinn* are felicitous.

The work is written with such vigor that we get the impression at times that follows from an extempore speech: there are striking repetitions. We are told twice, quite formally, that the inspiration to write the book came from Camillo von Klenze and Morris Cohen of City College.<sup>3</sup> Once would have been enough. On page 154 we are told that Dehmel regarded J. Robert Mayer's work on *Energie-Konstanz* as one of the leading incidents of the nineteenth century. The *Personen-Register* shows another reference to J. R. Mayer on page 211. This latter page, however, has only a reference to R. M. Meyer, who is not listed in the *Personen-Register* at all. This would be a paltry slip were it not for the fact that on page 66 we had already been given an account of the Dehmel-Mayer *Energie-Konstanz* affair and in very similar words. There is no reference in the index to Mayer for this latter passage. Goethe is misquoted on page 193: *der hat auch Religion*. Should be: *hat auch Religion*. The book contains a formidable *Druckfehler-Verzeichnis*, but *lingt* for *liegt* was not caught (p. 205).

One thing is certain, Slochower's book is not "set down in malice." He defends Dehmel on every issue but one.<sup>4</sup> After quoting some quite robust statements by Dehmel regarding capitalism and the like, he insists that Dehmel was not a Socialist. Dehmel, the truth seems to be, was what Georg Brandes—and he was the first to do it—called Nietzsche: "an aristocratic radical." This may account for the fact that Slochower failed to take into full consideration the actual influence of Hebbel on Dehmel. That Dehmel knew his Hebbel is well brought out; that Dehmel derived this and that idea from Hebbel is less clear. It seems that there are traces of Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* in Dehmel's *Zwei Menschen*. Hebbel writes (lines 2605-06):

Zwei Menschen, die sich lieben, wie sie sollen,  
Können einander gar nicht überleben.

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<sup>2</sup> See the writings on the subject by J. E. Spingarn, Rose Egan, Ferdinand Baldensperger, Thackeray, and others, including Cousin himself.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Slochower, at present a member of the Department of German at The College of the City of New York, also acknowledges his indebtedness to the Department of German at Columbia University, where he did his graduate work.

<sup>4</sup> The grotesque chauvinism in Dehmel's war diary.



That throws one rather into the atmosphere of Dehmel. Dehmel writes: <sup>5</sup>

Wir sind so innig eins mit aller Welt  
Dass wir im Tod nur neues Leben finden.

Zwei Menschen fühlen, dass der Tod nicht scheidet.

That throws one rather into the atmosphere of Hebbel. Slochower has shown Hebbel considerable attention so far as his general relation to Dehmel is concerned. The bearing of these two works on each other, however, would have given this admirable book more value than some of its slender excursions into the works of such men as Gumplowicz and Üxküll. And yet, Dehmel, unlike such a writer as Dickens, not merely kept in close touch with the intellectual currents of his day; he tried also to reach out over the intellectual currents of the past. When it came to writing creatively, however, Dehmel forgot his references. It was just as well.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD.

West Virginia University.

*Hippolyte Taine, Etudes et Documents*, par VICTOR GIRAUD.  
Paris, Vrin, 1928, pp. viii + 301.

A new book on the great critic, by the author of the admirable and enthusiastic *Essai sur Taine* <sup>1</sup> which, it is piquant to recall, was awarded the Prix Bordin, once refused by the French Academy to the *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*. The total impression of the present volume is that M. Giraud's interest in the subject has diminished.

The four *Etudes* (*La Philosophie de Taine; Taine et le Pessimisme; La Personne et l'Œuvre de Taine d'après sa Correspondance; En Relisant Taine*) have all appeared in print separately. Their present joint publication, since they were not planned in terms of each other, results in a certain degree of blur. And we doubt the usefulness of reproducing what G. himself calls a juvenile summary of the master's philosophy wherein he has quite successfully held to the programme self-imposed of attempting no judgment ("nous nous sommes soigneusement abstenu de toute intention critique," p. 79). On the other hand it is good to reprint the article in which G. ably supports the view that his critic's "accès de pessimisme sont un nouvel indice de sa rare noblesse morale" (p. 101), and the other two studies are important.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Zwei Menschen. Dritter Umkreis*, lines 33-36.

<sup>1</sup> Fribourg, Veith; Paris, Hachette; 1901. Now in sixth edition.

Among the *Documents* are extracts of twenty articles by Taine not collected in the *Ouvres*. Here again G. repeats himself, for he has already reproduced these in the first edition of the *Essai*. If it is worth while to turn to them again, why are they not published in entirety? The fragments are chosen with competence, but we miss picturesque and significant details, and Taine has proved that *les petits faits* matter. For example Taine reviews a book by Assollant on the United States. Is there any evidence here that he used Assollant for his *Graindorge*? One cannot say, because only part of the review (about one-half) is reproduced. Examination of the original article in the *Débats*<sup>2</sup> shows that G. has omitted not only passages full of the verve associated with Taine, but quotations from Assollant which may well have suggested Taine's ponderous girding at American *mores*.<sup>3</sup> The whole review shows the writer taking seriously a third-rate yarn by a man whose name now lingers in the *Bibliothèque Rose*; the great critic remarks: "c'est la main leste et militante de Voltaire" (not reproduced by G.) of an author who matches the, unquestioned, bad manners of Americans of the 1850's with his own crudeness. Did Taine remember this book when he wrote of American gentlemen constantly spitting, even at table and on the dresses of the ladies?<sup>4</sup> And when he composed this review did he remember that Assollant had been his fellow-liberal at the Ecole Normale and had a few months earlier written favorable comment on his own *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire*?<sup>5</sup> One may admire Taine's genius and yet, loyal to it, recall that back of each book is a man and, without expecting all problems to be solved by examination of these articles, crave all the evidence they contain.<sup>6</sup>

Of the other *Documents* the *Pages de Jeunesse* contain really fresh and significant material. The *Comparaison des Trois Andromagues* shows how completely Taine in 1852 was himself a product, and how well he represented the characteristic French attitude toward the theatre since described by Faguet in *Drame Ancien, Drame Moderne*. Also, when the critic remarks that a drama is "un combat de l'homme contre lui-même, parce que l'art représente l'histoire et les guerres de l'esprit, et non l'histoire et les guerres du corps" (p. 188), and that "l'objet de l'art est le mouvement de l'âme même et non le concours fortuit des événements" (p. 189), and that "Il est bon en soi qu'une action vicieuse soit punie, et qu'une action vertueuse soit récompensée" (p. 224),—in the face

<sup>2</sup> 15 nov. 1858.

<sup>3</sup> "Une boutade un peu lourde," as a contemporary French critic wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 juillet 1867, p. 501.

<sup>4</sup> *Vie et opinions de Graindorge*, Paris, Crès, 1914, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> *La Presse*, 16 mars, 1858. Cf. Giraud, *Bibliographie de Taine*, No. 73.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of the first article of which G. gives an extract the name of the author of the book reviewed is misprinted, and so also in the first edition of the *Essai*. For Landonnière read Laudonnière.

of such remarks it is realized that the author of the famous vitriol and sugar sentence was by no means one to put man altogether into nature. He so protests himself later, but here is important evidence that the attitude dated from early days. The material is so interesting that again we ask for more. Why not publish all of the youthful treatise on *la Destinée Humaine* of which the introduction is given in the *Correspondance*?<sup>7</sup> G. has said himself of this introduction that "aucun texte ne vous éclaire plus à fond sur la nature d'esprit et d'âme de Taine,"<sup>8</sup> and since we know that the critic, although reticent about revelation of his personal life, offers "tout ce qu'on voudra sur l'écrivain,"<sup>9</sup> it is difficult to see why *all* of this youthful document should not be made public.

For the valuable material now presented we are indebted to M. Giraud. But, this contribution acknowledged, the general impression of the rest of the book is of articles warmed over. The volume appears in the Centennial year, and one might have hoped from the chief Taine authority for a timely, fresh, and vigorous appraisal of the significance of this thinker to civilization of 1928, comparable to what Pierre Lasserre wrote for the Renan centennial in 1923 in his *Renan et Nous*. It has recently been suggested in the *R. L. C.*,<sup>10</sup> apropos of the Taine centennial, that the great writer's star is descendent. Perhaps M. Giraud, consciously or not, takes a current, and debatable, attitude when he produces a book of which much is so tepid.

HORATIO SMITH.

*Brown University.*

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*The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum, a phonological, morphological and syntactical study.* By PAULINE TAYLOR. New York, 1924. Pp. 142.

In this careful study of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, a résumé and continuation of the first six books of the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, the author has given a valuable contribution to the study of Folklatin in the eighth century. W. Baehrens has made in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XLVI (1926), p. 471 some critical observations on this work from the point of view of the classical linguist. The student of Romance languages will find insufficient the evidence adduced in favor of tonic *a* becoming *e* in the *Liber*. The form *preda depascis* 265, 33 found for *prata depascis* in Gregory, in a passage

<sup>7</sup> *Taine, sa Vie et Sa Correspondance*, I, 20-26.

<sup>8</sup> *Le Correspondant*, 10 avril 1928, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. in the present work, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> VIII, 569.

corresponding word for word with that in the *Liber* is interesting, but might be explained as a form of *praeda* used carelessly instead of *prata*; the scribe had *praeda* in mind while copying *prata* (*e* is frequently found for tonic *ae*, as shown by the examples given by Dr. Taylor on page 21 and 22). The form *preda* for *prata* would be unique, *a* changing to *e* in the ninth century only. *Nodelus* in the *Polyptychon Irminonis* (first quarter of the ninth century) and *Guandromaer* in the Cartulary of Redon in 838, evidence brought by Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gram. d. frz. Spr.*<sup>2</sup>, page 65, still represent the *terminus a quo* of this sound-change. The parallel examples given by Dr. Taylor from the Glosses of Reichenau, *senetus* for *senatus*, *volumptaete* for *volumptate*, etc. have been proved to be mistaken readings: *senetus* is in reality written *senatus*, *volumptaete* is *volumptarie* (cf. Stalzer, *Sitzber.* of the Vienna Academy, *Ph.-hist. Kl.*, CLII (1906), vi, p. 68, l. 2363 and p. 107, l. 947). The second example for the change of *a* to *e* in the *Liber* is *Tulbiecum* for *Tulbiacum*. However, the form *Zülpich* would induce us to admit here a shift of the accent to the *i*. We will hesitate to accept the change of posttonic *a* to *e* in the example *gulae et ebrietate contentus*, which should be read, as Baehrens suggests, *gula[e] et ebrietate . . .*, a ditto-graphy. We are also unable to agree with the author that final *m* was still pronounced in the eighth century. However, the chapter on the oblique case, partly based on this premise, is a fascinating one. Here the author has attempted to disprove the current theory that the accusative served as the basis of the oblique case of O. F. and Provencal. Words with the oblique case endings *-o* and *-e* (also *-a*) are used in genitive, dative, accusative and ablative functions. Such forms in *-o*, *-e*, or *-a* (not *-um*, *-em*, or *-am*), served as the basis of the later oblique cases, eventually producing the single Romance case. Equally interesting is the chapter on the pronoun *ille*, the regular pronoun of the third person, with *is* for the oblique cases and *hoc* as the neuter.

Students of the Pre-Romance period will read with interest this work of Dr. Taylor and will find that the material has been carefully gathered and critically interpreted.

OTTO MÜLLER.

Gettysburg College.

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*Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century.* By DAVID NICHOL SMITH.

New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 91. \$2.00.

This little volume prints in their original form, except for the addition of a few footnotes, three lectures of a semi-popular nature. The first deals with Restoration criticism and with several stage versions. The second is an interesting and useful summary of

the methods of the eighteenth-century editors. The third gives the main outlines of criticism in the same period, with emphasis upon its continuity. Considerations of space lead me to comment only on the first lecture.

Professor Smith acknowledges the parallel between Restoration and contemporary belittlement of, respectively, the Elizabethans and the Victorians, but suggests that "unlike some of us" Dryden recognized the elders as giants. He quotes the familiar lines from the *Epistle to Congreve*, which, however, lose much of their force as evidence when placed in their context. For Dryden goes on to declare that the Elizabethan "strength" is no longer superior, now that Congreve is on the boards. Since he has already awarded the palm for "skill" to his own age, there is not much left. Nor is it strictly accurate to assert that "of Shakespeare's supremacy he never had any doubt." Several years after the tribute quoted from the prologue to *Aureng-Zebe*, we find him very doubtful indeed, in his essay, *The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy*. As Professor Smith remarks, Dryden is not critically devoted to structural considerations, realizing that "the character drawing, the passions, and the poetry are of more account." It is with respect to precisely the first of these that he prefers Jonson to Shakespeare. On the other hand, and in the face of a whole school of opinion (see, for instance, *T. L. S.*, July 5, 1928, leading article), Professor Smith's point that a "false impression . . . has sometimes been attached to the frequent mention of dramatic rules" in English neo-classical criticism is well worth making. It was not the first-raters, but "the crabbed men and the little men" who were obsessed with them. It usually is.

The book offers a convenient and spirited introduction to both the textual and the critical history of Shakespeare's plays, though not to the theatrical, for Professor Smith suggests as one of his main conclusions that "stage productions of a dramatist who is not a contemporary" are not worth very much "in judging the taste of an age." It seems to me they may be worth a good deal. Will not the critic of the future find the debased and perverted adaptation of *Volpone* recently staged by the Theatre Guild a fairly accurate index to the taste of these times?

HAZELTON SPENCER.

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*The Grub-Street Journal*. By JAMES T. HILLHOUSE. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1928. Pp. 294 + 54 appendix.

This study is a careful examination of a little known and rather important periodical of the early eighteenth century. The author began the work in an effort to discover the precise relations of Pope

with the *Grub-Street Journal*. Failing in that, he dissected the *Journal* itself, relating the history of the periodical, identifying its editors, and discussing at length the quarrels of the *Grub-Street Journal* with other periodicals, and with Bentley, Theobald, Budgell, Hill, Eusden, Curll, Cibber, Welsted, Fielding, and other individuals. Much of his discussion (the last chapter, particularly) takes the reader far beyond the usual bounds of interest of the student of literature, but must yield a modicum of reward to the earnest searcher after knowledge of the life of men and women in the 1730's. Naturally, Mr. Hillhouse has unearthed some new and intimate details regarding the more important of Pope's contemporaries, but it cannot be said that many of these are vital to an understanding of the best literature of the period.

The author admits, at the start, his failure to establish with any further definiteness Pope's connection with the *Journal*. For this he cannot be blamed, although it will probably be for their interest in this problem that most scholars will pick up Mr. Hillhouse's book. It now seems clear that the "veil of mystery," of which Mr. Hillhouse speaks, will never be lifted, and that what Pope had to do with either the founding or the conducting of the *Journal* will not be satisfactorily explained, beyond Bavius's vague indication of the "A" contributions in the preface of the *Memoirs* of 1737, and the assumptions of generations of Pope editors and critics. One can only wish that Mr. Hillhouse himself had assumed less, in his references to what he calls the "Pope material" in the *Journal*. He admits (p. 38) that the lesser and later controversies in which the *Journal* engaged with Pope's enemies might conceivably have been undertaken quite independently of Pope's authority or cognizance. Is it not conceivable, also, that the *Grub-Street* hacks may have, in the manner of all bullies, given an additional and independent kick to every author smarting under the satire of Pope? That Pope was actually interested in the *Grub-Street Journal*, few students of his later life can doubt; but where so little can be proved, every reference to his possible connection with it should be made with utmost caution.

Within the limits of the task set for himself, Mr. Hillhouse has done a real service to the English scholarship of the period. We are indebted to him for a description of the almost inaccessible newspaper which is the subject of his study, of the equally rare *Literary Courier of Grub-Street*, and of the three collections made from the *Journal*, (1) the *Essays and Letters, etc.*, (2) the collection referred to as "Grubiana" ("rank piracy and imposture") and (3) the genuine *Memoirs of the Society of Grub-Street*, published in 1737. He has also presented us with a full account of Richard Russel, and established the identity of this curious editor. Of value, also, is the Appendix, which contains a short summary

of the contents of the *Journal* and the *Literary Courier*. The chapters dealing with the various attacks on authors (Theobald and Bentley, in particular) will be useful to other scholars working in this field. But the section of the book devoted to "Literary and Dramatic Criticism" is, by far, the most important, for the aim of the *Grub-Street Journal* was professedly a literary one. It was the avowed champion of good writing, and, in pretense at least, regarded itself as the defender of certain Augustan literary ideals.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Hillhouse, in his chapter on the quarrels with periodicals, makes no reference to the *Mirroure*, a very interesting little publication, begun December 18, 1729, and called, in the first number, "a mirroure for Mr. Alex. Pope and his creatures." It contained derogatory criticism of Pope and of his work—attempting to show in his poetry a lack of anything but "trifling imitation of celebrated poets; or smooth-flowing words and jingling rhymes." The *Mirroure*, undoubtedly published by one of Pope's enemies, ended its career with the issue of October 21, 1730. It is not too much to assume that it may have been one of the immediate causes of the establishment of the *Grub-Street Journal* in the same year.

It is to be regretted, also, that Mr. Hillhouse did not find some connection between the *Journal's* method of publishing news borrowed from the other newspapers of the day and the predatory method of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which, from 1731 on appropriated essays, poems, and news items from the weekly journals, including the *Grub-Street Journal* itself. This apparent influence of the *Journal* is a matter of considerable importance; for the practice of preying upon other periodicals, first suggested in the *Grub-Street Journal*, became so common during the next twenty years or more as to be almost universal. Not only did the *Gentleman's Magazine* skim the cream from the daily and weekly journals for its readers, but, in imitation, the *London Magazine*, Budgell's *Bee*, the *Newcastle General Magazine*, the *County Magazine* of Salisbury, and many other periodicals adopted the same unscrupulous method of getting their material for publication. If, as seems to be true, the *Grub-Street-Journal* initiated this common practice, the fact should have been made clear in this study.

WALTER GRAHAM.

*University of Illinois.*

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*Swindlers and Rogues in French Drama.* By HILDA LAURA NORMAN, PH. D. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. ix + 259.

Miss Norman and the University of Chicago Press have collaborated in producing a very attractive book on the treatment ac-

corded by French playwrights to the financial crooks of monarchical and republican France. The eleven chapters of the study examine such types as the Harpagnons of the reign of Louis XIV, the 18th-century Turcarets, the Robert Macaires, Mercadets and Jean Girauds of the July Monarchy and the Second Empire, the Teisiers and Baron de Horns of the Third Republic. The social background, with special stress on "bubble companies" and the Stock Exchange, huge banks and promotion-schemes, is deftly sketched in; and an entire chapter is justly devoted to "le Puff." An extensive bibliography lists about 150 plays, with information as to authorship and date and place of performance and publication, the *oeuvres complètes* of some twenty-five French playwrights, and selected works on French drama, economics and sociology; there is also an index. Miss N. has brightened her study by verse and prose translations of her own; the book-making is marked by excellent print, paper and binding, as well as by the reproduction of sixteen amusing Daumier cartoons.

Miss N. has, on the whole, made reliable use of the mass of material with which she has had to work.<sup>1</sup> Misprints are few and not glaring.<sup>2</sup> In attempting, however, to render her book palatable to the large reading-public (which, it seems to the present reviewer, is excluded from the realm of possibility by the inevitable aridity and monotony of much of the subject-matter as well as by the very erudition of its treatment), the author has neglected the more scholarly readers by whom the volume will be perused. The total absence of foot-notes and cross-references makes the book a clumsy one to handle. Consequently, when an obscure play is mentioned without date or authorship so that the only way to locate it is to plough through the chronological bibliography, or when an author is quoted as having said something without any reference either in text or bibliography as to where and when it was said,<sup>3</sup> the reader interested in checking up on facts is in something of a dilemma. Nevertheless, despite this drawback, the book serves a distinct purpose and will be consulted with pleasure by those interested in the history of French drama.

AARON SCHAFFER.

*The University of Texas.*

<sup>1</sup> When she says (p. 40), in speaking of *le Philosophe sans le savoir*, that "the young man's opponent is the son of a man whom Vanderk had but lately befriended in a financial way," one might wish, perhaps, that she had written "was in the act of befriending."

<sup>2</sup> Attention may be called to "légerté" (p. 81), "éclat" for "éclate" (p. 94), "pas" for "par" (p. 141), "announces" for "annonces" (p. 144), "de Lessups" as the name of the celebrated canal-builder (p. 156), "reguilt" for "regilt" (p. 65), and "mercier" for what should evidently be "mercerie" (p. 61); it might be asked whether "abolishment" (p. 58) is as good a word as "abolition."

<sup>3</sup> Vide the mention of Fourier on p. 55.



*Goethe-Wortschatz.* Ein sprachgeschichtliches Wörterbuch zu Goethe sämtlichen Werken von Professor PAUL FISCHER, Geh. Studienrat. Emil Rohmkopf Verlag, Leipzig, 1929. xi, 905 pages; cloth, 24 RM.

We have several Shakespeare and Dickens-dictionaries, also excellent Luther-dictionaries. A Goethe-dictionary has been lacking for a long time. Professor Fischer who spent many years compiling this historical-philological dictionary for Goethe's entire works, has accomplished a monumental task most successfully. This Goethelexicon fills a real gap. It is a counterpart to Kellner's *Shakespeare-Wörterbuch*. In some respects it perhaps excels it. It is a most eloquent tribute to the author's thoroughness and scholarship and to the enterprising spirit of the publisher, who brought out this beautiful book "without support from any one, thinking that a good piece of work would pay for itself."

This Goethe-dictionary is in the main based upon the Weimar edition Goethe. Other editions have also been used, such as the *Jubiläumsausgabe* by Edward v. d. Hellen and the edition of Heinemann. All quotations are arranged, however, in such a way that they can be found without difficulty also in the more recent editions of Goethe's works. Special care is shown in the definition of words.

In the preface to the first part of the strictly alphabetically arranged *Wortschatz* the author gives a more detailed information regarding contents and use of the dictionary. The second part of the work contains the *Fremdwörterbuch* and naturally is considerably smaller in size than the first part. And yet the 117 pages of foreign words recorded here as used by Goethe, our greatest master of the German language, can not help but strike us as a rather formidable list and even arouse astonishment. But as the editor points out we must consider the time in which Goethe lived. Moreover, it is well known that Goethe did not hesitate to use a foreign word, if he could not find a proper German word expressing the idea he meant to convey. In his poetic works Goethe gradually eliminated numerous foreign words or at least approved of their elimination whenever his linguistic advisers suggested it.

All in all Fischer's work merits the highest praise and no doubt it will have a wide circulation. It is a most welcome gift for every Goethe-student.

F. G. G. SCHMIDT.

*University of Oregon.*

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## BRIEF MENTION

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*Thomas Hardy as Man, Writer, and Philosopher: an Appreciation with a Swedish Hardy Bibliography.* By R. E. ZACHRISSON. Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells, 1928. Pp. 25. Kr. 1:75. A sympathetic yet judicious appreciation, which adds little, if anything, to our knowledge of Hardy, but which is acceptable as a Swedish confirmation of Anglo-American judgments. The author long ago strove to secure the Nobel Prize for Hardy. He emphasizes two opinions: (1) that Hardy's sadness was too personal and too early to be influenced by Schopenhauer; and (2) that his humanitarian pity is even more characteristic of him than his sadness. The bibliography lists the best Swedish criticisms as well as the Swedish translations.

ERNEST BERNBAUM.

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*Havelok*, herausgegeben von F. HOLTHAUSEN. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Heidelberg, Winter, 1928. Pp. xvi + 140. M. 2.80. The new edition of Holthausen's *Havelok* contains six pages of *nachträge* which serve to bring the edition up to date. Otherwise it is practically the same as the second edition of 1910. The editor ought to have mentioned Mrs. Loomis's discussion of the tale in her valuable book *Mediaeval Romance in England*.

K. M.

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*An Appreciation of Colley Cibber, Actor and Dramatist, together with a Reprint of his Play, "The Careless Husband."* By D. M. E. HABBEMA. Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1928. Pp. 190. The strictures on Cibber of Pope, Dennis, and Dr. Johnson have proved quite as damaging and almost as unfair as those of Dryden on Thomas Shadwell. This study is "the outgrowth of a desire to claim for Colley Cibber a rather higher place . . . than has been allotted to him." Dr. Habbema's points have been made before by Professors Bernbaum, Croissant, and Nicoll, and are generally accepted by scholars, although, one must concede, it is still possible for a reviewer in the *American Mercury* (February, 1929) to refer to Cibber as a "fourth-rater." His odes are certainly not defensible, but the most casual reading of *The Careless Husband*, *She Would and She Would Not*, and the *Apology*, should be enough to convince even a journalist that Pope's splenetic charge of dullness is absurd. Dr. Habbema's text of *The Careless Husband* follows the Bodleian

copy of the first edition (1705), and gives variant readings from five other early editions.

H. S.

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*Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland.* By HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON. Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, 1928 (Islandica, vol. XVIII). To the writer, Sir Joseph Banks is more familiar as the naturalist who accompanied Captain James Cook on his first journey around the globe. In the publication in hand, Hermannsson elaborates the rôle played by Sir Joseph in bringing Iceland nearer to the civilization, and into the ken, of England through his expedition in 1772—a journey, by the way, which Samuel Johnson had at one time contemplated seriously. What the famous Doctor might have accomplished by his pen, the younger member of the Club, and later lifelong President of the Royal Society, did by the charm of his personality and his constant and active interest in 'our little island' (as he once affectionately styled Iceland); though unfortunately he published nothing, and his notes have disappeared.

As Hermannsson points out, Sir Joseph was the first non-Scandinavian of note who for scientific purposes visited the country. His journey was about contemporary with the most critical period of Icelandic history, when the island was being rapidly depopulated through volcanic catastrophes, cold summers, and, most of all, by the disastrous trade restrictions imposed by Denmark. Sir Joseph's sympathies were quickly won by the generally diffused intelligence and the honesty of the inhabitants, but he noted also their discouragement, sadness, and lack of 'sagacity.' He busied himself with plans for the amelioration of their fate. It is interesting to speculate, as does Hermannsson, what consequences the annexation to England, favored by many Icelanders, and seriously advocated by Sir Joseph during the Napoleonic wars, might have had on their economic and cultural development, and on Scandinavian studies.

The story of Banks' connection with Iceland is documented, rather too fully, with letters and official documents, and illustrated handsomely with 24 full-page collotypes of drawings and water-colors of scenes, buildings, and costumes by the artists who accompanied the expedition. The three portraits of Sir Joseph himself—one by Reynolds—show a most sympathetic, handsome countenance dominated by large black eyes. After looking at these likenesses one is ready to understand Napoleon's *bon mot* that Sir Joseph was so popular in France that his name would have been a passport.

L. M. HOLLANDER.

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*Vie politique de Victor Hugo.* By PIERRE DE LACRETELLE. Paris, Hachette, 1928. Pp. 252. This is a capital book, and indeed it is interesting to note that the author (do not confuse with the novelist, Jacques de Lacretelle) so far, is known as a critic only by one volume, *Origines et Jeunesse de Lamartine*.

After a very careful study of the documents of the case, especially newspaper files, the author gives a most searching history of the political career of Hugo. Students will be dumfounded when they come to realize how much time the author of *Les Misérables* and of the *Légende des siècles* devoted to political activities. One does not see how it was possible to crowd in that work besides the enormous amount represented by literature. The center of interest in that political career, which most Hugo students (following Biré) had placed in Hugo's transferring his sympathies from traditionalism to free-thinking in politics as in philosophy, and in his change from an anti-Napoleonist into one of the creators of the Napoleonic legend, is shifted entirely and put between the years 1830 to 1852. There is a very melancholy side to the book, the tale of the unceasing blunders of Hugo, originating in his remarkable refusal to consider realities as factors to be dealt with; for, most of his failures to realize his political ambitions have no other cause. Lacretelle conceals none of these mistakes; he proves even very severe in his appreciations, most of the time; but of course he has facts that support his indictments. On the other hand, the reader must not allow himself to be misled by strong expressions isolated from the context, as when the "orgueil surhumain" is given as the chief cause of failure. As one reads on, one understands more and more that we are miles away from that spirit of muckraking that some "very superior" professors and critics have adopted in dealing with Hugo—and which succeeds so well in undergraduate classes. The author of this book, on account of the good that Hugo often meant to do and might have done, deplores the bad features and the awkwardnesses of the poet. After all, when Hugo dreams one after the other of "la république sans républicains, l'empire sans empereur, Dieu sans Eglise, le Parlement sans partis, l'Idée dépouillée de toutes ses conséquences" . . . they are the "petits côtés d'une vraie grandeur." The last chapter "Le verdict populaire" ends thus:

Devant cette pompe inouïe [des funérailles] le monde aurait pu croire que le fondateur de la république française venait de disparaître. C'était le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qui entraînait dans l'histoire avec celui qui fut l'écho sonore de ses enthousiasmes et de ses passions.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Aronstein, Philipp.—Das englische Renaissance Drama. *Leipzig and Berlin*: B. G. Teubner, 1929. Pp. x + 336. M. 14.

Blanks, Anthony Faulkner (ed.).—Essay Backgrounds for Writing and Speaking. *New York*: Scribner's, 1929. Pp. xiii + 378.

Callaway, Morgan, Jr.—Recent Works in the Field of English Linguistics, 1921-1927 (Studies in English, No. 8). *Austin*: University of Texas, 1928. Pp. 5-41.

De Witt, M. E.—Practical Material for the Improvement of General and Lyrical Diction, and Voice. 1927. 17 mimeographed sheets.

Flitcroft, John E.—The Novelist of Vermont, a Biographical and Critical Study of Daniel Pierce Thompson. *Harvard University Press*, 1929. Pp. xxiv + 329. \$3.50.

Goodman, Henry.—Creating the Short Story, A Symposium-Anthology. *New York*: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. Pp. xiii + 508. \$2.25. [Contemporary short story writers on their art with characteristic stories.]

Jessup, Alexander (ed.).—Representative Modern Short Stories. *New York*: Macmillan, 1929. Pp. xiv + 950. \$5.00. [1819-1926, with useful lists of Representative Short Stories—American, English, French, Russian, German; large type.]

Kurath, H.—American Pronunciation; Barnes, Matthew.—Words from the French, -É, -ÉE; Bridges, Robert.—Pronunciation of *Clothes*, etc. (S. P. E. Tract. No. XXX). *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 279-309. 2 s. 6 d.

Kurtz, Benjamin P.—Gifer the Worm, an Essay toward the History of an Idea (U. of Cal. Publications in English, Vol. II, No. 2). *U. of Cal. Press*, 1929. Pp. 235-261. \$0.30.

Magoun, Francis Peabody, Jr. (ed.).—The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments. *Harvard University Press*, 1929. Pp. x + 261. \$3.50.

Marsh, George L. (ed.).—Poetry and Prose of John Hamilton Reynolds. *New York*: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 196. \$1.25.

McGee, John A.—Persuasive Speaking. *New York*: Scribner's, 1929. Pp. xviii + 300.

McMaster, Helen Neill.—Margaret Fuller as a Literary Critic (University of Buffalo

Studies, Monographs in English, No. 1). *University of Buffalo*, 1928. Pp. 35-100.

Pienaar, W. J. B.—English Influences in Dutch Literature and Justus Van Effen as Intermediary, an Aspect of Eighteenth Century Achievement. *Cambridge University Press*, 1929. Pp. x + 260. 15 s.

Read, Herbert (ed.).—A Sentimental Journey by Laurence Sterne. *London*: Scholartis Press, 1929. Pp. xlv + 230. 7 s. 6 d.

Shakespeare, William.—Twelfth Night, a Facsimile of the First Folio Text. *Boston and New York*: Houghton Mifflin, 1928. Pp. ii + 255—275 + ii. \$2.00.

Thaler, Alwin.—Shakespeare's Silences. *Harvard University Press*, 1929. Pp. x + 279. \$3.50.

University of Texas Bulletin.—No. 2826, Studies in English, No. 8. *Austin*: U. of Texas Press, 1928. Pp. 128.

Weseen, Maurice H.—Crowell's Dictionary of English Grammar and Handbook of American Usage. *New York*: Crowell, 1928. Pp. x + 703. \$4.50.

## GERMAN

Becker, Nikolaus Paul.—Die Schäden der deutschen Zeitungssprache, ihre Ursachen und ihre Heilung. *Berlin*: Deutscher Sprachverein [1928]. 127 pp. M. 2.

Berger, Arnold E.—Lessings geistesgeschichtliche Stellung. *Darmstadt*: E. Hofmann & Co., 1929. 45 pp. M. 1.50.

Fiedler, H. G.—German Short Stories, selected and annotated. With Vocabulary by H. E. Fiedler. *New York*: Oxford Univ. Press, 1928. 134 pp. \$1.00.

Geisberg, Max.—Hans Sachs. Des Dichters 107 originale Holzschnittbilderbogen. 200 Faksimile-Wiedergaben, davon 20 handkoloriert. 4 Bde. *München*: Hugo Schmidt [1928]. 50, 5 × 40 cm. M. 640.

Hinz, Stella M.—Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation after 1860 [Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit. No. 26]. *Madison*: 1928. 303 pp.

Holsten, Robert.—Sprachgrenzen im pommerischen Plattdeutsch. [Form u. Geist, H. 8]. *Leipzig*: Eichblatt, 1928. 73 pp. M. 5.

Kemmerich, Gustav.—Paul Heyse als Romanschriftsteller [Forschungen zur Literatur-, Theater- und Zeitungswissenschaft. Bd. 5]. *Oldenburg*: Schulzesche Hofbuchdruckerei, 1928. iv, 94 pp. M. 4.

Kochs, Theodor.—Das deutsche geistliche Tagelied. [Forschungen u. Funde. H. 22]. (Diss. Münster, 1927). *Münster*: Aschen-dorff, 1928. vi, 127 pp. M. 5.55.

**Knevels, Wilh.**—Fritz Philippi als religiöser Dichter. *Leipzig*: A. Klein, 1929. 98 pp. M. 2.

**Lensner, Herman J.**—Neuer praktischer Lehrgang der deutschen Sprache für Anfänger. *New York*: Holt [1928]. liii, 355 pp. \$1.60.

**Mann, Georg.**—Lessings Pädagogik. [Friedr. Mann's pädag. Magazin. H. 100]. *Langensalza*: H. Beyer & Söhne, 1929. 70 pp. M. 1.60.

**Martin, Bernhard.**—Bibliographie zur deutschen Mundartenforschung und -dichtung in den Jahren 1921-26 (mit Nachträgen zu früheren Jahren). [Teuthonista, Beiheft 2]. *Bonn*: F. Klopp, 1929. vii, 206 pp. M. 21.

**May, Kurt.**—Das Weltbild in Gellert Dichtung [Deutsche Forschungen. H. 21]. (Hab.-Schrift Erlangen, 1925). *Frankfurt a. M.*: Diesterweg, 1928. vii, 170 pp. M. 7.20.

**Pini, Gerhard.**—Die Lessingstadt Wolfenbüttel und ihre Dichter Lessing, Raabe, Busch. *Wolfenbüttel*: Heckner, 1929. vii, 111 pp. M. 3.

**Platter, Thomas, der Jüngere.**—Thomas Platters des Jüngeren Englandfahrt im Jahre 1599. Nach der Hs. d. öffentl. Bibliothek d. Univ. Basel hrsg. von Hans Hecht. *Halle*: Niemeyer, 1929. xl, 181 pp. M. 8.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE BANCROFT MANUSCRIPTS OF ROSSETTI'S SONNETS

A considerable body of variants of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sonnets exists both in manuscript and in the printed versions from 1850 to 1881. Such variants are fascinating in the case of any poet, giving us, as they do, insight into his technique and the temper of his aesthetic feeling and, in the fullest cases, into his more comprehensive and subtler imaginative processes. This is peculiarly true of a poet of such intensely focused and subjective meaning as Rossetti. For this reason I present here variants of fifteen sonnets in the manuscript collection of Mrs. Samuel Bancroft, of Wilmington, Delaware. The collection contains also two hitherto unpublished sonnets which I give here. I wish to thank Mrs. Bancroft for her very generous permission to use them as well as the other manuscripts.

Rossetti's earlier sonnets show, so far as our evidence goes, more change than the later: more hesitation in the embodiment in figure and word of the first concept, and more enlargement and shift of that first concept when the poet later reconsidered them. The Bancroft version of the sonnet on Keats, however, as compared with the form printed in 1881, shows much reworking. In general the changes are of two types, the first of which illuminates Rossetti's aesthetics and technique, the second the habit of his imagination and the temper of his thought.

There are numerous changes of a word or two, to secure exactness, as for example, in the first line of Sonnet XLI, and also in a whole sentence or in the shaping of an image, to secure greater lucidity, as in the same sonnet. The changes, however, are often made not for meaning but for aesthetic satisfaction, as in Sonnet LXXX, and for suggestiveness. These variations underline the

impression derived from the finished sonnets, of Rossetti's delight in luscious and richly colored effects, and at the same time in those melting into shadows crowded with dim intimation.

Of even greater interest are the changes evidently wrought under the deepest impulses of Rossetti's imagination. We have seen how his taste turned to the luscious and richly wrought—a counterpart of the amazingly rich colors poured into the early watercolors. So in reshaping the thought or concept of the sonnets, the poet is apt to crowd in more esoteric and symbolic meaning, to generalize the meaning and to mysticize his interpretation of it. In none of the following variants is this shown so fully as in *The Monochord* or *For a Venetian Pastoral*; yet sonnets XLI, XLIII, and *Keats* are interesting examples.

But the reader will feel these points more fully for himself in the variants which follow.<sup>1</sup>

From *The House of Life*.

Sonnet XXVIII.

Soul-light] Lovelight:

with

9. with the sun] *in* the sun:

Sonnet XXIX.

Glorying I gaze

3. Glorying I gaze] *To all thou art*

To thee thy

4. To thee thy tribute] *Its* [illegible] tribute

5. assess] *express* assess

11. will] [illegible]

*doth*

will

Sonnet XXXI.

Her Gifts] My Lady's Gifts.

11. Love's] *his*: Love's

Sonnet XXXIII.

with

3. with] *thy*

Sonnet XXXV,

The Lamp's Shrine] The Love-Lamp,

Sonnet XLI,

like

as

1. *The*

fain

moonclouds *swift* to

*heights where the clouds flee*

<sup>1</sup> Italics have been used to indicate words crossed out. The new reading is given above or below the cancelled one.—EDS.

- as
2. Like *The* winds.
- As circumfluence
3. *The* Like multiform malifluence
- As
4. . . . tie. *The* like terrors
5. Of fire dumb tongued etc.
- 6-8. A first version so crisscrossed as to be illegible, but of which the very first draft reads:
- Are as man's mirror dimmed with passing breath  
Art [?] shows [illegible] his face the wings of death  
Shadows [illegible] shoals that edge eternity.
- This is crossed through and after it is written:
- eyes by
- So to our *hearts*, dimmed *with* our breath  
Teems ever more with images of death  
Shadows and shoals that edge eternity.
- than
10. . . . or flight
- or
11. . . . to brood
14. whose guest is Love?
- Underneath the sonnet evidently as a tentative conclusion is written:
- As are the feet of Love.

## Sonnet XLIII.

- Even now the  
1. Kiss once again. Full many a withered  
Full many a  
                one at last  
5. Yet lo! this hour a bird, Springs  
6. byway] byeway.  
                <sup>e</sup>  
7. Those years] those year/s  
8. Kiss once again, my love; for we are here  
       of in  
10. of] in of  
                sunshine  
12. sole sunshine] sole love sun  
       but discern where mid dark night we grope  
13. Or only, through some night of which we grope  
       where deep in night we grope  
       through night's unfeatured scope

Sonnet LIX. [This version is typewritten.]

1. to his singer held a glistening leaf] held to me a glistening laurel leaf.
7. grasses] <sup>grasses</sup> *grapes*

Sonnet LXIII.

Inclusiveness] Questions For Answer  
Are not their lives and thy life

3. *And every life among them* in likewise  
Each
4. *Is*
- 5-7. Say, hast thou bent o'er thy son's sleep to brood  
How his face may watch thine where cold it lies?  
Or pondered, when thy mother kissed thine eyes.
8. his] thy
- 13-14. As in the printed version; but at the bottom of the MS. is  
written evidently as a tentative new conclusion:  
And may be burned on lidless eyes in Hell  
The one thing seen where all things are in vain.

Sonnet LXXX.

9. thought that is at length full grown] thought that *knows its*  
is at length full grown.
10. sun-smit paths all gray:] *sun-smit* all  
*distant* paths, so grey  
impelled
13. impelled.] *availed*

Sonnet LXXXI.

Memorial Thresholds] *Stations, The Gate of Memory*  
Memory's Threshold

1. unrevealed] *unconjectured*  
*unimagined*
4. like *the* [illegible] long ago  
frost bound, fire-girt scenes of
10. Power] power  
Even
12. With one *lost* figure filled etc.
- 13-14. As in the printed version; but at the bottom of the MS. is  
written evidently as a tentative new version of line 13,  
some wind  
Or shall the winds whirl round forever more  
Or let the vain winds whirl for evermore.

Sonnet LXXXVIII.

14. them or thee] thee or me

Sonnet XCVI.

1. with shadow etc.] in shadow of pain or dread.
2. perchance hath] needs must have
7. Frail fugitive] Deciduous

[At bottom of Ms.] *pall* *spanned*  
*crown* *do:*  
*wreath* *crowned*

From "Five English Poets."

IV. John Keats.

1. London] *city*
2. strange road] the lane  
*hospital*
3. *That winds* Between the *lazar* beds of [illegible]ning pain

4. That brink of Castaly and Latmos' steep  
   deeper and more deep  
   feet
5. Such were his paths; till last his *steps* sank deep  
     He trod the
6. *In the dull* sands of Lethe; and his brain
7. spurned] scorned
8. Drowsed where the shadow of dead Rome wraps his sleep.
9. whose reverberant] who with resonant
10. And heart strung lyre awoke] tabret and timbrel woke
- 12-14. To us thou leavest their fragrance and a name  
           Not writ but spoken in water, while thy fame  
           Echoes along time's flood forever more

## V. Shelley.

- who hold'st
10. to whom] *to whom*
- the    through thy brief
12. reigned] *was*; through thy brief] *o'er steep*s of
- Past doubt
13. Past doubt] (*Thank God!*)
14. And in Truth's bright] and in that thy

Raleigh's *Celt in the Tower*.

## First version.

1. Here writ] writ here
3. paces] cubits
6. time] while

## Second version.

- albeit
2. albeit his world] but [illegible] world
- paces
3. paces] *cubits*
- o'er
7. o'er] *to strange*
- country's high
8. his country's high] *his* [illegible] *free*

## HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SONNETS.

## I.

O thou whose name being alone, aloud  
 I utter oft, and though thou art not there  
 Perceive thy pictured presence fill the air  
 O art thou from thy Heaven-house towards me bow'd

Or  
 { [illegible] vainly now poor wretch deny  
   *Who in thy glance* would not accept the shroud  
     yearn to    most bitter  
 And *gladly* yield the *whole* of life's poor wane

Only to listen to thy voice again?  
 Love should unto Death [illegible] plumed and proud.  
 [?] Alas  
*A few from*  
 With many thoughts of many hours reserved  
           in this chamber   where   ere  
 Stand *here alone, aye*, one *that erst was two*  
 The glass stands empty of all things it knew  
           hath not memory [?] here a power appeared  
 Yet [illegible] *hath sweet memory here her*  
 As balmy as the breath of her you loved  
 When deep between her breasts it came to you.

Variants from another incomplete version, lines 3-6, 8-9, 12.

3. Around thy pictured presence—[illegible] air
4. Lit as with star breath, art thou towards me bow'd
5. Who wd not for one bride pulse seek the shroud
6. Or give the year's eclipse most bitter wane.
8. To see the loved one as she was again?
9. And death with one more life go plumed and proud.
12. Here in our chamber

## II.

### Filli Filia

Upon a sun-scorched road when noon was deep  
 I passed a little consecrated shrine  
 Where among simple pictures ranged in line  
 The Blessed Mary held her son asleep.  
 To kneel her [here?], shepherd-children leave their sheep  
 When silence broods at heart of the sunshine,  
 And again kneel here in the day's decline,  
 And here when their life ails them come to weep.  
  
 Night being full, I passed on this same road  
 By the same shrine. Within a lamp was lit,  
 Which through the depth of utter darkness glow'd.  
 Thus, after heat of life, when doubts arise  
 Dire-hurtling, faith's pure lamp must beam on it,  
 How oft unlit, alas! how oft that dies!

RUTH WALLERSTEIN.

*The University of Wisconsin.*

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DID KEATS FINISH *HYPERION*?

Mr. John Middleton Murry<sup>1</sup> in attempting to prove that Keats's *Hyperion, A Fragment* is not a fragment but a finished poem, argues as follows:

"The second source of the legend [that the poem is a fragment] is that the poem was entitled 'Hyperion: a Fragment' and ends abruptly:

At length  
Apollo shrieked: and lo! from all his limbs  
Celestial . . . . .  
. . . . .

As a matter of fact we know from the manuscript that the poem ended perfectly with the line:

Apollo shrieked: and lo! he was a god.

The first *Hyperion* was a 'fragment,' but it was a finished fragment. Keats did not intend it to be continued. Nevertheless, since its fragmentary character is an essential part of its conception, and since by its own nature it could not be more complete than it was, Keats very rightly emphasized its fragmentary character to the outward eye by ending it abruptly and vaguely with a chain of stars."

Mr. Murry is, as I think can be shown, altogether wrong. In the first place, he assumes that the revised lines with which the poem closes in the MS. and which form the broken end of the poem in all editions from 1820 on were put there by Keats merely to trick the public into believing that a poem he really considered finished was a fragment. This assumption does not fit the case. The *Hyperion* MS.<sup>2</sup> consists of twenty-seven tall folio sheets, written in Keats's own hand, on one side only. *Many words and lines are cancelled*. In other words the MS. shows so many instances of revision that it is impossible to believe that the changed lines at the end were revised merely to create the illusion of a fragment. These changes, as in the case of all the others, were made to please the taste of the poet.

In the second place Mr. Murry is not accurate in his reading of what he calls the original final line. He says, ". . . the poem ended perfectly with the line:

<sup>1</sup> *Keats and Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1925), p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Prof. G. W. Sherburn of the University of Chicago for examining for me Keats's own MS. now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 37000).

Apollo shrieked—and lo! he was a god.”

As a matter of fact the MS. ends as follows:<sup>3</sup>

*Phoebus* shreiked—and lo *he was the God!*  
 Apollo from all his limbs  
*And-god-like*  
 Celestial

It would seem to be clear that Keats first wrote:

Phoebus shreiked—and lo he was the God!  
 And god like

Mr. Murry's statement is wrong on "Phoebus," on the spelling of "shreiked," on the "the" before "God," on the exclamation point, and—most important of all—on the fragmentary half-line "And god like." But apparently this wording did not please the poet and so he changed it to the one with which we are familiar in all printed texts (with the spelling and punctuation corrected):

Apollo shreiked—and lo! from all his limbs  
 Celestial

Such re-writing is clear indication that the poet had not at all finished the poem, but was trying desperately to go on with it—and could not. In view of this criticism, I think there can be no truth in Mr. Murry's statement (p. 82), "These facts dispose completely of the legend that the first *Hyperion* was unfinished."

It is just possible that some time later the poet did complete the last line, for in the Woodhouse transcript of *Hyperion*<sup>4</sup> there is still another ending to the poem in which the last line, filled in with pencil, reads:

Clestial glory *brake* dawn'd: he was a god!<sup>5</sup>

But this is an entirely different MS., one which Woodhouse, according to Forman, copied from Keats's MS. and on which he indicated in pencil "subsequent omissions and alterations."<sup>6</sup> Since the pencilled words, "glory *brake* dawn'd: he was a god!" do not appear

<sup>3</sup> Italics represent words crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> See H. Buxton Forman, *Poetry and Prose of John Keats* (London, 1890), p. 19 and J. M. Murry, *Keats and Shakespeare*, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Murry, p. 230, does not include the cancelled "brake."

<sup>6</sup> Forman, *op. cit.*, p. 17.



in the Keats MS., there is no real evidence that Keats ever conceived them. But even if we should grant that they are by Keats and were given to Woodhouse to add to his copy of the poem, they do not prove that *Hyperion* as a whole was finished. They are, at best, merely the completion of the fragmentary line suggested to a friend. They in no way bestow completion on the poet's own unfinished MS.

But Mr. Murry's argument is not concluded. He goes on to say, "In July, however, Keats took up the poem again. He began that process which he described in his letter to Bailey of 15th August 1819: 'I have been rewriting parts of my *Hyperion*.' This re-writing consisted, *as the phrase itself would suggest*, not in a continuation of, nor an attempt to continue, the first *Hyperion*, but in the amplification of *the already finished poem*."<sup>7</sup> Now while I have not seen the MS. of this letter, I have consulted a number of editions of the letters and find that every one reads, "I have been writing [not rewriting] parts of my *Hyperion*." Moreover, Mr. Murry, himself, in the appendix to his book quotes the letter again on page 242 as "writing" and refers to it again on page 243 as "writing" and not "rewriting." I am not at the moment concerned with whether the reference in the letter to Bailey of August 15, 1819, is to *Hyperion, A Fragment* or to *Hyperion: A Vision*. My immediate interest is in showing that Mr. Murry has in no way proved that the first *Hyperion* is a finished poem.

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#### NOTES ON PROFESSOR GARROD'S *KEATS*

In Professor Garrod's acute and stimulating study of Keats the suggestion is made that the poet's "great Ode" stanza pattern was first developed in the spring of 1819, out of the sonnet.<sup>1</sup> Calling attention to Keats's expressed dissatisfaction with the "pouncing rhymes" of the Petrarchan octave: *abbaabba*, with the "too elegiac" quality of the Shakespearian sonnet, and with the Shakespearian final couplet, Professor Garrod maintains that the

<sup>7</sup> *Keats and Shakespeare*, p. 82. The italics are mine.

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Garrod, *Keats*, Oxford, 1926; pp. 83 ff.

new Ode stanza was concocted out of a Shakespearian quatrain, *abab*, plus a Petrarchan sestet, *cdecde* or *cdedce*. Such a synthetic stanza would in fact seem to contain two of the distinguishing features of the sonnet, and at the same time to eliminate the three distasteful elements.

For certain reasons, however, it seems to me unlikely that Keats's magnificent Ode stanza is in any sense a modification of the sonnet. In the first place, the poet's own specific attempt to dispense with the objectionable features of the sonnet is found in the experimental lines beginning "If by dull rhymes",<sup>2</sup> of which the rime-scheme, *abc abd cab cde de*, is utterly unlike that of any of the great Odes. Then too, the first of the great Odes, the *Ode to Psyche*, written at the same time as the experimental lines which I have just mentioned, can hardly be described as an attempt to avoid the "too elegiac" quality of the Shakespearian sonnet, for it is full of elegiac quatrains.

More important than these considerations are two other factors which Professor Garrod seems to have overlooked. In the first place, the six great Odes,<sup>3</sup> in their subjects, in their method of treatment, in their mood, represent a complete departure from the sonnets. In about eight only of Keats's sixty-five sonnets is the substance at all comparable to that of the great Odes, and in half of these<sup>4</sup> the strict pattern is not followed. In general when Keats wishes to dwell expansively, meditatively, lyrically upon an abstract idea, he eschews the sonnet entirely and turns to some form of Ode, as he admittedly did in *Fancy*. This poem, written in December, 1818, months before the sonnet experiments and the composition of the *Ode to Psyche*, Keats himself calls "a sort of rondeau which I think I shall become partial to—because you have one idea amplified with greater ease and more delight and freedom than in the sonnet."<sup>5</sup>

There is another bit of evidence even more damaging to Professor

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Works of John Keats*, ed. H. Buxton Forman, Glasgow, 1900-01; v, 58 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ode to Psyche*, *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, *Ode on Melancholy*, *Ode to a Nightingale*, *Ode on Indolence*, *To Autumn*.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. *On Peace*, "O thou whose face," *To Sleep*, "How fever'd is the man."

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Works of Keats*, iv, 207.

Garrod's contention that the great Ode pattern was developed out of the sonnet, as a result of the experiments of early May, 1819. This evidence is found in the rime-scheme of Keats's *On a Lock of Milton's Hair*, lines to which Keats himself "would have been . . . content to give the title Ode", thinks Professor Garrod (p. 76). Although these lines vary in length, two of the stanzas have a rime-pattern almost the same as that which we find in the great Odes: *abab cddeed* in the first stanza, and *abab cddcee* in the last. These stanzas were written in January, 1818, a year and a half before those sonnet experiments which, according to Professor Garrod's theory, led to the development of a new Ode stanza. Moreover, their rime-patterns had been used in Ode stanzas in English poetry long before Keats's day.<sup>6</sup>

My conclusion, therefore, is that the stanza of the great Odes is not a concoction made in the spring of 1819 out of the *disjecta membra* of the sonnet. The sonnet was rejected almost completely, not only because its pattern was in part distasteful, but also because it was not a fit vehicle for the new class of subjects with which the poet was preoccupied. To express these he turned to the Ode, using as a stanza pattern an adaptation of the older Ode stanza of his predecessors and of his own *On a Lock of Milton's Hair*, with a slight rearrangement of rimes, and an increased proportion of pentameter lines.<sup>7</sup>

A careful examination of Professor Garrod's *Keats* reveals a number of errors which have crept into the text. Many of these are in themselves trivial; some, however, seriously affect Professor Garrod's evidence; and others, his methods of treatment.

It is in his attempts to establish the chronology of Keats's sonnets that the author's logical methods are most questionable. Professor Garrod assumes that all sonnets of similar rime-scheme are likely

<sup>6</sup> For *abab cddeed*, see John Langhorne's *Ode to the River Eden* in G. Pearch's *Collection of Poems* (1770), iv, 166; also Mark Akenside, *Odes on Several Subjects*, Book I, Ode II; or Christopher Smart's Odes III, X, and XVI in Chalmers's *English Poets*, xvi; 17, 21, 23; or Gray's Odes *On the Spring* and *On . . . Eton College*. For *abab cddcee*, see the *Ode to a Singing Bird* by a "Mr. Richardson, of Queen's College, Oxon." in Pearch, iv, 141.

<sup>7</sup> This conclusion, and several of my comments in this article, were first suggested in my unpublished Harvard dissertation, *The Style of Keats's Spenserian Stanzas, Sonnets, and Odes*, 1927.

to have been composed at about the same time (p. 144). But the unsoundness of this principle is amply demonstrated by the sole instance in which the dates of all the sonnets having the same rime-scheme are definitely established by external evidence. We know that of the three Petrarchan sonnets with sestet riming *cdcdde* the first, sonnet 1,<sup>8</sup> is dated in George Keats's own transcript "August, 1816";<sup>9</sup> the second, sonnet ix, was written on January 22, 1818;<sup>10</sup> and the third and last, "Of late two dainties," on July 17, 1818.<sup>11</sup> Obviously we cannot assume nearness in chronology from identity of rime-scheme. But Professor Garrod does so, even sacrificing external evidence if necessary, as in vi, which he assigns to April, 1817 (p. 144), in order to place it next to the similarly rimed vii, despite Woodhouse's MS. note "March 16, 1816."

An even more startling treatment of chronology is seen in the grouping of the sonnets having Petrarchan two-rime sestets. All but four of these have the sestet rimes arranged *cdcdcd*. Professor Garrod settles the chronology of three out of the four exceptions very simply (pp. 142 f.). He assigns 7 to November, 1815, though to do so involves the supreme sacrifice of following Miss Lowell. "But," he says in self-defense, "I do not know what the authority for her statement is." Had he consulted the eighty-third page of her first volume he might have found ample reasons at least in support of her dating. The next exception, *On Peace*, Professor Garrod manhandles by arbitrarily altering the title to *On the Peace* and then associating this sonnet with "the second Peace of Paris (Nov. 1815)," in defiance of all other Keats chronologists.<sup>12</sup> The third exception, *Written in Disgust of Vulgar Superstition*,

<sup>8</sup> For convenience' sake I shall indicate sonnets by the same method used by Professor Garrod: arabic numerals for those composing the section "*Sonnets*" in the 1817 volume; roman numerals for those posthumously printed sonnets collected in one section in Professor de Sélincourt's edition, 1905; and titles or opening phrases for the remainder.

<sup>9</sup> Amy Lowell, *John Keats*, 1925; i, 158.

<sup>10</sup> *Complete Works of Keats*, iv, 65.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 140.

<sup>12</sup> The markedly juvenile style of this sonnet suggests that it was composed early. Its general tenor suits well with the establishment of peaceful conditions after the fall of Paris, March 31, 1814, or the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Miss Lowell, de Sélincourt, and Colvin agree in assigning the sonnet to one or the other of these periods. There is no evidence or authority for associating it with any specific treaty of peace.

was dated by Tom Keats himself "Sunday evening, Dec. 24, 1816." Now December 24 was not a Sunday in 1816, so Professor Garrod solves the problem by emending not the week day, or the month day, or the month, but the *year*, to read "1815." "Thus," he concludes, "in the sonnets with two-rhyme sestet, the only variations which there are from the *cdcdcd* pattern fall within a few weeks of one another." But the climax is capped when we discover that he has completely overlooked a fourth variation from the *cdcdcd* pattern, sonnet 4, which he has elsewhere (following Woodhouse) assigned to March, 1816, without noticing that its sestet rimes *cdcdcd* and hence completely demolishes his elaborately wrought conclusion regarding the variations from the *cdcdcd* pattern.

Not only are these methods of dating open to criticism, but in several instances Professor Garrod's conclusions seem to disregard part of the relevant evidence. He says of the *Fragment of an Ode to Maia, Written on May Day, 1818*, that "this is the earliest poem of Keats of which we can say certainly that he himself called it an Ode" (p. 77). As a matter of fact the *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern* contained in Keats's letter to Reynolds, February 3, 1818, are specifically entitled "Ode" in the British Museum holograph.<sup>13</sup>

Then Professor Garrod suggests that the *Ode to Fanny* represents Lord Houghton's maladroitness in combining two unrelated fragments left by Keats; "the first stanza seems, both in theme and in metre, to be wholly unconnected with what follows. Its rhyme-schemes and its line-lengths are quite different from those of the other stanzas" (p. 82). I have never been able to detect any real break in the theme; the first stanza provides an appropriate introduction for what follows, and the emotional tone remains the same throughout the poem. As for the changes in form, they are not important; each of the stanzas in the *Ode to Fanny* has the same number of lines; and although rime-schemes and line-lengths vary, such variations are common in Keats's Odes: only one of his stanzaic Odes follows the same rime-scheme throughout, and only one Ode out of the first thirteen has the same rhythmical pattern in each of its stanzas.

<sup>13</sup> *Complete Works of Keats*, II, 115, n.

Again, in speaking of Coleridge's *Nightingale*, Professor Garrod states categorically that "it was from that poem that he [Keats] took the queer word 'leafits' (for leaflets), which no one before him, save Coleridge in that poem, had ever used in English" (p. 125). The *New English Dictionary*, however, cites four other examples of the use of "leafits" in the third of a century preceding Keats's use (in *Isabella*); and Miss Lowell (I, 623 f.) mentions some of these, as well as Coleridge's use.

The rime-scheme of the octave in the sonnet *On Peace* Professor Garrod describes as *abab bcbc*, on the assumption that "isle" and "smile" in the first quatrain provide a "Cockney" rime with "hail" and "fail" in the second (pp. 142, 146). But I have not been able to find any example of this very low Cockney rime anywhere in Keats's work, nor does he use the octave *abab bcbc* anywhere in his sonnets; so it seems more proper to describe the octave of *On Peace* as riming like a Shakespearian octave, *abab cdcd*.

There are not only these questionable statements regarding *form*, in Professor Garrod's *Keats*, but also one or two dubious suggestions as to the poet's meaning. In an attempt to identify the goddess Psyche with the moth Professor Garrod offers the following explanation:

There shall be a 'bright torch' burning for her, and the casement shall be open to let her in at night. I do not find that any commentator has seized the significance of this symbolism. The open window and the lighted torch—they are to admit and attract the timorous *moth-goddess*, who symbolizes melancholic love.

For this is the deity which these inspired eyes have created. It is only when we come to the last lines with their

bright torch, and a casement ope at night  
To let the warm love in

that we realize that Keats has in fact identified the Psyche who is the soul (love's soul) with the Psyche which means *moth* (pp. 98-9).

There are a number of reasons for rejecting this interpretation of the close of the *Ode to Psyche*. From the time of *The Golden Ass* to Mrs. Henry Tighe the Psyche story has always, as far as I know, dealt with a maiden Psyche who slept in a palace, to whom the god Cupid came, silently and by night, first to fall himself a victim to her charms, and later as a lover and husband.

The opened window and the flaming torch have served since time immemorial as a lure and a signal for the lover that walketh in darkness. Moreover Keats is promising specifically to build for Psyche a fane, a rosy sanctuary, in which he will provide for her

. . . all soft delight  
That shadowy thought can win,  
A bright torch, and a casement ope at night,  
To let the warm Love in.

The poet capitalizes this word "Love" in the 1820 volume, as well as in the letter containing the Ode,<sup>14</sup> though Professor Garrod fails to do so in his quotation. Can there be any doubt that "the warm Love" is Cupid himself? Even Professor Garrod's startling identification of the soul with love's soul can hardly render plausible his suggestion that Keats is promising to Psyche an open window and a lighted candle—traditionally fatal to moths!—by which she may attract herself in the guise of a moth to her own sanctuary.

It is a parallel identification, or confusion, of terms, that explains one of Professor Garrod's difficulties with the logical connection of the last stanza of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*. In this last stanza, says the critic, the Urn "'teases us out of thought, as doth Eternity.' Yet the effect upon which our attention has hitherto been concentrated is that the Urn lifts us out of sense into thought, or at least into 'the spirit'" (p. 106). The whole difficulty here arises from the fact that Professor Garrod makes Keat's "spirit" of the second stanza synonymous with his "thought" of the last. It seems more likely that these two terms represented, in the poet's mind, opposing concepts.

The reader of Professor Garrod's book is bewildered at times by contradictions in the text itself. Against these I should like to forearm him; against the statement that "the pattern *cdedec*" is "employed in three of Keats' sonnets," though the chronological table gives four examples (17, vi, vii, xviii) of this sestet rime (pp. 145, 142); against the statement that "until the end of 1817, Keats composed sonnets upon the Petrarchian pattern exclusively" (p. 84), although, as we have already seen, Professor Garrod ascribes the sonnet *On Peace*, with its peculiar and decidedly non-

<sup>14</sup> *Complete Works of Keats*, v, 58.

Petrarchan rime-scheme, to November, 1815; against the listing of forty-five Petrarchan sonnets in the table, when we had previously been told that "the sonnets of Petrarchian pattern number, in all, 44"; while mention is later made of Keats's "forty-six Petrarchian sonnets"; with a return on the next page to "forty-four Petrarchian sonnets" (pp. 139, 148, 149).

Again, Professor Garrod notes that all but one of the seven Petrarchan sonnets in which the octave is not divided into two quatrains belong to Keats's "earliest period (1815?)" (p. 148), as if the neglect of this division were a distinguishing feature of the poet's early technique. Of the six sonnets which he here relegates to the earliest period, two had already in the chronological table been dated much later: "Minutes are flying"—Oct.-Nov., 1816; v—March, 1817.

The most difficult discrepancy, however, is to be found on page 49, where Professor Garrod suggests some subtle relationship (in fact non-existent) between feminine rimes and two-rime sestets. In the course of the discussion he remarks that "feminine or double rhyme . . . is used in eight sonnets belonging to the months Aug.-Dec. 1816, viz. 'Minutes are quickly' [*sic*], 1, 2, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17—all of them, save the first, sonnets with sestet on two rhymes. Of the nine sonnets written in these months with two-rhyme sestet, all, in fact, save three, show feminine rhyme." If I understand these two statements aright, the only possible interpretation of the first is that in the period Aug.-Dec., 1816, there are eight-minus-one—that is, seven—sonnets which have two-rime sestets and feminine rime; although the second statement assures us that there are only nine-minus-three—that is, six—such sonnets. In actual fact, accepting Professor Garrod's own chronology, there are only two such sonnets.

This same passage, then, exemplifies another type of oversight appearing in Professor Garrod's book. Of the eight sonnets which he lists, stating that "all of them, save the first" are "sonnets with sestet on two rhymes," only two, "Minutes are flying" and 6, do in fact have the two-rime sestet. And of the nine sonnets with two-rhyme sestet written in these months<sup>15</sup> only two,

<sup>15</sup> 11, "Minutes are flying," 9, 13, 8, 14, 6, "As from the," and viii, according to Professor Garrod's own table.



"Minutes are flying" and 6, do in fact contain the feminine rimes which he ascribes to six of them.

There are several other instances in which facts are misstated; for instance, Professor Garrod declares that the variation in line-length in the *Ode to a Nightingale* "is confined to reducing the eighth line of each stanza to three feet" (p. 89), without noting the alexandrine in the second stanza: "And with thee fade away into the forest dim." Again, he describes the stanza pattern of the *Nightingale Ode* and *Indolence* as *abab cde cde* (p. 90), not noting that the second stanza of the *Ode to a Nightingale* is rimed *abab cbd cbd*, while the fifth stanza of the *Ode on Indolence* ends *cdedce*, the sixth *cde ced*. In the same passage he assigns to the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* the rime-scheme *abab cde dce*, though in fact only the first and the last of its five stanzas are so rimed; the second ends with *cde ced*, while the third and fourth have *cde cde*.

When Professor Garrod remarks that after February 4, 1813, "all the sonnets are Shakespearian with three exceptions (xviii, xix, and 'Of late two dainties')" (p. 140), he hardly gives due emphasis to the wide divergences from the Shakespearian pattern seen in xxiii, xxvii, and xxviii;<sup>16</sup> and seems completely to overlook the unrimed sonnet, "O thou whose face," composed on February 19, 1818.

In listing the occasional alexandrines appearing in sonnets (pp. 149 f.), Professor Garrod has overlooked examples in 5: "Whisper'd of peace, and truth, and friendliness unquell'd," and ix: "Give me new Phoenix wings to fly at my desire." Here also he describes as an alexandrine a line which is really a fourteener, the ninth line of *On Peace*: "With England's happiness proclaim Europa's Liberty." In touching upon the types of Petrarchan sonnet used by other poets, he states that Leigh Hunt, prior to 1820, used the *cdcdcd* sestet in only four out of twenty-eight sonnets, although thereafter he used it in five out of nine sonnets (p. 145). As a matter of fact, Hunt wrote six *cdcdcd* sestets out of twenty-eight before 1820, and six out of twelve thereafter.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> These are divergences which he himself had previously dwelt upon, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> All these sonnets are to be found in Leigh Hunt's *Poetical Works*, ed. H. S. Milford, London, 1923; pp. 235-253. Mr. David Lovett, of the Johns Hopkins University, first called attention to this error of Professor Garrod's.

Finally, there are half-a-dozen undoubted misprints which might prove embarrassing to anyone who relied on Professor Garrod's book as an authority: "lead" for "load" in the quotation from the epistle *To Charles Cowden Clarke* (p. 79); "shall" for "can" in the line quoted from the *Lines to Fanny* (p. 82); "24" for "23" in the statement of the number of lines in the first stanza of the *Ode to Psyche* in the 1820 Volume (p. 87); "George" Keats for "Tom" as the authority for the date of *Vulgar Superstition* (p. 143); "Minutes are quickly" as a catch-title for the sonnet "Minutes are flying swiftly," passim; <sup>18</sup> "v" for "iv" where Professor Garrod says that the last line of sonnet v is perhaps an alexandrine (p. 150)—the last line of v is in fact "A sun, a shadow of a magnitude," while iv, which is not mentioned, has "Of their star in the East, and gone to worship them."

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## THE DATE OF WORDSWORTH'S FIRST MEETING WITH HAZLITT

Writing of the date of Hazlitt's first visit to Coleridge in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1927, Professor George W. Whiting thinks it probable "that Hazlitt came to Stowey in the latter part of May or the first part of June." With this assumption Professor George M. Harper is in agreement, inclining to May as preferable; <sup>1</sup> and P. P. Howe, the biographer of Hazlitt, likewise dates the arrival in Stowey "with some certainty at the last days of May."<sup>2</sup> But since J. Dykes Campbell, the biographer of Coleridge, dates the visit "probably in April,"<sup>3</sup> all pertinent evidence should now be set forth. That which follows has not, I believe, been hitherto considered, but it supports the assumption of Harper, Howe, and Whiting.

From Hazlitt's own account of this visit we learn that on the

<sup>18</sup> For a facsimile of the holograph with the proper reading, see the *London Times Literary Supplement* for May 21, 1914, p. 242.

<sup>1</sup> *William Wordsworth*, I, 345, 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Hazlitt*, p. 41 n.

<sup>3</sup> Coleridge, *Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, p. xli.

second day after he reached Nether Stowey "Wordsworth arrived from Bristol at Coleridge's cottage." [Wordsworth] "had been to see *The Castle-Spectre*, by Monk Lewis, while at Bristol, and described it very well. . . . We [Hazlitt and Coleridge] went over to Alfoxden . . . the day following, and Wordsworth read us the story of *Peter Bell* in the open air."<sup>4</sup>

What were the dates of performance in Bristol of *The Castle-Spectre*, a play fresh in Wordsworth's mind when he met Hazlitt? Bonner and Middleton's *Bristol Journal* (vol. xxiv) announces *The Castle-Spectre* for

Monday, April 23. 'Never performed here.'  
 Monday, April 30. 'Performed here but once.'  
 Monday, May 7. 'Third time of performing.'  
 Monday, May 21.  
 Monday, June 4. 'Last time this season.'

The play on May 14 was *The Heir-at-Law*, and on May 28 *The Dramatist*. Therefore Wordsworth, we may assume, returned from Bristol shortly after April 23, April 30, May 7, May 21, or June 4. On one of these dates he must have seen the play.

As Dorothy's *Journal* indicates and as Professor Whiting reminds us, *Peter Bell* was not begun until April 20; and even the early draft of it read to Hazlitt the day following Wordsworth's return from Bristol must have taken some time for its composition. Moreover, on the day after the Bristol performance of April 23 Wordsworth was walking with Coleridge and Dorothy in the neighborhood of Alfoxden and Nether Stowey. He did not see the first performance of *The Castle-Spectre* in Bristol, we may be sure.

Dorothy's *Journal* does not refer to Hazlitt in the record of April 24, 25, 26, 27, when Coleridge and the Wordsworths were every day together, and preoccupied (April 26) with sittings for the Shuter portrait; but we know that on April 10 Hazlitt was in Llangollen Vale waiting a 'week or two' until Coleridge might send for him.<sup>5</sup> Thus we should expect him at Nether Stowey by April 30. In that case, however, his visit of 'three weeks' would conflict most awkwardly with the birth of Berkeley Coleridge on

<sup>4</sup> *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. Waller and Glover, xii, 259-275.

<sup>5</sup> *Life*, p. 31; *Works*, xii, 268.

May 14. For this reason the visit must have been further postponed. Hazlitt returned to Wem from Llangollen; and Dorothy (after a lapse in her record from April 29 through May 5) does not mention him in Coleridge's company May 6, 7, 8. It is unlikely that Wordsworth reported to him the performance of *The Castle-Spectre* for April 30.

On May 6 Wordsworth was at Alfoxden, with scant probability of a hurried trip to Bristol the day following, especially when we consider that on May 9 he sent to Cottle at Bristol a letter inviting him to Alfoxden in terms that imply some lapse of time since the two had conferred. This is strong evidence that Wordsworth did not see the performance of May 7.

*The Castle-Spectre* was performed neither on May 14 nor on May 28. Did Wordsworth attend the performance of May 21? or, less likely, the performance of June 4? On Wednesday, May 16, as Dorothy relates, Coleridge, William, and herself set forward to the Cheddar rocks, sleeping that night at Bridgewater. We are not sure how long the three visited the neighborhood of Cheddar; but from Cross, on their return, Wordsworth carried a letter written by Coleridge to the Reverend J. P. Estlin of Bristol. Wordsworth, says Coleridge, comes to Bristol not only on the chance of seeing Lloyd, but "likewise to see his own Bristol friends, as he is so near them."<sup>6</sup> Cross is about half-way between Bridgewater and Bristol on the road which connects them, and it lies some six miles westerly from Cheddar. Returning from Cheddar the three friends would conveniently part here, Coleridge and Dorothy homeward to receive Hazlitt, Wordsworth for Bristol. The date of Coleridge's letter to Estlin is not established;<sup>7</sup> but I believe that Wordsworth arrived at Bristol in time for the performance of the *Castle-Spectre* on May 21. Hazlitt's three-weeks' visit, if thus begun in the week of May 21, would have ended about the second week of June. This would accord with the circumstances of his departure in company with Coleridge from Bridgewater to Bristol. Thence Hazlitt could pro-

<sup>6</sup> *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, I, 245-246.

<sup>7</sup> I can find no evidence for Howe's assumption that the letter was written May 22 except the invalidated entry in the *Journal*: '22nd, Thursday.—Walked to Cheddar. Slept at Cross.' Knight discovered that May 22, 1798, was Tuesday.

ceed home to Wem, and Coleridge continue to Stoke d'Abernon, where he visited the Wedgwoods "in June."<sup>8</sup>

If, on the other hand, we assume that Wordsworth prolonged his stay in Bristol until June 4, his next and last opportunity of witnessing Lewis' play, we must postpone by two weeks more the already much delayed arrival of Hazlitt at Stowey; in that case Coleridge would have found it difficult to visit Josiah Wedgwood and return by June 26 when Wordsworth and Dorothy came to spend a week with him on their way to Bristol, the Wye, and Germany.<sup>9</sup>

It seems highly probable that Wordsworth saw *The Castle-Spectre* in Bristol May 21, 1798, and shortly thereafter described it to William Hazlitt.

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## THE FIRST REVIEW OF WORDSWORTH'S POETRY

John Louis Haney, in his *Early Reviews of English Poets*, reprints a review of Wordsworth's *Descriptive Sketches* from the *Monthly Review* for October, 1793, in order to show the early hostility of the reviewers to Wordsworth's poetry.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, he reprints a review of *An Evening Walk*, 'simply an appended paragraph to the previous article.'<sup>2</sup>

Another review of Wordsworth's *An Evening Walk* was published under date of March, 1794, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Though written some six months before, September 6, 1793, and thus antedating by a month the *Monthly Review* for October, 1793, it is important from yet another standpoint: instead of being hostile and censorious, it is extremely favorable. The reviewer is highly pleased with *An Evening Walk*; so well pleased, indeed, that he trusts that Wordsworth 'will restore to us that laurel to which, since Gray laid down "his head upon the lap of earth," and Mason "declined into the vale of years," we have had so slight

<sup>8</sup> Sandford, *Thomas Poole and his Friends*, I, 271.

<sup>9</sup> Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 118.

<sup>1</sup> John Louis Haney, *Early Reviews of English Poets*, Philadelphia, 1904, pp. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

pretensions.' We are content to let his zeal for Wordsworth more than make up for his literary acumen.

Apparently this review has been overlooked by Wordsworth's commentators. It is not noticed, for instance, by Knight or Harper, Poole or Haney—probably because what Mr. Haney says of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is, as a rule, true, 'In literature it printed merely a "Register of New Books" without comment of any sort.'<sup>3</sup>

51. *An Evening Walk, an Epistle to a Young Lady, from the Lakes of the North of England.* By W. Wordsworth, A. B., of St. John's College, Cambridge.

*Reviewed by a Travelling Correspondent.*

Mr. URBAN,

Penrith, Sept. 6.

ON my arrival at this place, after having just compleated a tour of the Lakes, I chanced yesterday to meet with Mr. Wordsworth's poem. I have read it through carefully more than once; and, finding myself much pleased with it, not only as a poem in the abstract, but more particularly as a companion of the traveller who knows how to feel and estimate the real beauties of Nature, and, at the same time, is not averse to the children of the Muse; I know not how I can better repay to these delightful vales the very large debt of pleasure I owe them, than by attempting farther to extend the prevalence of their charms, by recommending this poem to the attention of their several visitants.

Of the author of this poem the only knowledge I can boast is that of having seen him once or twice while I was his contemporary at Cambridge. The only time, indeed, that I have a clear recollection of having met him, I remember his speaking very highly in praise of the beauties of the North; with a warmth indeed which, at that time, appeared to me hardly short of enthusiasm. He mentioned too, which appears also from the present poem, that he had received the whole of his education in the very bosom of the Lakes, at a small seminary, which has produced of late years in our University several names which have done it very considerable credit.

After giving a short characteristic sketch of the principal Lakes, he concludes the enumeration with that of Esthwaite, the name of the one which adorns the sweet vale,

"where *he* taught, a happy child,  
The echoes of the rocks *his* carols wild."

After some beautiful and pathetic lines which contrast his present with his former wanderings,

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction p. xliv.

"When link'd with thoughtless mirth *he* cours'd the plain,  
And hope itself was all *he* knew of pain,"

he checks his complaints, and proceeds thus,

"Say, will my friend, with soft affection's ear,  
The hist'ry of a poet's evening hear?"

Afterwards succeeds a very accurate and well-marked description of a sultry summer's noon, and a waterfall, which, as a note informs us, is meant to convey the features of that delicious little scene, the lower cascade at Rydal, where he hides himself

"Till eve's mild hour invites his steps abroad."

Among the several particulars of his Walk your readers will admire the following description of a slate quarry. . . .<sup>4</sup>

I am unwilling to trouble you much with quotations, otherwise I should be tempted to transcribe Mr. Wordsworth's spirited description of the cock, or his very elegant one of the swan, and the tale of the beggar which succeeds it. You will excuse me, however, if, farther to justify the good opinion I have conceived of this poem, I request your insertion of the following description of the Northern lights, and that of night which succeeds it. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Of this poem I have yet seen no review. I wish the pleasure, which I myself have received from it, to be imparted to others who shall have to make, or who have already made, the same tour. Lest, however, anyone should be tempted to look into this poem by my recommendation and find himself disappointed, I must forewarn your readers that no description of particular spots is here aimed at; such an attempt in poetry could have been productive of little but vague, uninteresting, description, and tiresome repetition: they will find, however, the general imagery of the country enumerated and described with a spirit and elegance which prove that the author has viewed nature with the attentive and warm regard of a true poet. Feeling for the credit of my own University, I think we have reason to expect much from this, I suppose, first production (though by no means a faultless one) of Mr. W's muse; I trust he will restore to us that laurel to which, since Gray laid down "his head upon the lap of earth," and Mason "declined into the vale of years," we have had so slight pretensions. From the concluding page of this poem I am glad to find it is not the only offspring of Mr. Wordsworth's pen; he there advertises "Descriptive Sketches taken during a pedestrian Tour in the Alps."

PEREGRINATOR.

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<sup>4</sup> Here follow lines 7-18, which may be found on page 5 of the Everyman's edition of *The Longer Poems of William Wordsworth*.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow lines 7-40, which may be found on page 10, and lines 1-16, which may be found on page 11 of the same edition.

But for the meagre self-revelations given in the review, the identity of *Peregrinator* remains a blank. Yet it is significant that not another review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1794 is signed.

One not only wonders why he was permitted to sign *Peregrinator*, but also why his review, dated September, was kept until March of the next year; and why a review as long as this, in comparison with the few lines sometimes given to more important books, was published at all. One searches as vainly in subsequent numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for more than passing notices of Wordsworth or his poetry as one searches for *Peregrinator*. Why did the *Gentleman's Magazine* so kindly hail the budding poet and accord one of his earliest ventures into verse such a favorable review, only to lose sight of him or to ignore him deliberately thereafter?

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#### A LETTER OF COLERIDGE

The following letter of Coleridge, now in my possession, I have not seen in print. As it deals with the working of Coleridge's remarkable mind in the process of composition, it seems worth while to call attention to it. The letter is dated only "Wednesday Noon," the paper shows no water-mark of any kind, and the sole indication of the time of writing is the fact that it is addressed to "Mr. Hessey" and deals with the correction of the proofs of a work published by his firm, Taylor and Hessey. This would presumably be *Aids to Reflection*, which appeared in May or June, 1825. But the letter may come from the preceding year; Coleridge had wrestled long with the task of getting this work completed and through the press. As early as January 23, 1824, Lamb wrote to Bernard Barton: "Coleridge's book is in good part printed, but sticks a little for *more copy*."

Dear Sir

God be praised! I have here inclosed the last of the manifoldly and intricately altered and augmented Proofs—and I venture you [*sic*] to assure you, that the Copy you will receive the day after tomorrow will be a fair specimen of all that will follow—and that there shall be no



further delays on my part—except only what I cannot help, that I take more than twice the time in correcting a proof, and in fact in every mode and appurtenance of Composition, than writers in general—partly, no doubt, from the state of my health, but in part likewise from the distressing activity and if I may use such a phrase, the excessive *productivity* of my mind.

respectfully and truly your obliged

S. T. COLERIDGE

Wednesday Noon

I doubt if Coleridge ever analyzed his mental processes more accurately in brief space. The welling up of ideas in throngs from his vast reading he evidently found, as he describes it here, a "distressing activity." Hazlitt, Carlyle and many others have told of the astonishing conversational effect of the "excessive productivity." The great rush of ideas evidently required extreme care afterwards in correcting proof, and the expenditure of much more than the usual time "in every mode and appurtenance of Composition," not to find ideas, but to put them into exactly the right form.

There is much of the tragedy and futility of Coleridge's career in the resolution as to the excellence of the copy to be furnished "the day after tomorrow" and the promise of no further delays, qualified immediately, quite in the Coleridgean manner, by the pathetic "except only what I cannot help."

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## BURNS AND THE INDIES IN 1788

Among the minor puzzles in Burns's life is his supposed revival, in 1788, of the intention to emigrate to the West Indies. The proof that the idea had recurred to him rests wholly on a passage in a letter to Mrs. M'Lehose (Clarinda), which Burns wrote from Mauchline, 23 Feb. 1788, just before he set out to take a final appraising look at Ellisland farm. In all editions the passage reads: "I set off tomorrow for Dumfries-shire. 'Tis merely out of compliment to Mr Miller; for I know the Indies must be my lot."

Scott Douglas, who first collected the letter, is stirred to almost lyric indignation:

This . . . letter . . . taken in connexion with the letter to Ainslie of 3d March 1788, places Burns in a very disadvantageous light at this stage of his history. The unhinged condition of his moral fabric is strongly exemplified in the grim remark, 'I know the Indies must be my lot.' Strange that in closing his exciting Edinburgh career, he should sink into the same rut from which he emerged in November 1786! See his letter to Aiken, 8th October 1786, in which he states the reasons that urge him to go abroad, rather than manfully gird himself to engage in the battle of life.<sup>1</sup>

The violence of this criticism is the more surprising in view of Douglas's admission that he had never seen the manuscript on which his text is based:

We take this from the columns of the *Banffshire Journal*, in which it appeared some years ago, 'as printed from the original,' which was described as considerably mutilated, the upper portion being cut off.<sup>2</sup>

That manuscript is now a part of the remarkable Burns collection which has been formed by Mr. Robert P. and Mrs. Mildred C. Esty of Ardmore, Pennsylvania. The present writer has been favored with a photostatic copy, from which it is possible for the first time to discover what Burns actually wrote.

The letter is written on the recto and verso of the first page of an ordinary quarto sheet. The second page, which formed the cover, apparently bore nothing except the address. Two-thirds of this page, including all the address—except the bottom of the "E", and the line which underscored "Edin<sup>r</sup>"—is missing, and the postmark, "Mauchline," has been almost obliterated with criss-cross pen-strokes. Such treatment of most of the proper names in Burns's letters to her was characteristic of Clarinda's notion of discretion in preserving the manuscripts. When we turn to the body of the letter we find that she has similarly canceled the names "Dumfries-shire," "Mr Miller," "Mr Gavin Hamilton," and the words which the contributor to the *Banffshire Journal* guessed to be "the Indies." Moreover, the top of the page has been cut off,

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Robert Burns*, ed. W. Scott Douglas, Edinburgh, 1877-79, v, 95 n.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 94. The more cautious Wallace suspects something wrong, but in the absence of the manuscript limits himself to a footnote: "If this letter is authentic, Burns must still have had some thoughts of Jamaica as a last resort" (*Life and Works of Burns*, ed. R. Chambers, rev. W. Wallace, Edinburgh, 1896, II, 306 n.).

carrying with it the place and date on the recto, and probably one line of text on the verso—the mutilation referred to in Douglas's note. The unknown editor has correctly deciphered the three proper names, and gives the legible portions of the text with substantial accuracy. But in two instances he has indulged in very bad guess-work.

The printed text of the letter has a postscript: "P. S. Remember." This does not appear at all in the manuscript. One has the choice of believing that the Banffshire amateur invented it by way of giving artistic finish to the letter, or that he made an extraordinarily fatuous guess at the meaning of the canceled postmark on the cover.

His other error is more excusable, but much more serious. "The" is lightly canceled, but the cross-strokes are especially heavy on the word which he read as "Indies," and the difficulty of deciphering it is enhanced by its being divided at the end of a line. Nevertheless, even in the photostat, where one lacks the aid which the different color of the ink might give in an examination of the manuscript itself, the outline of a thoroughly Burnsian capital "E" is visible through the cancelations, and the following letter is "x". The four letters at the beginning of the next line are illegible, except for the dot of an "i"; it is certain, however, that none of them is "d", for the cancelations are so low that the top of a "d" would project above them. In short, what Burns really wrote was, "I know *the Excise* must be my lot"—a remark completely in accord with what he had been saying in all his other correspondence for several months past. But whoever sent the letter to the *Banffshire Journal* knew merely that Burns had once talked of going to the Indies, and, being ignorant of the exact chronology of his life, tried a wild shot at the canceled word instead of making a serious effort to decipher it. There are grounds enough on which to charge Burns with vacillation during the early months of 1788, but there remains no shadow of evidence that he ever again thought of flight to the Indies after he turned his back on Greenock in the autumn of 1786.

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## A NOTE ON THE PROSODY OF WILLIAM MORRIS

One characteristic of the poetry of William Morris that can hardly escape even the most casual reader is the unorthodox nature of so many of his rhymes. He often rhymes a strongly accented syllable and one that bears little or no accent: *trees: images, carbuncle: fell, morning: thing*. This is, of course, a liberty that all poets take, but few to the extent that Morris does, and in some cases he makes it very difficult to shift the accent so as to secure any semblance of rhyme. The following stanza from *Shameful Death* is an illustration:

He did not die in the night,  
He did not die in the day,  
But in the morning twilight  
His spirit passed away.

If Morris intended such a thing here he may have intended it in other cases where we make such an effort to avoid it.

But his peculiarity in rhymes goes even further, for he often makes use, not of *similar* but of *identical* sounds. Passing over "equivocal" rhymes like *wild rose: silver rows, two: too*, and *one fell blow: winds blow*, we find *dame my lord: bones my lord, Gawaine lie: that you lie, here see: to see, one way: away, wither it: dew on it, sea-roving: ransoming*, and many others of the same kind. According to normal practice these last are not rhymes at all, at least in English. But they are in Welsh, the language of Morris's ancestors, and as Welsh poetry also makes frequent use of just the sort of rhyming of accented with unaccented syllables of which Morris was so fond, it may be that we have here a clue to some of the peculiarities of his verse.<sup>1</sup> It is true that his biographer, Mackail, says of him, "For Welsh poetry he did not care

<sup>1</sup> "Identity of terminal syllable forms rhyme in Welsh. . . . Thus, according to general Welsh practice, forms like *morning* and *singing* are held to constitute regular rhyme—this may be seen reflected in many modern attempts by Welshmen to write English verse. Another distinctly Welsh peculiarity is the rhyming of accented with unaccented syllables, permissible in all the strict metres and obligatory in some of them." T. Gwynn Jones, "Welsh Poetic Art: A Review," *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxvi, 1926, 40-41.

deeply,"<sup>2</sup> but this is in itself an admission that he was familiar with such poetry, a fact that might have been surmised from his friendship for Burne-Jones, who attempted to make a study of it. I believe that Mackail's statement refers only to the elaborate system of consonantal correspondences which forms such a prominent part of Welsh poetry, and for which Morris shows little or no interest, and that certain of the other features did make an impression upon him, if only to the extent of making his ear more tolerant toward what many of his friends considered laxities in his verse. When some one tried once to reason with him over these he replied that they sounded all right to him and he believed that if he read the poetry aloud he could make them sound all right to others.<sup>3</sup>

A suggestion such as I have made is of no great value unless some application can be made of it. In the present case I believe that it offers us a clue to the manner in which Morris would have read certain lines from which the ordinary English systems of scansion would extract every vestige of poetry, lines, for example, such as the following couplet from *The Chapel in Lyonesse*, which, read as we are apt to consider it our duty to read it, is simply barbarous:

Greát blue éyes fix'd fúll on mé?  
Ón his sóul, Lord, háve mercý.

But if Morris had read it as a couplet in the *cywydd* metre or as the concluding couplet of an *englyn* (for the two are the same), the two most common of the native Welsh metres, he could, without forcing the accents in the least, have made them sound perfectly natural to him.

In this type of couplet each line contains seven syllables and the two lines rhyme, except that one of them—it does not matter which one—ends in an accented syllable, while the other ends in an unaccented syllable. The distribution of accents within the line does not divide it into feet after the English manner, but adapts itself to the consonantal pattern that the line contains, and varies from line to line. In one of the commonest forms the line divides into two parts similarly accented; each part has a primary stress at the end and may have a secondary stress, based upon the normal word accent, one or more syllables before it. Between the two

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, London, 1907, I, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 57.

parts there may be one or more syllables of which no account is made in reckoning the parallelism between the two parts, or if the line ends in an unaccented syllable this may remain unanswered at the end of the first part. The movement of a couplet in this metre may be illustrated by the following written in English on the Welsh model:

Night may dáre      nòt, my deárest,  
Shàdow thrów      where      shè doth rést; <sup>4</sup>

We might apply the same accentuation to the couplet from Morris (changing the order of the lines, which is perfectly permissible), or possibly we may think that the following line of Tomas Prys better fits Morris's first line:

Hèar thou lád      ùnder the leé <sup>5</sup>

We would then have instead of the ordinary scansion of the couplet something quite different—the normal accentuation of a Welsh couplet, although without the other characteristic feature of Welsh “*cynghanedd*.”

Greàt blue éyes      fix'd full on mé?  
Òn his soùl,      Lòrd, have mércy.

This not only preserves the normal accent of the words, but brings out a certain amount of expression that is wholly lost as the lines are usually read.

Another couplet which is likewise greatly improved by reading it in the Welsh instead of the English manner is the refrain from *Ogier the Dane*.

Kiss me love, for who knoweth  
What thing cometh after death?

Scanned as we are usually told to scan it, as trochaic tetrameter catalectic, it is horrible, and it is difficult to believe that anyone with a spark of poetry in him could have intended it to be so read. But if read in accordance with the principles set forth above the lines take on a new beauty.

<sup>4</sup> T. Gwynn Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 44. This couplet illustrates also the correspondence of consonants which determines the position of the accents. Where possible I have drawn my illustrations from poetry written in English, but they could more easily be adduced from poetry in Welsh.

<sup>5</sup> Cited by J. Glyn Davies, *Welsh Metrics*, London, 1911, I, 29.

Kiss me love      for who knóweth  
What thing cômeth      áfter deáth?\*

These suggestions, if adopted, will not explain away all, or even nearly all, of the irregularities in Morris's poetry. They will however reduce the number of "bad" lines and will keep us from forcing certain lines and rhyme words into a scheme that the author probably never intended that they should fit into.

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### THE SEMANTICS OF 'CHILD'

In an interesting book on a child's learning to speak van Ginneken asserts that 'speechless,' 'not talking' have become in many languages the *ordinary* word for 'child.'<sup>1</sup> So striking and curious an assertion needs support, which the author hastens to give by citing *infans* and *νήπιος*. On a moment's consideration the assertion becomes improbable: so simple and necessary a concept as that of 'child' can scarcely call for a description in negative terms. We may therefore undertake the task, which van Ginneken neglects, and assemble as many words for 'child' as is readily possible,<sup>2</sup> with a view to seeing whether 'not speaking' is an ordinary method of forming a name for the concept 'child.' The collection will prove or disprove the correctness of the assertion

\* The models taken for the scansion of these two lines are different from the types cited above, but are in accordance with Welsh practice. The first is like another line of Tomas Prys cited by Davies, *op. cit.*, 39, "Fight for stóre and leave sórror"; for the other I have found no model in English, but it has much the same effect as a Welsh line from Dewi Glan Teifi cited by John Morris Jones in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, iv (1903), 140, "Ac fe'u pásia gýda gwén."

<sup>1</sup> *De Roman van een kleuter* (Nijmegen 1917), p. 3: Het eerste, wat iedereen aan een klein kind opvalt, is: dat het niet kan praten. Daarom is "sprakeloos," "nietpratend" in veel talen het gewone woord voor kind geworden. Zoo komt bijv. het Fransche woord *enfant* van het Latijnsche *in-fans*, dat letterlijk vertaald "niet-pratend" beteekent, even als het Grieksche *νήπιος* dat volkomen aan "sprakeloos" beantwoordt.

<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge gratefully the invaluable assistance rendered by my friends, Leonard Bloomfield, Fay Cooper-Cole, Ellsworth Faris, F. W. Geers, Chester Nathan Gould, Edward Sapir, Martin Sprenghling.

and may easily be instructive from other points of view. Completeness within such an article as this is necessarily out of the question: the tabulation, for example, of the Gallo-Roman words for 'child,' 'boy,' and 'girl' covers 427 pages and is even then incomplete. Yet we may hope to present even in this brief space the ordinary types of formations and to cover the greater number of languages for which etymological dictionaries of any sort exist. At no point shall I venture to control the correctness of the etymologies or to reconcile differences between authorities, unless these matters should happen to concern the point of central importance, *viz.*, the use of a negative and a word meaning 'speech' or 'to speak.' Ordinarily, even in the most unexplored languages etymologically, it is possible to discern whether a negative or privative element appears in a word.

The necessity, moreover, of a conspectus is forced upon us by the first logical step in examining van Ginneken's assertion. Do the examples which he cites bear out his assertion? According to the latest Greek etymological dictionary,<sup>3</sup> *ῥήπιος* is more correctly interpreted as *\*ῥη-πιος*, that is to say, 'foolish,' a meaning which elsewhere often develops into that of 'child.'<sup>4</sup> And the conventional etymology of *infans* is no longer to be accepted without thoughtful consideration of the etymology proposed by Wood, who sees in it "*\*en* 'in' and *\*bhruānt-*, root *bhreuā-* 'grow, become, be,' with ablaut as in *-bam*, *-bās*, etc. Hence the primary meaning of *infans* was 'growing within, ingrowth, *ἐμφυσις*,' and then 'a newborn child, a young animal.' For the meaning compare Gr. *βρώω* 'swell,' *ἐμβρυον* 'embryo; lambkin, kid.'"<sup>5</sup> In other words, more than a little doubt prevails regarding the examples given to support the assertion.

On looking a little farther we find that a learned volume, to which allusion has already been made, has been devoted to the etymologies of the three words *enfant*, *garçon*, and *fille* in the Gallo-Roman dialects.<sup>6</sup> This erudite work saves us the labor of

<sup>3</sup> Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> See below, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> "Some Latin Etymologies," *Classical Philology*, XI (1916) 209.

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Pauli, "*Enfant*," "*garçon*," "*fille*" dans les langues romanes étudiées particulièrement dans les dialects gallo-romans et italiens, Lund,



assembling the words from the Romance languages generally and provides us with a convenient survey of the types of formation. These types are as follows: words designating the child in relation to father or mother, to other relatives, words designating sex, youth, the family, the social status, words referring to local customs, proper names, words denoting tenderness, pity, and depreciation, words referring to a quality or a characteristic, words suggested by the cut of the hair, by the clothes or a part of the body, metaphors, onomatopoeic formations of various sorts. Such variety bears out the old proverb, "Geliebte Kinder haben viele Namen." The absence of negative compounds and of words employing any form of the verb 'to speak' is conspicuous. I hasten to point out that the formation *infans*, whatever be its origin, is, so far as the Romance languages are concerned, a simplex. There is perhaps evidence that the conventional etymology was present in the minds of some speakers, for we recall the existence of such words as Sp. *infante* and Eng. *infant* 'one who cannot speak with legal authority,' and in these the old popular and juridical etymology may well have persisted. Beyond making suitable reference to Pauli's collections I shall ordinarily omit words in the Romance languages from the following collection of illustrative material.

### 1. 'small.'

Engl. *tiny*, *small*; Ger., *das Kleine*; Hung., *apród* (cf. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwiss.*<sup>2</sup> [Samml. Göschel No. 463], p. 86); Ass.-Babyl., *ṣuḥaru*, *ṣuḥartu* (: *ṣaḥāru* 'to be small'), *quttinnu* (: *qatānu* 'to be small'); Syriac-Aramaic *bābōrsa* 'child,' also 'little pupil of the eye'; Syriac *zāṭera*; Arabic *ṭifl*; Takelma (s. w. Oregon) *hapxi*; Nootka *t'a'na*; and diminutives generally.<sup>7</sup>

### 2. 'foolish.'

Gr. *νήπιος*; mod. coll. Gr. *μωρό*; Swed. *toka* (cf. Pauli, p. 256). Compare Hupa (n. w. Calif.) *midjé·ē·din* 'its-mind-be-without-the,' i. e., 'mindless.'<sup>8</sup>

1919. The reviews have been uniformly favorable, although many more words appear to call for inclusion; see, e. g., von Wartburg, *Zs. f. rom. Philol.*, XLII (1921), 612-17 and Spitzer, *Literaturbl.*, XLII (1921), 18-24.

<sup>7</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 273 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 236 ff.

## 3. Onomatopoesis.

Eng. *baby*.<sup>9</sup>

## 4. Words with obvious physiological associations.

Gr. *βρέφος* (see Boisacq, p. 133)<sup>10</sup> and Eng. *child* (: Gothic *kilþō*) are usually related to words for 'womb'; Ass.-Babyl. *līdu*, *īlīdu*, *lellīdu*, *walīdu* (: *walada* 'to bear'); Aramaic *šavrā* (perhaps related to *šavar* 'to break out of the hull'); Gr. *τέκνον*, *τέκνος*; Eng. *bairn*, Lett. *behrns* (cf. Falk and Torp s. v. *barn*); <sup>11</sup> Ger. *Kind* and Old Welsh *cynt* (: Lat. *gigno*); Haida *iqên* (: *qên* 'to give birth'; see Durlach, "Relationship Systems of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian" [*Publ. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, xi, 1928], p. 77); Lat. *incrementum* (see Frank, *Class. Philol.*, xi [1916], 334 ff.); <sup>12</sup> North Athabaskan *t'ōě-d-nan* 'boy,' 'child' i. e., 'the one moving out'; Eng. *get* (obs., see Henley and Farmer s. v.). The Central Algonquian words for 'child' point to a type *\*nētcyāna* (e. g., Menomini *nītsian*, in possessed form always with diminutive ending *nīnītsianeh* 'my child'). The corresponding medial element is *\*-etcyā-* (e. g. Menomini *uskātsian* 'firstborn child,' *kēmenetsiakan* 'bastard'). The relation between the initial and the medial form is obscure.<sup>13</sup> What with the alternation of *ā*:*ä*<sup>14</sup> the word may be connected with *\*-etcyā-* 'belly' (e. g., Fox *pāgetcācinwa* 'he falls on his belly'; see Bloomfield, *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 399).

*\*ul* (found in various forms in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic (cf. root *gāl*), and Syriac; has the root meaning 'suckle, nourish'); Eng. *suckling* (cf. also Eng. *son*; Gr. *νίος* [see Boisacq s. v.]); Old Bulg. *dēti* (cf. Berneker, *Slav. ety. Wb.*, i, 196; Walde, *Lat. ety. Wb. s. v. filius*); Ass.-Babyl. *ēniqu*, *ēniqtu*, *tinēqu* (: *enēqu* 'to suck') and

<sup>9</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 359-64.

<sup>10</sup> But see Wood, *Journ. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, ii (1898), 215.

<sup>11</sup> Larsen ("Om ordet *barn* i oldnorsk og i de nynorske bygdemaal," *Arkiw f. nord. fil.*, xxi [1905], 125-131) brings nothing of importance for us.

<sup>12</sup> See also Pauli, pp. 68 ff. Pauli's note (p. 217, n. 1) can scarcely be correct in view of the actual Latin use of *incrementum* for 'child.'

<sup>13</sup> But cf. *Int. Journ. Am. Ling.*, iv (1927), 187; Bloomfield, *Festschrift Meinhof* (Hamburg 1927), p. 400.

<sup>14</sup> See *Int. Journ. Am. Ling.*, iv (1927), 196.

compare Hebrew *jōneq*, Aramaic *janqā*, *jānōqā*; Arabic *radi* 'sucklings'; Ass.-Babyl. *lūlūpu* (: *alāpu* 'to grow up').<sup>15</sup>

5. Words denoting bodily uncleanness. It has been said that these words are characteristically south European in their use, although this is not exclusively the case.

Alb. *k'ērós* 'scabby, youngest child'; Ital. *mozzo* (<*mucus*) and compare Ital. (dial.) *vava* (<\**baba* 'drool'; cf. Meyer-Lübke s. v.); Fr. (argot) *moutard* (<*mout* 'drooling'; cf. Sainéan, *Le langage parisien au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris 1920], pp. 290, 477; Meyer-Lübke s. v.; Deschanel, *Les déformations de la langue française*,<sup>5</sup> pp. 240-41); Mid. Low Germ. *dätel* (cf. W. Braune, *Niederdt. Scherzgedichte v. J. Lauremberg* [1879], p. 112 s. v. *Snappentötel*); Rum. *pușoiu* (<*pușa* 'membrum virile of small children');<sup>16</sup> Old Icel. *silekur*.

Into the myriad ideas which have given rise in one place or another to the meaning 'child' I shall not attempt to bring order. I list words, which, though we do not know their etymology, evidently do not contain the concepts 'not' and 'speaking.' Where possible I have given an etymology.

#### 6. Miscellaneous.

Ass.-Babyl. *darku* (: 'to be weak'), *šerru* (: 'to be weak'); Ass.-Babyl. *būru* and the Sumerian loan *mūru* contain no trace of 'not' or 'speaking'; Eng. *brat* (Celtic 'rag'; cf. Weekley, *An Ety. Dict. of the Eng. Lang.* s. v.), which we may compare with Sp. *chico* (<*plicus*; cf. W. I. Knapp, *Mod. Sp. Readings* [Boston 1883], p. iv; see a contradictory etymology recommended in Pauli, p. 249, n. 2); Finn. *lapsi* (see J. Budenz, *Magyar-Ugor Összehasonlító Szótár* [Budapest 1873-81], p. 701, § 759); Welsh *plant*; Eng. *bantling*; Eng. *kid* and compare Aramaic *ṭalṭā* (Mk. 5:41); Syriac (Aramaic) *gərīs'a* 'shaved, beardless'; Syriac *səṭōrṭa*; Arabic *'alajma*, *gulani* (: 'sex dream'); Arabic *ṣabī*; Persian *batša* (: Middle Persian *batša* 'joint of a finger'), *pesar*, *farzand*; Turkish *oghlu*, *tşodžuq*; Lonkunda (or Lomongo, Equatorial Congo) *bonoju*

<sup>15</sup> In general, this type of formation appears to be rare in the Gallo-Roman dialects.

<sup>16</sup> Note that this last development is paralleled in vulgar American speech and see Bloomfield, "Physigunkus," *Mod. Philol.*, xv (1917-8), 587; Pauli, pp. 206 ff.

(‘child,’ pl. *benaju*), *bona* (‘baby,’ pl. *bana*); <sup>17</sup> Mordvinian *id’ak’a* (cf. Szinnyi, *Finnische-ugrische Sprachwiss.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 84); Wotjak *nunika* (cf. Szinnyi l. c.); Wogul *ñàramàGe-m* (‘my baby,’ cf. Szinnyi l. c.); Yana (northern Calif.) *dāt’i*; Ilocano *ubing* ‘child,’ (secondary meaning: ‘minor servant’); Malay *kanak*, or *kanak kanak*; Shetland *ormek*, *urmek*, *urmel* (perhaps < *orm* ‘snake’); ~~S~~<sup>21</sup> *fjorek*, *fjörek* (< *fjorr* ‘to show affection’); Shetl. *naitek*, *naiti*, *natti*; Shetl. *nitrek*, *nittek* (< *nitret* ‘stubborn’); Low Ger. *purre*; Shetl. *päitek*, *päitin*, *pattin*; Shetl. *plutsek*; Dan. (dial.) *tull*, *tullik*; Tagalog *batà* (cf. P. S. Laktaw, *Diccionario tagalog-hispano* [Manila 1914] s. v.).

A sufficient mass of material is now before us to permit our reaching certain conclusions. There is no reason for believing that ‘speechless’ is the *ordinary* word for ‘child’ in *many* languages; in fact our search has not revealed a single uncontested example in any language. We discern the existence of two large groups of etymologies. The apparently older group, to which it seems that few modern additions are being made, includes words which have reference to birth, the womb, or to sucking. A much more numerous and varied class, which is receiving constant additions, is composed of nouns derived from descriptive words, either adjectives or nouns with meanings lending themselves to metaphorical use. The sequence of thought is often unexpected, but rarely inapt. From such notions as ‘small,’ ‘foolish,’ or ‘dirty’ the step to the concept ‘child’ was not a long one and could be taken in many lands. A complete collection of such etymologies might conceivably lend itself to cartographic presentation and in this way reveal areas within which particular types of formation prevailed. It might, on the other hand, appear that some developments had occurred in widely separated places without much likelihood of mutual influence, as in the case of the shift from ‘rag’ to ‘child’ in both *brat* and *chico*. Such undertakings do not concern us particularly at the moment. So far as the evidence goes and so far as any considerations *a priori* are helpful, the concept ‘child’ does not receive its name from the concept ‘speechless.’

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<sup>17</sup> The Lomongo root ‘to speak’ is *tefelu*.

## DANTE NOTES, XI

## THE RAINBOW COLORS

It will be remembered that the seven flames which lead the symbolic procession in *Purg.*, XXIX, are said to paint overhead as they advance a sevenfold strip in rainbow colors. The exact words are (vss. 76-78): “. . . lì sopra rimanea distinto di sette liste, tutte in quei colori onde fa l'arco il Sole e Delia il cinto.”

Here many of the commentators remain silent as to what those colors are understood to be; though there is a good deal said about the allegorical meaning involved. The majority of the more recent commentators and translators either say outright, or clearly imply by their diction, that “the” seven colors—that is, the familiar seven “rainbow colors”—are meant; and apparently it is taken for granted that the reader will have initiative enough of his own to assign one to each strip.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally one of them judges that

<sup>1</sup> One is surprised to find so early a commentator as Jacopo della Lana saying “liste in sette colori, simile all' yris”—which I take from the Bologna, 1866, edition: perhaps the original reading has been tampered with.

Following are some modern samples:

Pompeo Venturi (1732): “Di sette strisce e nastri di luce sì, ma di *diversi colori* per la diversa combinazione della luce e fumo che usciva da quelle gran fiaccole.”

A. J. Butler, *Purg. of D. A.*, with translation and notes (1892); a note: “luminous bands, of the *seven* prismatic colours.”

Luigi Rocca, in *Lectura Dantis* (1904): “una zona distinta nei *sette* colori dell' iride.”

L. Venturi, *Le similitudini dantesche* (3d ed., 1911): “sette strisce, luminose come *i colori* dell' arcobaleno e dell' alone che cinge la luna.”

Moore, *Studies in Dante*, III (1903): “These streamers of light *varied* in colour as the *rainbow*, or the lunar halo”; and: “By the presence of *every* colour of the rainbow we have symbolized the ‘*diversities* of gifts.’”

Casini: “sette liste luminose, che avevano in sè *tutti i colori* dell' arcobaleno e dell' alone”—which is repeated verbatim, over thirty years later, in the 1926 Casini-S. A. Barbi.

Scartazzini-Vandelli, unchanged in 8th ed. (1921) from 5th ed. (1907): “77-78. COLORI: dell' arcobaleno . . . e dell' alone”—and in the prefatory paragraph to 61-81: “le 7 liste figurano i 7 doni dello Spirito Santo . . . virtù per avventura *indicate* anche *dai* colori dell' arcobaleno e dell' alone” is found in the 5th ed.; while the 8th ed. has the explicit statement: “Le 7 liste di 7 *differenti colori* figurano, probabilmente, i 7 doni dello Spirito Santo.”

Dante meant that each strip was variegated with all the colors of the rainbow.<sup>2</sup>

Only rarely does a commentator definitely show that he is aware that in Dante's time the now so familiar gamut of the seven spectral colors (Newton is said to have added the seventh, indigo) was unknown;<sup>3</sup> and as we have seen, those few commentators have

Mestica: "sette liste si spiegavano in alto raggianti *i colori* dell' iride . . . e dell' alone lunare"; and elsewhere: "vivissima luce che in *fasce iridescenti* si dilunga sotto il verde dei rami."

Passerini: "sette liste che presentavano *i colori* dei quali il sole fa l' arcobaleno e la luna, dipinge l' alone."

Pietrobono: "per capire che cosa rappresentino le sette liste e che cosa *i sette colori*, basta ripensare . . ." etc.

Scarano: "ciascuna era de' *sette* colori de' quali il sole dipinge il suo arco baleno e la luna il suo alone."

Steiner: "sette liste dipinte *coi colori* dei quali il sole fa il suo arco."

Mazzoni paraphrases: "pennocelli colorati *dei colori* dell' arcobaleno."

Cary's classic translation has: "all those *seven* listed colors."

Longfellow's: "sevenfold lists, all of them of *the colors* Whence the sun's bow is made, and Delia's girdle."

E. H. Plumptre annotates his translation thus: "*Each* gift of the Spirit has its appropriate colour."

J. A. Wilstach translates: "Their *sevenfold* tints like those the Sun's bow shows, Or those the girdle of fair Delia knows."

C. E. Wheeler: "Streaked with the colours *seven*, which make bright Both Delia's girdle, and the sun's own bow."

S. W. Griffith: "Seven bands, in *the respective* colours Whereof the Sun makes bow, and Delia girdle."

Henry Johnson: "seven bands of *every hue* like those Of Delia's girdle and the sun-made bow."

Melville Best Anderson (marginal note): "The lunar and solar *spectrum*."

<sup>2</sup> *E. g.*, Bennassuti (cited by Scartazzini, in Leipzig ed.)—and perhaps Mestica; see the second quotation from him, in footnote 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> *E. g.*, Buti: "tutti in quei colori; cioè di *quattro* colori"—and his list is that of Landino: "e' colori dell' arco sono rosso, sanguigno, verde, e bianco." (This is copied verbatim in *Compendio della Comedia di D. A.*, by Can. Gio. Palazzi, Venice, 1696: except that the comma is omitted between "rosso" and "sanguigno"—which would leave *three* colors only.)

Scartazzini, in his Leipzig ed., n. to vs. 78, on the authority of Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaïschen Cultus*, which work he cites, gives: "I colori dell' arcobaleno figurano: Celeste, il cielo sede della rivelazione speciale di Dio, perciò anche le testimonianze di Dio, la legge e i profeti. . . . Purpureo, la somma dignità, maestà e potenza di Dio. . . . Cocco, ciò che

evidently made fairly little impression on the rest. A glance at the authorities available to Dante and his generation, and at those few of the early commentators who have taken the trouble to refer to the point, not only shows that fact, but also the not less disturbing fact that there was no generally accepted list of the colors of the rainbow. The poets, notably Dante's favorites, Virgil (*e. g.*, in *Æn.*, v, 89 and 609) and Ovid (*e. g.*, in *Met.*, vi, 64), in that airy and irresponsible way that poets have, said "a thousand" colors when referring to the rainbow. But at the other extreme, the reverend words of Aristotle gave the rainbow colors, through the medium of Latin translations, as three: "puniceus, viridis et purpureus," with a fourth mentioned as a sort of intermediary between the first two, and termed "flavus."<sup>4</sup>

Isidore of Seville<sup>5</sup> and the Venerable Bede,<sup>6</sup> with others, name four colors, and associate each with one of the four elements: for fire (which they call "coelum") both give "color igneus"; for water, "purpureus"; for air Isidore gives "albus" and Bede "hyacinthinus"; for earth Isidore gives "niger" and Bede "gramineus."<sup>7</sup> Isidore's enumeration of "niger" among the rainbow colors may not be much more of a sign of the mental blindness to which mysticism at its worst may lead, than of the

è comune al fuoco e al sangue, figura di mobilità e di vita, simbolo di Dio qual fonte di vita e qual amor potente che vivifica e salva. . . . Bisso, color bianco, imagine d'innocenza, simbolo della santità di Dio." This was written over half a century ago; and Bähr's work dates from 1837.

Torraca's 5th ed. of the *D. C.*, 1921, in n. to vs. 78 says only: ". . . sette liste, con i colori dell' arco baleno"; but he gives a cross-reference to *Purg.*, xxv, 93, and in his note to that passage he quotes Brunetto Latini, *Tesoro*, i, iii, 107: "Il sole manda i suoi raggi tra le nuvole, e fa del suo splendore un arco di quattro colori diversi, perchè ogni elemento vi mette del suo colore; e ciò avviene quando la nuvola è piena e grossa." (An examination of the context shows that Brunetto does not say what those four colors are.)

<sup>4</sup> *Meteor.*, iii, ii. Cf. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Par.'* 257 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *De Nat. Rerum*, xxxi (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 83, col. 1004).

<sup>6</sup> *De Nat. Rerum*, xxxi (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 90, col. 252).

<sup>7</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, i, lviii (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 172, col. 137), has the same description as Bede.

With these lists it is interesting to compare St. Thomas Aquinas' discussion of the four colors of the Veil of the Temple, referring them to the four elements (*Summa*, i<sup>2</sup>, Qu. 102, Art. 4, Loc. 4): he gives *coccum bis tinctum* for fire, *purpura* for water, *hyacinthus* for air, *byssus* for earth.

indeterminateness in meaning with which classic terms for color and light were afflicted. But even Buti's "rosso, sanguigno, verde, e bianco" is hardly much more satisfactory to us moderns.

A number of the Church Fathers noted only the two colors at the extremes of the visible spectrum, and gave them mystic reference to the two Judgments: that of the Deluge, and the Last Judgment.<sup>8</sup> Some of them call these two colors red and green, others red and blue. No wonder some of the later authorities were non-committal on the subject—as was Dante.

It is possible that Dante had in mind, as his rainbow colors, the four by which he characterizes the Virtues: red, white, and green, for the three theological virtues, and purple for all the (four) cardinal virtues. Such a distribution of tints would harmonize fairly with the general average of his authorities. However, he does not express himself definitely on this point; and probably he did not feel that he was competent to do so, even if he had wished to. We may compare his reticence in this connection, with that of his so-called "master" Brunetto Latini, who refrains from specifying what the colors of the rainbow are, though he definitely says that they are four in number;<sup>9</sup>—the discordance of "authorities" was enough to give pause!

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## THE ITALIAN IMITATIONS OF JERÓNIMO DE HEREDIA

In 1603 there was published in Barcelona a little book entitled *Guirnalda de Venus Casta y Amor Enamorado*, in two parts, by Jerónimo de Heredia. The first part consists of short lyrics—fifty-three sonnets, five *canzoni*, and one *sestina*; the second part is a mythological story in verse and prose, translated from Antonio

<sup>8</sup> *E. g.*, St. Aug., *Expositio in Apoc.*, Hom. II (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 35, col. 2426 f.); Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, Lib. IX (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 111, col. 277 f.); St. Greg. the Great, *Hom. in Ezech.*, Lib. I, Hom. VIII (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 76, col. 867 f.); Garnier of St. Victor, *Gregorianum*, Lib. VIII, Cap. XVIII (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 193, col. 325); Hugo of St. Victor, *Exegetica dubia*, Lib. I, Cap. XVI (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 175, col. 643); Richard of St. Victor, *In Apoc.*, Lib. II (Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 196, col. 746 f.).

<sup>9</sup> See above, at end of note 3.



Minturno, in which the verses inserted in the Italian text are curiously put now in Italian and now in national meters. In his prologue the author states that he had ready for the press another volume containing a translation of Tansillo's *Lagime di San Pietro* and *Rimas espirituales y morales*, but there is no record that it was ever printed. Knowledge of the above work had practically been limited to the meagre descriptions in the catalogues of rare-book collectors until Eugenio Mele, the Italian investigator of Hispano-Italian literary relations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, called attention to the Italian imitations in the first part in two articles: *Per la Fortuna delle liriche di Tansillo in Ispagna, Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXVI (1915), 284 sq., and *Sobre canciones y sonetos italianos y españoles, Revista Castellana*, V (1919), 209 sq. In the first he points out three imitations from Tansillo:<sup>1</sup>

1. Amor, se vuoi ch'io torni al giogo antico.  
Si quieres que yo torne al yugo antiguo.  
(pp. 21 v-24 v)
2. Nè Mar, che irato gli alti scogli fera.  
Ni mar ayrado que las rocas hiende.  
(p. 8)
3. Qual huom che trasse il grave remo e spinse.  
(L. Tansillo)  
Qual hombre que va al remo condenado.  
(p. 22)
4. Simile al oceano quando più freme.  
Mar que siempre movable tu agua siento.  
(p. 7)

In the second article he notes three imitations—one from Petrarch and three from other Italians:<sup>2</sup>

5. Pommi ove'l Sole occide i fiori e l'erba.  
(Petrarch)  
Ponme donde la llama licenciosa.  
(p. 16 v)

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<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are to be found on pages 244, 237, and 238 of *I Fiori delle rime de' poeti illustri* (ed. Ruscelli), Venice, 1569; no. 4 occurs on p. 175 of Tansillo, *Poesie edite ed inedite* (ed. Fiorentino), Naples, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> For no. 5 see p. 313 of *Il Canzoniere* (ed. Scherillo), Milan, 1925; for nos. 6 and 7 see *Fiori, loc. cit.*, pp. 63-64, 151 v.



9. Che Perseo un tempo, qual Mercurio alato,  
 Gisse del ciel per l'alte ignote strade,  
 Non si deve ammirar la nostra etade,  
 Che'l simil provo al mio amoroso stato.  
 Perchè del mio pensier sovente alzato  
 A contemplar l'angelica beltade,  
 M'appresso a quelle eterne alme contrade,  
 Onde vien quanto a noi di sopra è dato.  
 Indi, qual ei la Vergin d'Ethiopia,  
 Destinata per cibo al monstro fiero,  
 Scorgo in preda d'Amor l'anima propria,  
 Ma non ho com'hebbe ei lo scudo altero,  
 Nè d'altr'arme per torla, alcuna copia,  
 Di man del dispietato iniquo arciero.<sup>4</sup>

## Compare

Que qual Mercurio, un tiempo fuesse alado  
 Perceo por el cielo cristalino,  
 No es caso muy extraño, o peregrino,  
 Pues yo lo pruevo en mi amoroso estado.  
 Quando del pensamiento levantado,  
 A contemplar un rostro alto y divino,  
 Me allego junto (a) aquel puesto y confino,  
 De donde viene quanto bien sea dado;  
 De allí, qual él, la virgen de Etyopia,  
 Por manjar destinada al monstruo crudo,  
 Veo pressa de Amor mi alma propia,  
 Mas no tengo como él el fuerte escudo  
 Para librarla de la ardiente copia  
 De flechas del arquero cruel desnudo.

(p. 14 v)

Francesco Coppetta furnished another model.

10. Amor m'ha posto come scoglio a l'onda,  
 Qual incude al martel, qual torre al vento,  
 E com'oro nel fuoco; e'l mio lamento,  
 Donna, a voi grida, e non è chi risponda:  
 La treccia vostra inanellata e bionda  
 Sol per mio danno ondeggia, e per voi sento  
 Il colpo, il fiato e'l fuoco, e non mi pento  
 Ogni pena per voi chiamar gioconda.  
 L'orgoglio onda, martello il duro affetto,  
 Lo sdegno è vento: e con tal forze Amore  
 Non mi muove, non rompe e non m'inchina;

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<sup>4</sup> *Fiori, loc. cit.*, page 13.

E l'accessa onestade e'l bel sospetto  
 Con la dolce ira, e'l fuoco ove'l mio core  
 Quanto più si consuma, più s'affina.<sup>5</sup>

The imitation reads smoothly and pleasingly.

Qual roca Amor me ha puesto al mar ayrado,  
 Qual ayunque al martillo, torre al viento,  
 Qual oro al fuego; y mi áspero tormento  
 Jamás, Arcelia cruel, os ha ablandado.  
 Vuestro hermoso cabello ensortijado,  
 Ondeá sólo para mi tormento,  
 Y el golpe, el ayre, el fuego, en mi tormento,  
 Por vos le tengo, por un dulce estado.  
 Honda el orgullo y martillo el duro efeto,  
 Desdén el viento, y con tal fuerça y pena  
 No me mueve el Amor, rompe o inclina:  
 Que el fuego, desse honesto y bello aspecto,  
 Su dulce ira, y suave aura serena,  
 Quanto más me consume más me afina.

(p. 14)

Another imitation is drawn from Girolamo Parabosco.

11. Chi vuol prova di sè far contra Amore  
 Miri ne gli occhi de la donna mia,  
 Che poi sicuro in ogni parte fia,  
 S'ivi non è pregion, s'ivi non more.  
 Questi quegli occhi son, c'hanno valore  
 Di far d'ogni alma cruda, humile e pia;  
 Al foco, a strai d'Amor apron la via,  
 Sia pur di ghiaccio, o di diamante un core.  
 Luci da me più che la vita amate,  
 Che morir d'ineffabile dolcezza  
 Mi fate ogn'hor, che a me vi rivolgete;  
 Cost' mai sempre a me benigne siate  
 Com'io vi adoro, e come di bellezza  
 I dui maggior del ciel lumi vincete.<sup>6</sup>

Heredia faithfully translates the thought.

Quien de sí contra Amor quiere hazer prueba  
 Mire los ojos de mi Arcelia bellos,  
 Que bien podrá ya seguro, si por ellos  
 No se entrega a una dulce prisión nueva.

<sup>5</sup> *Rime Scelte*, Vinegia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1588, II, 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Rime Scelte*, Vinegia, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1588, II, 166.

Que aquestos son los ojos donde a prueba  
 Se fraguan las saetas contra aquellos,  
 Y aunque de hielo armados, solo en vellos  
 No hay dureza que (a) amarles no le mueva,  
 Luzes mas que la vida de mí amadas,  
 Que de inmensa dulçura y gran terneza  
 Si os bolvéys a mirarme, luego muero;  
 Así me seays benignas, y apiadadas  
 Como hos adoro, y como en belleza  
 Vencéys a Delia, y el mayor Luzero. (p. 4 v)

Heredia wrote at a time when the poetic stream was changing its course from Petrarchism to *Culteranismo*. The poems he chose to imitate, on account of their artificial character, mark him as a transitionist between the two movements.

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## THE FIGURATIVE NEGATIVE IN OLD SPANISH

In the May, 1927, number of *MLN*. (pp. 311-313) Professor A. R. Nykl discusses and lists what he calls "Old Spanish terms of small value" and states that he "would be grateful if further examples were called to his attention." The term under discussion is, I believe, generally considered the essential part of the figurative negative, and as such has been frequently treated.

Professor Nykl calls the terms "rustic similes," and states that none occurs in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. But herein he is mistaken, as the following examples show:

non lo preçio un figo, 77  
 non quiere facer un dinero de daño, 252  
 non prendré de vos quanto un dinero malo, 503  
 non daré a vos *de ello* un dinero malo, 1042.

In fact, Menéndez Pidal, in a paragraph entitled *Refuerzo de la negación* in his edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, gives a very satisfactory bibliography of scholars who have treated this question,<sup>1</sup> and who cite practically all the words included in Professor Nykl's lists in addition to as many more overlooked by him.

<sup>1</sup> *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Madrid, 1908, I, 376. Cf. also his glossary of the poem s. v. *figo*.

Diez<sup>2</sup> is doubtless the first scholar to discuss the figurative negative, and, though he has made no attempt to exhaust the study or to compile a complete list of examples, has cited several instances from the same works used by Professor Nykl, *e. g.*:

non puedo desir gota, JRuiz, 1492c  
 tres agallas no daban, Duelo Berceo, 19c  
 non los preçio dos piñones, JRuiz, 638d  
 non valiron quanto tres cannaveras, Alex, 663d  
 quanto val un cabello, MilagBerceo, 325c

W. W. Comfort in 1908 contributed to *MLN.* an article on "The Figurative Negative in Romance Literature" à propos of G. Dreyling's exhaustive study of the material in Old French,<sup>3</sup> and took issue, wisely enough it would seem, with Dreyling's explanation of their frequent use when he suggested that the figurative negative is a convenient *cheville*. It is true that in every instance but two listed by Professor Nykl the "term of small value" either ends the line directly or is followed by an adjective modifier that might naturally and regularly be associated with it. In fact, the adjective modifier increases the insignificance or lack of value. Professor Nykl, curiously enough, seems to have missed the point of the adjective *foradado* with *tiesto*. He translates *tiesto*: "an earthen flower-pot with a hole in the bottom." We are not dealing here with the modern article; *foradado* is added to give the article still less value. A pot with a hole in it is practically useless; so is a nut (*nuez foradada*).

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#### CONFUSION BEWEEN OLD FRENCH *MORE* AND *MOR*

In his edition of *Guibert d'Andrenas*, Paris, 1922, Melander writes *More* and includes it in his list of proper names:

Ne vit nus hon .i. Sarrazin si fier,  
 Gueule ot fendue plus de plain pié entier,

<sup>2</sup> *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Zweite Ausgabe, Bonn, 1860, III, 402-418.

<sup>3</sup> *MLN*, XXIII, 61-63. Dreyling's study is entitled: *Die Ausdrucksweise der übertriebenen Verkleinerung im altfranzösischen Karlsepos (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie veröffentlicht von E. Stengel, Marburg, 1888, LXXXII)*.

Les denz agues come qarrel d'acier,  
 Noir comme More, bien resenble aversier.  
 De la tor ist armé sor son destrier;  
 Avuec lui a de paiens .i. millier  
 Qui tuit sont noir con More de Morier.<sup>1</sup> (1426-1432)

*More* is then defined as meaning "Maure" and *Morier* as "pays des Maures." This translation is incorrect in the case of both of the words mentioned, showing that the editor overlooked the distinction between *mor* and *more*. The feminine form *more* (Cl. Latin *mōrum* plu. *mōra*) means "mulberry" and *morier* means "mulberry tree":

Devant le palais ont Bondifer amené,  
 Un destrier que rois Otes tenoit en grant chierté.  
 Il fu noir comme *more*, s'ot le front estellé,  
 Et la crope fu blanche comme flor en esté.  
 (*Florence de Rome*, ed. by A. Wallensköld, Paris, 1907, 2499-2502.)

Une mulle chevache richement conraee,  
 Plus noire que n'est *more* et de blanc estellee.  
 (*Ibid.*, 3625-6.)

Au bout de celle lande mauldiete y avoit ung franc *morier* planté, assez remply de fueilles vertes et auprès du *morier* y avoit une fontaine.

(*Oeuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Alexis*, ed. by Arthur Piaget and Émile Picot, II, Paris, 1899, p. 309.)

In her dissertation entitled *French Feminine Singular Nouns Derived from Latin Neuter Plurals*,<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Turville says: "In early French, *more* is commonly found in comparisons, as being the most familiar concrete object possessing the quality of blackness in a superlative degree."

In the passage from *Guibert d'Andrenas* quoted above, Milander has confused feminine *more* with masculine *mor* (from Latin *Maurus*). The latter form means "Moor":

Un vilain, qui ressanbloit *mor*,  
 Grant et hideus a desmesure,  
 (Einsi tres leide creature,

<sup>1</sup> Jessie Crosland writes *more* and *morier* in her edition of this text, London, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> New York, 1925, p. 25. On this page and the following she gives two examples of *more de morier* (*R Mont*, 133, 21 and *Gaydon*, 9791).

Qu'an ne porroit dire de boche),

Vi je seoir sor une çoche.

(*Kristian von Troyes Yvain*, ed. by W. Foerster, Halle, 1912, 288-92.)

Aufricans amena et *Mors*,

Si amena ses grans trésors.

(*Le Roman de Brut* par Wace, ed. by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1838, 11388-9.)

E la tierce est de Nubles e de Blos,

E la quarte est de Bruns e d'Esclavoz,

E la quinte est de Sorbres e de Sorz,

E la siste est d'Ermes e de *Mors*.

(*La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Léon Gautier, Tours, 1880, 3224-7.)

A similar confusion in the use of the words under consideration is also found in Littré's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* where the following passage is cited under *More*, *Mauve*, "Moor":

Par iceli Diex qui ne ment,

Se vous jamés parlés à li,

Vous en aurés le vis pali,

Voirs plus noir que *more*.

(Méon, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1814, 8575-81.)

The word *more* in the quotation just given means "mulberry" and is so translated by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye in his *Dictionnaire Historique de l'Ancien Langage François*. In his discussion of *morois* and related forms, Gunnar Tilander says:<sup>3</sup> "Il a dû y avoir confusion entre les mots dérivés de *maurus* et *morum* 'mûre.'" As already indicated the French representative of *Maurus*, "Moor," found in the early texts was *mor*. The later form with an *e*, *More*, is doubtless due to the influence of *more*, "mulberry," with which it was confused.

In Murray's English Dictionary *More* is mentioned as occurring in Anglo-French in the thirteenth century. In Froissart this form is used as the name of a bridge:<sup>4</sup> "Le duc de Lancastre et le roy de Portingal ont été ensemble au Pont-de-More." On page 460 of the same volume the editor says: "Le Pont de More est Ponte-Mouro," and in volume xxv, p. 200 he describes as follows the location of the bridge: "On voit une localité appelée Ponte-

<sup>3</sup> See *Lexique du Roman de Renart*, Göteborg, 1924.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. by M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1870, xi, 430.



Mouro sur le Tambre, entre Campostelle et la Corogne." *Maure*, a variant of *More* under the influence of Latin *Maurus*, did not appear until very much later. The first example noted in the texts examined occurs in the *Mémoires* of Commynes:<sup>5</sup> "Et apres vouloient continuer les-dictz roys en leur conqueste ou entreprinse sur les *Maures* et passer la mer qui est entre Grenade et Affrique."

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## BROWNING AND GOETHE

No one, as far as I know, has ever called attention to the close parallel between Browning's famous first lines of *Rabbi Ben Ezra*,

Grow old along with me.  
The best is yet to be,  
The last of life for which the first was made.

and a passage from one of Goethe's *Zahme Xenien*,

Ein alter Mann ist stets ein König Lear!  
Was Hand in Hand mitwirkte, stritt,  
Ist längst vorbei gegangen,  
Was mit und an dir liebte, litt,  
Hat sich wo anders angehangen;  
Die Jugend ist um ihretwillen hier,  
Es wäre thörig zu verlangen:  
Komm, ältele du mit mir.<sup>1</sup>

Browning's *Grow old along with me* and Goethe's *Komm, ältele du mit mir* are so similar that the former could very easily be considered a direct translation of the latter. However, Browning's thesis in regard to old age is quite different from Goethe's opinion as expressed here. In fact it appears that Browning's whole poem is an answer to Goethe's *Komm, ältele du mit mir*. He would show that it would not be foolish to ask: *Grow old along with me*. But Browning, when he wrote his famous lines, was still too far from old age to know very much about it. Goethe at seventy was better qualified to judge.

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<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes*, pub. by Mlle Dupont, Paris, 1853, II, 573.

<sup>1</sup> Weimar Edition, vol. III, p. 232. First published among other *Zahme Xenien* in 1820 in *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, 2, 3, pp. 81-96.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLTAIRE'S BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of additions to Bengesco's *Bibliographie de Voltaire* will supplement the article I published in *MLN.*, of Jan., 1924:

1. *La Mort de César, Tragédie. Par M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle édition. Au Magasin des pièces de Théâtre, chez Devers, Libraire, rue Saint-Rome. A Toulouse, An II. (1803). 34 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 99 B.)*
2. *Alzire ou les Américains, Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. Représentée à Paris pour la première fois le 27 janvier 1736.—Errer est d'un mortel, pardonner est divin. (Duren, trad. de Pope.) Avec la parodie de Messieurs Romagnési et Riccoboni, A Amsterdam. Chez J. Ryckhoff, fils, libraire. 1736. V, 72 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 109 B. This is the fifth known edition of *Alzire* of the year 1736.)*
3. *Oreste. Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. Revue et corrigée par l'Auteur, et telle qu'elle est représentée par les Comédiens François ordinaires du Roy. Nouvelle édition. Paris. Par la Compagnie des Libraires. 1766. 67 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 205 B.)*
4. *Olympie, Tragédie de M. de Voltaire. A Paris. Chez N. B. Duchesne. . . . 1772. 48 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 261 B.)*
5. *Charlot, ou la Comtesse de Givri. Pièce Dramatique, représentée sur le Théâtre de Ferney au mois de Septembre 1767. Genève et Paris. Merlin. . . . 1767. 47 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 271 B. An edition of the same year as the one listed by Bengesco as the original, but without the Preface and with a different number of pages.)*
6. *Romans et Contes philosophiques par M. de Voltaire. Londres 1776. 2 vol. (To be added to Bengesco as 1520 B.)*
7. *L'Evangile du Jour. A Genève. 1769. 227 pp. (Cf. Bengesco, 1904. This is the third edition of Volume I, different from the two described by Bengesco. Contents: Profession de foi des Théistes. Les droits des hommes et les usurpations des autres. Epître aux Romains. Homélie du pasteur Bourn. Conseils raisonnables à Mr. Bergier. Remontrance du corps des pasteurs du Gévaudan à J. Roustan. Fragment d'une lettre du Lord Bolingbroke. Discours aux confédérés catholiques de Kaminiek. Les Colimaçons du R. P. L'Escarbotier. Dissertation du Physicien de St. Flour. Réflexion de l'Editeur.)*
8. *Défense de Milord Bolingbroke. 1752. (To be added to Bengesco as 1622 B. Contains 22 pages instead of 16, like the one indicated by Bengesco. This may be the first edition.)*

9. *Diatribes du docteur Akakia, médecin du Pape. Décret de l'Inquisition et rapport des professeurs de Rome au sujet d'un prétendu Président. MDCCLIII.* (To be added to Bengesco, 1624. This edition counts 30 pp. and is different from the three listed by Bengesco for the year 1753.)
10. *Oeuvres de Voltaire*, A. Basle, 1737. (This is the fourth collected edition known and is composed of: *Zayre*.—pp. 1-122; *La Mort de César*.—pp. 122-199. [Text of the Dutch ed. of 1736]; *Épître sur la Calomnie*.—pp. 200-208; *Alzire ou les Américains*.—pp. 208-312; *Le Temple du Goût, par Monsieur de Voltaire suivant l'édition véritable d'Amsterdam de 1733. Donnée par l'Auteur*.—pp. 312-364. To be added to Bengesco as 2119 B. The *Épître sur la Calomnie* here printed constitutes the second edition, to be added to Bengesco, 748.)
11. A copy of the bilingual edition of the *Épître de M. de V . . . en arrivant de sa terre. . .* (Bengesco, 791-794), of which Bengesco indicated the existence in his additions (I, p. 488), but which he was unable to describe.  
*Fol. 1*.—Recto: *Épître de Mr. de Voltaire—An Epistle of Mr. de Voltaire.* (Price One Shilling.)  
*Fol. 1*.—Verso: *Épître de Mr. de Voltaire, En arrivant dans sa Terre près du Lac de Genève, en Mars, 1755* A Londres: Chez R. and J. Dodsley dans Pall-Mall. 1755.  
*Fol. 2*.—Recto: *An Epistle of Mr. de Voltaire Upon his Arrival at his Estate near the Lake of Geneva, in March, 1755. From the French.* London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. 1755.  
 In 4°, 23 pp.
12. *La Henriade, par Monsieur de Voltaire, Avec les Variantes & un Essai sur la Poésie Epique. Nouvelle Édition.* A Amsterdam; chez François L'Honoré. 1765. 2 vol. of XXI, 211 pp. and 108 + 96 pp. in 8°. (To be added to Bengesco as 381 B, and for the *Essai sur la Poésie Epique* as 1551 B.)
13. *Idem*, 1766. (To be added to Bengesco as 381 C.)
14. *Les Pélopidés, ou Atrée et Thieste, Tragédie. Par M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle Édition.* A Paris, chez Didot l'aîné, MDCCLXXII. 43 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 289 B.)
15. *Dictionnaire Philosophique Portatif.* [n. d.] MDCCLXV, VIII, 342 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 1402 B. This edition is different from the four editions listed for 1765. It is apparently the second edition.)
16. *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par Des Amateurs.* Genève. MDCCLXXV. This edition is in four volumes of 609, 584, 600 and 599 pp. (To be added to Bengesco as 1410 B.)
17. Worthy of note (although Bengesco does not describe English translations as a rule) is the following translation of the *Temple du Goût*:

*The Temple of Taste* By M. de Voltaire. Glasgow. Printed by Robert Urie. MDCCLI. XIV and 15-96 pp. in 12°.

Numbers 1-7 are owned by New York University (University Heights); numbers 8-9 by the University of Illinois; number 10 by the University of Chicago; numbers 11-17 by Columbia University.

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## REVIEWS

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*Chateaubriand and Homer*, with a study of some of the French sources of his classical information. By C. H. HART. Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Pp. 166. Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, No. XI. \$1.25.

The preface announces to the reader an analysis of Homeric style to be made in the body of the work, reminds him of the theory of manifold authorship, and promises a statement of the sources of Chateaubriand's classical information. The introduction gives the status of Greek studies in France before Chateaubriand's time. Racine's commentary on the *Odyssey* shows his love for the patriarchal Homer and his indiscriminate linking of Homer and Heliodorus. Fénelon's *Télémaque*, based on Homer in form and theme, makes of "what was occasional in Homer (its) very substance." As a didactic tale, however, it has descendants in Marmontel's and Florian's works, which add a new element,—romantic love, and in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, of poetical and dramatic interest. Besides this fiction, the work of le père Lafitau and that of Charlevoix form the final links in the development of the prose epic before Chateaubriand's time.

Since an imperfect understanding of Homer is the sole heritage from his most illustrious predecessors in France, it is possible that Chateaubriand gained a more thorough understanding from his sojourn in England. The *Essai sur les Révolutions*, written in that country, may mislead the casual reader with its numerous foot-note references to classical sources, but not Mr. Hart, who has traced these to two, or at the most three, French sources, chief among which, again, is Barthélemy's *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*. Versions of Greek poetry, that appear in the *Essai*, seem to be

made from English translations. Thus there is still no first hand knowledge.

In *Les Natchez*, Chateaubriand's first prose epic, the characters are far more like Virgil than Homer, witness the friendship of Outougamiz for René, an all-absorbing passion rather than a single emotion of a many-sided character. The situations are equally un-Homeric, even the military scenes which give the achievements of a single warrior. The final point of comparison is the poetic ornament, and the simile, in particular. Mr. Hart here takes the trouble to list all the similes of both the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*, so as to convince us that visual similes are common in the first and less common in the second, and always more frequent than the emotional simile. Following this adequate basis for comparison, he finds only one simile in *Les Natchez* that seems to be drawn from Homer, that of a battle-field compared to a threshing-floor (Book 10). Chateaubriand's comparisons are sometimes inappropriate, or too elaborate. He does, however, understand the function of the comparison and he follows Homer in making it visual. In spite of this, he has not yet acquired a thorough knowledge of Homeric poetic ornaments.

The criticism of the *Génie du Christianisme* bears out the practice of *Les Natchez*. It indicates that its author admires what he understands, "the pathos of Priam, the tenderness of Penelope and Ulysses." What is true of characters is also true of style; though here Mr. Hart shows that Chateaubriand knows nothing of the "energy and directness" of much of Homer's style. Limited as is this knowledge, for the first time it is acquired at first hand.

The characters of *Les Martyrs* are no more Homeric than those of *Les Natchez*. "A garrulous, unresourceful old man" is Démocodocus, as opposed to the still vigorous Nestor, loquacious of earlier, stronger days; a passive girl, Cymodocée, as compared to the more natural Nausicaa, who is full of initiative; "an incompetent nurse," Eurymédeuse, as compared to the kindly and active Eurycleia. As for the comparisons which, again, are carefully tabulated, two thirds of them are in the manner of the *Odyssey*, though only very few actually recall the model. Finally, in the matter of foreshadowing the plot, Chateaubriand fails to justify himself in his supposed following of his famous predecessor. For the local color of *Les Martyrs*, sought on the journey related in the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, Chateaubriand goes back again to his chief secondary source, *Le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*. The importance of this book, among others, is indicated in the sub-title of Mr. Hart's study.

The conclusion reached is that Chateaubriand knew Homer only slightly, at first hand, but more widely and less accurately through the medium of imitators and critics. As for actual influence there is little. Chateaubriand is interested in the patriarchal Homer.

whom he can understand and appreciate, and disregards the martial Homer. In the matter of comparisons, where, alone, stimulation is derived from Homer, we note, again, Chateaubriand's natural ability. Only that part of Homer that is in keeping with Chateaubriand's temperament has any effect on him. This is not surprising in view of our knowledge of his reaction to English literature. His judgments lack proportion and are colored by his personal likes and capacities. As picturesqueness is characteristic of his style, it is the picturesque detail, the brilliant, colorful word that he takes from Milton. His innate love of nature and his ability to depict it lead him to stress wild and rugged nature in his borrowings from Ossian. And so it is with his "study of Homer (which) would seem merely to have encouraged what was already native in his disciple."

Logical, coherent, thorough as Mr. Hart's work is, it has in its present printing a defect or two. Careless proof reading is noted. There are thirty or more errors in the first thirty pages. These and others, not confined to the initial pages, consist of such things as *lengths* for *lengths*, inconsistency in the use of capitals in titles and elsewhere, inconsistent spelling of a name such as Patroclus, etc. Another frequent inaccuracy, excusable on the ground that the thesis is published abroad, is a wrong division of syllables, reference, literature, returned, choosing, charming. The use of the word *aristeia* might be questioned since it does not occur in the *N. E. D.* A more serious fault is the omission of an index, which renders it difficult of use to future students of Chateaubriand.

Its value lies in the fact that it fills a gap in the study of the sources of Chateaubriand. It is a more complete and more sympathetic statement than Köhler's *Quellenuntersuchung zu Chateaubriands 'Les Martyrs.'* The listed comparisons will be welcome to the student of comparisons in other Romantic writers. In conclusion, this thesis identifies another bit of the vast mosaic of Chateaubriand's work.

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*L'Homérisme de Chateaubriand.* Par B. BRIOD. Paris, Champion, 1928. x + 167 pp.

It is a pleasure to see, in the opening chapter of this book, due honor done to the abbé Barthélemy, of whom M. Briod writes:

'La Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' fut pour beaucoup dans le retour à l'hellénisme savant: l'auteur avait pu, grâce aux progrès de l'archéologie,

animer ce qu'il y avait de trop sec, de trop intellectuel dans les travaux d'érudition pure sur la littérature hellénique; il avait su, d'autre part, vivifier cette archéologie au moyen des oeuvres littéraires. . . . Il serait intéressant d'examiner jusqu'à quel point le 'Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' n'a pas fait pour les lettres grecques ce que le 'Génie du Christianisme' a fait pour la religion chrétienne.

Unfortunately, if M. Briod has an acute sense of Barthélemy's position in the development of modern Hellenism, he fails to realize the very intimate connection between the 'Voyage du jeune Anacharsis' and the Hellenizing works of Chateaubriand. His second chapter, devoted to "Chateaubriand et le grec" would be far more complete if he had shown, as a comparison of the 'Essai sur les Révolutions' and the 'Voyage' reveals, that the many notes, with their appearance of scholarship, in the former, were very often lifted bodily from the notes of the latter. In other words Chateaubriand's independent documentation was not very extensive. The indebtedness of Chateaubriand to Barthélemy is even greater, for the Grecian setting of 'Les Martyrs'—Messene and the banks of the Ladon in Arcadia—also comes from 'le jeune Anacharsis.' And there are tell-tale pages in the 'Génie du Christianisme' as well as in 'les Martyrs' that show how Chateaubriand confused the fiction of Barthélemy with the verity of Greek history.

The third chapter, 'La Critique d'Homère dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand (Le Génie du Christianisme),' is excellent. Probably no more detailed study of Chateaubriand's 'critique' of Homer and Greek Literature has been made. The last two chapters, devoted to 'L'Epopée de l'homme de la nature and 'L'Epopée chrétienne' are marked by the same thoroughness. Every possible point of resemblance is indicated. Too much attention however is paid to purely verbal resemblances and disparities. The author fails to compare the characters of Chateaubriand with those of Homer, yet portrayal of character seems a far more important point than diction. How create an Homeric world without Homeric characters? It is possible even to bring to life again the Homeric world without Homeric phraseology. The comparison of Demodocus in 'Les Martyrs' with Homer's Nestor, for instance, or even with Priam is illuminating, as is that of Cymodocée with Nausicaa.

At several points in his study M. Briod dwells on the difference between imitation and inspiration. He would have us believe that the seventeenth century, as regards the Greek influence, was inspired, whereas the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries merely imitated. Is it not more correct to say that the Greek spirit was a source of inspiration in all three centuries whenever it worked through a genius? Are not Ronsard, the 'lyrique,' Racine, Fénelon, and Chénier all of one family, just as Chapelain and even Voltaire are of another? Chateaubriand is not wholly of either, though his chief affinities are with the latter. Through all French Hellen-

izing writers runs a strain of Alexandrianism. When this strain was exaggerated we have, where the epic is concerned, artistic failure; when it was restrained, we have masterpieces.

One may ask whether M. Briod is not too severe in judging the poetic comparisons of 'Les Martyrs'? Un-Homeric they may be but they are nevertheless, as Chateaubriand says, "la partie la plus soignée de son ouvrage" and have merits of their own. Doubtless the poets of the nineteenth century owe him much for his elaboration of this accessory.

In conclusion it must be admitted that as a commentary on three of the major works of Chateaubriand M. Briod's study has great value. Perhaps no work has come nearer being a complete textual criticism of them than his volume. Much, likewise, is to be learned from it concerning the essential qualities of the Homeric style. The book will repay reading by students of the Hellenizing movement in French literature.

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*The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to his Publisher, F. S. Ellis.*

Edited by OSWALD DOUGHTY. The Scholartis Press, London, 1928. xlviii + 150 pp.

*Orion*, by R. H. HORNE. With an Introduction on Horne's Life and Work. The Scholartis Press, London, 1928. xxxviii + 131 pp.

These ninety-two Rossetti letters, nearly all very short, are (as Mr. Doughty is aware) not of the first importance as letters or as biographical data, but they are certainly worth printing. The first fifty-nine cover the year 1870 and are mostly concerned with the details of printing and publishing the *Poems* of that year—even to the writing of some of the advertisements—and Rossetti's well-known zeal in "packing" the reviews. Nos. 68-75 have to do with the "contemptuous *Contemporary*" article on the Fleshly School and the whole *affaire* Buchanan. It is curious here that in spite of his premonitions of an attack and his elaborate devices to forestall it, Rossetti's first reaction was tolerant: "For once abuse comes in a form even a bard can manage to grin at without grimacing" (p. 103). But grimaces followed soon enough when he learned (from Ellis) that Buchanan was the author of the abuse. The last few letters, uninteresting unless for the slighting references to his "Yankee" publisher, are of 1881 when he was preparing the *Poems* and *Ballads and Sonnets* for the press.

Mr. Doughty's editing is on the whole very workmanlike. He has devoted great care to the dating of the letters, a troublesome



matter; but is less particular about the place whence they were written. The notes are few and mostly technical, as is proper. Each of the persons mentioned in the letters is described briefly—some rather needlessly (as “*William Morris*, of course (1834-1896), poet and artist”); C. E. Norton (p. 32), however, is not Mrs. Caroline Norton, but Rossetti’s friend and correspondent, Charles Eliot Norton, as the address in Florence proves.

The most valuable work of the editor is the detailed account—fuller and more accurate than any hitherto—of Rossetti’s life from 1868 to 1871. Here we have the story, told sympathetically, of the exhumation of the MS. (which Rossetti could tell Skelton, only two years after Mrs. Rossetti’s death, was “lost . . . by an accident”), his reabsorption in poetical composition, the gradual resolution to publish, the careful revisions and attention to paper and binding, and the anxious preparations for an enthusiastic reception in the reviews. Mr. Doughty confines himself, however, to what is strictly pertinent for an introduction to the Ellis letters, and thus his history of these years is not altogether complete. What we gain from the volume is not so much new light on Rossetti’s mind as a fuller appreciation of what we already knew in a general way. His skill at driving bargains in the sale of pictures is not manifest in his dealings with Ellis; on the contrary, he frequently offered to bear the expense of last moment changes. Moreover, what Mr. Doughty attributes to Rossetti’s business ability, his zealous interest in the minutiae of printing is to be understood partly as arising from the practical artist’s attention to practical details—the painter’s necessary habit. Letter No. 30 may be recommended to those who are not familiar with Rossetti’s hearty gaiety and bluff humor.

It was a happy thought of The Scholartis Press to revive—as they say of dramas—Horne’s “farthing epic” of 1843, which is no doubt too little read even by students to-day. The poem is of course hardly an epic, but a sort of heroico-philosophic idyl in 3000 lines. The story is scarcely firm and continuous enough to stand by itself, but with the rather simple allegorical meanings which it and the characters bear, and the rapid flow of the blank verse, *Orion* deserves an important place in English minor narrative poetry. There are many passages of real beauty and eloquence, although one constantly overhears Milton and Keats, and occasionally Landor. Mr. Eric Partridge’s introduction is rightly appreciative, but moderate in its claims. His sketch of Horne’s life and works, slight though it is, and in spite of an overemphasis on the dramatic pieces to the neglect of *A New Spirit of the Age*, is the best to be had at present. It relies heavily on Gosse’s essay, but shows also a reasonable amount of research. The whole volume, however, with its ornate but excellent typography, its apparatus of “substantive variants” between the first, second, and ninth

editions (printed at the end) is intended rather for the lover of poetry than for the scholar. The former might wish a portrait of Horne; the latter would certainly want Horne's *Brief Commentary* prefixed to the ninth and definitive edition. Horne's extravagantly romantic life would make him a capital subject for mistreatment in the contemporary biographical manner, but his varied literary associations and interests certainly warrant a full and careful study. Perhaps Mr. Partridge's edition may recall the attention of scholars to his *chefs-d'œuvre méconnus*.

PAULL F. BAUM.

*Duke University.*

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*The House of Life. By Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Edited by*  
PAUL FRANKLIN BAUM. Harvard University Press, 1928.  
Pp. xiv + 242. \$3.00.

This edition of *The House of Life* presents the sonnets in a most attractive form, with a commentary on each sonnet which will be valuable to the scholar and, to the general reader, will prove a much needed open sesame. The notes rest upon a comprehensive study of Rossetti's poetry and of his actual and imaginative life as well. Rossetti's sonnets, though not explicitly autobiographical, derive their themes largely from his most intimate personal experience; and he expresses himself often in symbolic figures special to him so that both theme and detail are obscure to those who have not studied his life and thought closely. Hence Mr. Baum's method, in addition to his own sensitiveness, gives us a unified, detailed, and stimulating interpretation. It is tactful too; it does not take us into learned origins leaving us to read as philologists, but everywhere draws upon its learning to illuminate the finished poetry. The dates and the notes on the autobiographical background of each sonnet make clear that single emotional and psychological drama in which lies the greatest power and beauty of *The House of Life*. Mr. Baum presents Rossetti's life with insight and judgment although he gives somewhat more definiteness than our knowledge warrants to the part played in the story by the second, unfulfilled love, which came to Rossetti between his engagement to Miss Sidall and his marriage to her. What Hall Caine gives us, after all, seems to me to be dim and partial intimations and suggestions, solidified and made coherent by his own mind after long years, and of uncertain original shape and weight. But, however one decides about the secret love, it hardly played so large a part as Mr. Baum gives it in his interpretation; he has brought the Innominata, as he calls her, into connection with more sonnets than can easily be so interpreted. Yet he has marked his way clearly so that with

this one small reservation, the notes do not lose their value to a reader who does not fully accept his view.

In addition to the lucid commentary, the material in the introduction, notes, and appendix on dates and on the conditions under which Rossetti worked is useful and suggestive. The general introduction gives a sympathetic, reasoned criticism of Rossetti's art and of his view of life seen in relation to his age and in the light of current critical thought. In his final evaluation of Rossetti's 'mysticism' and 'aestheticism' he neglects the opportunity to measure these by larger human experience and by the great masters in this domain of thought, and thus his definition of Rossetti's achievement here is limited in scope. The introduction as a whole, however, is illuminating, warm, and sanely tempered.

RUTH WALLERSTEIN.

*University of Wisconsin.*

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*Endymion, A Poetic Romance, By John Keats.* Type-facsimile of the First Edition with Introduction and Notes by H. CLEMENT NOTCUTT. Oxford University Press, New York, 1928. Pp. lxi + 242.

This is a beautiful volume, printed in clear black on exquisite white, attractively bound in natural linen boards—a book one will want on his shelves. But in other respects it is less satisfactory. Most readers would like, I imagine, a reproduction of Keats's poem with something less of positive interpretation. "Here are the Poems," once wrote Keats, "they will explain themselves—as all poems should do without any comment." Without in the least minimizing the value of scholarly and sympathetic criticism as an aid in interpreting Keats, one is tempted to suggest that it would be nearer the spirit of the poet if copies of his original editions could be made for us more after the manner in which he himself first gave them to his public. Or, if in our enthusiasm for explanatory editions, we *must* have an introduction and notes, would it not be preferable to have, not the single view of one man, but a syllabus of the interpretative comment which has to date been offered by reputable critics—better yet, perhaps, only pertinent historical detail connected with the genesis and reception of the poem?

Professor Notcutt's interpretation of *Endymion* is in many respects both interesting and suggestive. In one of its main lines—Mr. Notcutt sees a double allegory in the poem—it does not differ materially from other interpretations (for though this explanation is the most elaborate and detailed of any so far made, it is not, as the author seems to feel, the only one which has been

proposed); but in its second main outline Mr. Notcutt's interpretation is more individualistic, differing radically, especially in certain details, from views previously advanced. Here the poem allegorizes the awakening of English poetry from the stultification of eighteenth century conventionalism to a new appreciation of the beauty of nature. Glaucus personifies English poetry, wan and decrepit, asleep under the influence of the enchantress Circe,—Alexander Pope—awaiting the magic touch of the new school to come to life: and "Endymion is the man" who gives the touch.

Here Mr. Notcutt is on decidedly debatable ground, a fact, however, which he himself appears frequently to forget, and, dogmatizing where others have felt that only tentative suggestion was safe,—on the evident assumption that his hypothesis has become accepted fact—confidently proceeds to analyze and interpret detailed passages in the poem in accordance with his theory. Mr. Notcutt thus falls into the unfortunate error of continually begging the question, as a glance at the Notes on Book III, will show: thus, "505. *tooth, tusk, and venom-bag, etc.* (of Circe), an apt description of the tone of literary and political controversy in the age of Pope." "509-10. *Fierce, wan, and tyrannizing*: Pope's attitude to the literary world of his time." "514. *raven'd quick*: referring to the large demand for Pope's writings." "516-20. *Avenging, slow, etc.* This refers to the publication of *The Bathos*, or *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*." And "614. *Gaunt, wither'd, sapless, feeble, cramp'd and lame*: the epithets are well chosen to express the effect of Pope's influence upon English poetry, as Keats regarded it."

This sort of thing would be all very well if it could be indeed established that Keats meant Circe to represent Pope and meant the awakening of Glaucus to symbolize the restoration of English poetry to its pristine vitality. But assumptions are after all only assumptions. And not every one is going to find it possible to accept Professor Notcutt's theories—ingeniously as he has frequently developed them. Nor will everybody readily agree that we must either find an explanation for every important particular and incident in *Endymion*, or admit that, though the poem may have meaning in parts, in long passages together Keats allowed himself to wander from the point and "scribble grotesque and meaningless nonsense" across his pages. A framework of allegory did not among Keats's predecessors and models, debar digressions and embellishments. And that he himself saw no inconsistency in such methods may be inferred from his answer to Hunt's objection to a long poem: "Do not the Lovers of Poetry like a little Region to wander in?" Most readers will probably be inclined to feel, unlike Mr. Notcutt, that *Endymion* is quite as fine a poem without being made to bear too great an overload of allegory. At

any rate, the interpretation here insisted upon is a very specialized one, which most critics are likely to feel is too untested and too little provable to accompany such an edition of Keats's poem as the one before us.

CLARENCE DEWITT THORPE.

*University of Michigan.*

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*Keats's Shakespeare, a Descriptive Study Based on New Material.*

By CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. viii + 178. \$10. (25 s.)

Miss Spurgeon, who has done distinguished work on early English literature, is apparently one of those who believe that scholarly methods are unnecessary if not out of place in dealing with the nineteenth century. For the material of her beautiful but needlessly expensive volume is incomplete, is presented in too lyric a style and without sufficient clarity and order, and is not indexed—indeed there is not even a list of the twenty-one plates! It is in dealing with one of these,—a hitherto unpublished water-color, the history of which is “obscure,”—that Miss Spurgeon departs most widely from scholarly methods. The plate in question, the frontispiece, is entitled “Sketch of Keats by Joseph Severn done on board the *Maria Crowther*, September 1820.” Yet no reason is given for thinking that it is a “sketch of Keats” or that it was “done on board the *Maria Crowther*” and apparently the only basis, except rumor, for attributing it to Severn is the opinion of his son, of whose competence in such matters we know nothing except that he must now be an old man. On the other hand there are at least two conclusive reasons for rejecting the sketch as a portrait of the poet: the very dark hair—Keats's was “golden red”—and the bulging forehead—Keats's was decidedly recessive.

It is to be regretted that Miss Spurgeon did not print or at least record all of Keats's markings not only in the Princeton but in the Hampstead copies of Shakespeare and also in Hazlitt's *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* and Jackson's *Shakespeare's Genius Justified*, for complete material in such cases is more valuable than almost any comment. Miss Spurgeon's comments are often illuminating because of the careful study she has made of Keats's letters as well as his poetry and the facts of his life. She illustrates one use that may be made of her material by comparing marked passages in Shakespeare with lines in *Endymion* that use similar phraseology—although a number of her parallels are no more impressive than most of those Mr. E. V. Weller gathered from Mrs. Tighe's *Psyche*. She makes no study of the notable words, phrases, and passages that Keats did *not* mark

and apparently has not considered the probability that reasons quite apart from esthetics or even Shakespeare may have been responsible for some of the markings. The underscorings in the *Tempest*, for example, of the stage directions and the references to Ariel may have been the result of a conversation in which a new theory—possibly concerning the Elizabethan stage—was propounded. She does not discuss the date of the markings, most of which must be early since extensive underlining of an appreciative kind is rarely made in a work with which one is familiar.

The seven small volumes of Shakespeare which Keats probably took to the Isle of Wight as well as to Italy and which Miss Spurgeon (an Englishwoman!) had the good fortune to discover in the library of Mr. George Armour in Princeton contain only three short MS. notes on the plays in Keats's hand. They do, however, include a number of passages ingeniously and amusingly chosen from Shakespeare to damn the criticisms of Johnson and of Steevens under which Keats wrote them. But the markings are the main thing. A careful study of them should certainly add to our understanding of Keats and give new zest to our reading of Shakespeare.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS.

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*Alexander Dumas, fils, Dramatist.* By H. STANLEY SCHWARZ.  
New York, New York University Press, 1927. xv + 216 pp.

Dr. S. has taken great pains to study Dumas's plays, to analyze them at length, to classify and criticize them, but he does not appear to have read widely enough in dramatic literature to speak with authority as to his author's origins, position, or influence. Racine, with his more logical technique and his greater insistence upon women and love, would have been a better object of comparison than Corneille. Diderot's ideas, Balzac's realism, and Scribe's technique are insufficient sources for Dumas's comedy of manners, for the generation that preceded his had already written a number of plays that belong to that genre.<sup>1</sup> Little attention is paid to Augier, whose *Gabrielle* came out before the *Dame aux camélias*. Nor can one estimate D.'s influence without asking himself what was also contributed by such writers as Augier, Becque, Ibsen, and Hauptmann. Significant details are sometimes omitted from the analyses.<sup>2</sup> The reader is left to refute for himself D.'s bitter and biased arraignment of French society.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Allard, *la Comédie de mœurs en France au dix-neuvième siècle. Tome I. De Picard à Scribe*, Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1923, and N. C. Arvin, *Eugène Scribe, ibid.*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> M. Duval's plea for his daughter's marriage; the final trick by which Olivier de Jalin triumphs.

It is stated (p. 125) that he rarely produced major characters of flesh and blood, though his Marguerite has made for herself a permanent place among the *grandes amoureuses* of literature, his Alphonse has added a word to the French vocabulary, and his Suzanne d'Ange, Olivier, and Jean Giraud leave us with a very distinct impression of personality, however little we may like them.

The book has, however, certain good points. Dr. S. writes clearly and without prejudice. He discusses D.'s technique and his ideas about the theater and social questions in great detail. The list of plays, bibliography, and index are useful. The volume is well printed and attractively presented to the public. It will doubtless be of considerable help to those who are beginning the study of nineteenth century drama.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

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*The Early German Theatre in New York, 1840-1872.* By FRITZ A. H. LEUCHS. New York, Columbia University Press, 1928. xxi, 298 pp.

Some twelve years ago the general subject of Dr. Leuchs's thesis, the history of the German theatre in New York City, was proposed by a candidate for the doctorate at Columbia University and rejected by the Department of Germanic Languages as unsuitable for a scholarly dissertation in the field of Germanics. It is a sign of healthy progress that the same subject should now meet with the approval of the Department at Columbia and yield one of the lengthiest and at the same time one of the more interesting dissertations turned out there. In Germany *Theatergeschichte* has long been recognized as a valid division of literary history. Today, when the mental sciences are being ever more closely linked, there is all the better reason for a study such as this, especially if its author be rooted in the cultural soil of his subject. On the same basis we should welcome also *kulturgeschichtliche Studien* of other activities of the German element in the United States, in particular a history of the German press in America. Studies of this type have a two-fold significance. They are contributions to the history of civilization in the United States, and they throw light upon a not unimportant phase of German cultural activity abroad.

Dr. Leuchs has found it advisable to restrict himself to the early period of his subject, the comparatively unfruitful era from 1840 to 1872, thus supplementing the Cornell master's thesis of the present reviewer, which deals largely with the age of Heinrich Conried, from 1878 on.<sup>1</sup> He has spared neither pains nor energy to make

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Zeydel, *The German Theatre in New York City, with Special Con-*

his work as complete and authentic as possible. An introduction of nine pages presents the problem from its various angles. Chapter I gives the cultural background, the "sphere in which Little Germany moved" in New York during the second third of the century. We find that it enjoyed a vigorous life and that toward the middle of the century its numbers were swelled to hundreds of thousands who were bound with living cultural bonds to the Fatherland. The second chapter deals with early German performances from 1840 to 1849, casting a hasty side-glance at the presentation of German plays in the English language, and then treating the first recorded performances in German during January and February, 1840, the efforts of the Franklin Theatre from 1840 to 1842, and sporadic attempts to stage German plays between 1843 and 1849. These experiments proved a failure, for the "German dramatic muse in New York . . . steadily declined and all but perished as the years rolled by."

In the following chapter the author takes up the quinquennium from 1850 to 1855, which shows a positive advance in the direction of a permanent German stage. After brief consideration of the "Liebhabertheater" and the minor German stage of the fifties, the much more important *Altes Stadttheater* (1854-1864) and *Neues Stadttheater* (1864-1872), with incidental contemporary enterprises, are studied at length. The former "was indeed *one* theatrical undertaking that did not end in dismal failure but expanded into a finer and grander enterprise." Of the latter it is stated enthusiastically: "to erect a large and new German theatre in the very midst of the Civil War, to attract to it a Dawison, a Haase and a Seebach, to raise and to lower the curtain almost three hundred and fifty times in a single season for two hundred different plays, and to keep this up year after year—in these achievements there is perhaps something akin to grandeur in so far as this term may be used of theatrical undertakings." A final chapter is devoted to the principal points of contact between the German and English stages in New York during the middle of the century. The conclusion is that the two stages exerted "a positive, if limited, influence upon each other." The American stage received several distinguished actors from the German institution, and there was a certain exchange of plays. Eight appendices with valuable statistical information, a bibliography and an index conclude the monograph.

The chief source proved to be the files of the *New Yorker Staats-*

*sideration of the Years 1878-1914*, in *Jahrbuch, Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois*, xv (1915), 255-309. In this 55-page article only four introductory pages are devoted to the early period with which Dr. Leuchs deals upon a much larger canvas. But it should be noted that the main outlines had been sketched in the article and that Dr. Leuchs too was unable definitely to establish a German performance in New York prior to January 6, 1840.



*zeitung*, as they had been for the Zeydel article. These were supplemented by numerous other contemporary journals, most of them long since forgotten.

Dr. Leuchs has made his work more worth while by giving due consideration to the cultural background. Only occasionally one is inclined to question a statement. For example, the remark (p. 13) that the *Staatszeitung* "supported the cause of the Union in the Civil War in a most patriotic manner" is surprising in view of the fact that some important Civil War files of the paper are missing. A scholarly history of the journal would clear this matter up. One wonders also whether autobiographies of noted visiting actors might not have helped to furnish sidelights. Thus Friedrich Haase wrote *Was ich erlebte, 1846-1896*.<sup>2</sup> It would have been interesting too, in connection with what is said about Haase's success in New York (p. 166) to note his failure before the supervising board of the Berlin *Hoftheater* in 1850, despite Ludwig Tieck's efforts on his behalf.<sup>3</sup> Finally some attention should have been paid, if possible, to the acting versions used at different times in the various productions of such plays as Lessing's *Nathan*, Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's dramas.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL.

*University of Cincinnati.*

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*Zehn Generationen deutscher Dichter und Denker. Die Geburtsjahrgänge 1561-1892 in 45 Altersgruppen zusammengefaßt* von HANS VON MÜLLER. Zugleich ein kleiner Führer durch Goedekes Grundriß Band III-XII. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1928, 138 pp.

Whoever has struggled with that most ungrateful, baffling, and irritating task of classifying and arranging authors either for cataloguing, shelving, or for historical synopsis will appreciate this astonishing booklet of 138 pages, which contains a wealth of information and of fruitful suggestions far beyond the promise of its title. Müller has grouped about 2000 German writers between the years indicated according to the dates of their birth and has thus—half against his will—hit upon a most successful because really organic classification. Units of seven, rarely of seven and one half or eight years form the smallest groups, of which four or five constitute a generation.

The principles elucidated through this arrangement are perhaps

<sup>2</sup> 2nd ed., Berlin, Leipzig, Wien, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Fischer, *Aus Berlins Vergangenheit*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 141-162.

best expressed by Wilhelm Pinder, who obtained very similar results in the field of European Fine Arts (see *Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas*. Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt.) and formulated the following thesis:

"Generations normally show a preponderant unity of problems. 'Generation' means a valuation according to character of art style.

"Generic unity is more important than experience ('influences,' 'relations').

"The art epoch is a resultant of primarily determining entelechies (sprung from the mysterious womb of nature) and of (doubtlessly just as important) frictions, influences, relations which are experienced in the actual unfolding of those entelechies.

"With the 'generation' fundamental moods, fundamental emotions are born, which manifest themselves in the unity of problems. Unity of problems, as a formula for that which the generation holds in common, does not exclude but includes polar opposites and tension of great strength, even postulates their existence. It only means unity of task, not unity of solutions."

Müller himself is far from proclaiming his classification as a dogma but rather considers it as a working hypothesis or a 'fiction' in the sense of Vaihingers *Als Ob*. He expects adversaries from two camps: those who will refuse his findings as mysticism or metaphysics and those who will scorn it as tainted with natural science, but he meets them with Pinder's maxim that it is no less the duty of scholarship 'to state the inexplicable though it be only a fact than to state facts when they seem explicable.'

ERNST FEISE.

*Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany: Studies in German Social Poetry.* By SOLOMON LIPTZIN, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. 187. \$2.75.

The present volume was promised by the author in his valuable monograph on *The Weavers in German Literature* ("Hesperia," xvi [1926], 105). Though seemingly confining himself to a rather limited field, he again succeeds in drawing a picture of magnitude and impressiveness. Either book may be said to supplement the other: the "Weaver" book as a study of one, and that the most portentous, aspect of the Industrial Revolution in Germany and its reflection in literature; *Lyric Pioneers* as a study of the *Zeitgeist* of the Forties in some of its most spontaneous and significant manifestations. Inevitably large portions of the earlier book

had to be taken over into the new. Almost one third of the latter is thus reprinted, revamped, or summarized, including the study of "Chamisso as a Social Poet" which first appeared in the *Philological Quarterly* (v [1926], 235 ff). On the other hand, many topics merely touched upon before are here broadly developed. The value of the new book as furnishing background is enhanced by the fact that the very subject-matter forces the author to discard aesthetic standards almost entirely. As Treitschke pertinently remarked (*Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jht.*, iv, 600), social changes may at all times most accurately be guessed from the works of those minor writers who reflect only the opinions of the public at large. This, then, is one of the features of the book: It brings back from the oblivion of obscure anthologies and periodicals and even unprinted sources (Herm. Semmig) a host of poets, not because of the intrinsic merit of their artistic reaction to a changing world, but because they were among the first through whom a new social consciousness and conscience found expression. The methodological perspective is therefore on the whole Marxistic, though at least in the chapter on "Weltschmerz and the Social Lyric" the author proves himself capable of idealistic interpretation. Nor can it be denied that the major names appearing in the volume, Chamisso, Herwegh, Freiligrath, Heine, even Gustav Freytag, acquire a somewhat different connotation related as they here are exclusively to the social revolutionary cross-currents of the age. The bourgeois ideology of the new Empire, which regarded the movement of the Forties solely from a political point of view, as the forerunner of 1871, is probably responsible for the still prevailing neglect of this aspect of German lyric poetry. Our attitude should be different for, as the author points out (p. 13), the social problem, which the Forties faced in its most primitive and crudest form, is the controlling one of modern life. Thus these early lyrics of social pity, of vice and crime, of social Utopias, revolt, and cynicism are given their place, not so much in the history of literature (they embody no new theory of art!), but in that unfolding modern world-consciousness of which the storm and stress of the last generation and of the Expressionists are merely more recent and potent revelations.

The book may not please in Germany. To a cursory reader, merely biographical data, summaries of contents, etc., will seem to crowd out interpretation. Well-known facts are spread out in great detail. Lopsided statements occur. The bibliography, except for source materials, is left fragmentary. All this well understood, the book is admirable. Though based on first-hand research, it is addressed to an American lay public interested in social questions, but still ignorant of German literature. One of its greatest distinctions is perhaps the art with which the author can capture and hold the attention of this type of reader. His discussion follows

the development of a modern drama with climax, catastrophe, and finale. The style is eloquent, impregnated with the author's own reaction to the phenomena of which he treats, yet sober and lucid withal.

H. W. NORDMEYER.

*Washington University.*

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## BRIEF MENTION

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*Molière und das komische Drama*, von C. S. GUTKIND. Halle, Niemeyer, 1928. vi, 183 pp. Dissatisfied with Heiss' study of the evolution of Molière's genius in accordance with genres, on the ground that divisions into high comedy, farce, etc., are too subjective, Gutkind proposes to classify the plays in accordance with the variations in the comic spirit displayed in them and thus to establish four epochs in the dramatist's career, those "der unproblematischen Posse" (plays written before the return to Paris), "der ersten unpersönlichen, sittenproblematischen Bemühungen" (*Précieuses* to *Ecole des femmes*), "der persönlichen Schicksalsproblematik" (to and including *le Misanthrope*), "der überpersönlichen Schicksalsproblematik" (after the latter play). One may object, however, that his classification is as subjective as that of Heiss; that he makes too much of the supposed failure of the *Misanthrope*, which, while not one of M.'s greatest successes, is shown by La Grange to have met with considerable favor; and that the weakness of his system is apparent from his contention (p. 168) that *Don Garcie* was played before M. came back to Paris, although the only evidence for such a conclusion is the fact that otherwise it would not fit into this new classification. The book contains, however, an interesting study of several of the plays, notably of *l'Avare* and *Don Juan*, and has a certain importance in broadening the description made by M. Bergson of M.'s comic resources.

H. C. L.

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*Bibliographie de l'Œuvre de Sainte-Beuve*, by JEAN BONNEROT, now appearing in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1 Nov., 1928—) and in fascicules (Paris, Giraud-Badin). The author, a librarian at the Sorbonne, gives not merely a chronological list of articles, editions, etc., but in each case a history of variations, a record of conditions of publication, the references to passages in the *Correspondance* and elsewhere in which Sainte-Beuve discusses his own

work, relevant remarks by contemporaries, etc. There is no modern critic more given to multiplication of distinctions and none for whom it is so important to have a complete record of all the causes contributing to all the subtle shiftings of emphasis. The first numbers of this Bibliography (the entire publication of which will probably require several years) show that it will be invaluable to students of Ste-B. and, on account of the manifold ramifications, to every one occupied with the history of nineteenth-century French literature.

HORATIO SMITH.

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*Der kleine Deutsche.* Ein Fortbildungsmittel zur Erlernung der deutschen Umgangssprache auf allen Gebieten des täglichen Lebens u. s. w. By Professor Dr. R. KRON. Ettlingen: Bielefelds Verlag, 1929. 184 pp. M. 3. This well-known counterpart to *Le petit Parisien*, *The Little Londoner*, etc. has been revised and brought up to date (16th edition). It is linguistically as well as in regard to its realia a reliable guide to German life. One might desire a little more information on the latest reforms in secondary education; the terms *Grundschule*, *Aufbauschule*, *Einheitsschule*, *Oberschule*, *Deutsches Gymnasium*, so commonly used now-a-days, should be mentioned and explained.

E. F.

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*A Balzac Bibliography*, compiled by WILLIAM HOBART ROYCE. Chicago: University Press, 1929. xvii + 464 pp. \$5.00. Over 4,000 titles of writings devoted to the life and works of B., or in which mention of him is made, have been arranged alphabetically in two groups (books, articles), according to the names of the authors. The method is explained by E. P. Dargan in an interesting introduction. Many works are included (text-books, popular articles, etc.) that contribute to our knowledge of Balzac only by showing the extent of his influence. A topical index, essential to the utilization of the present volume, will soon follow. One must give the highest praise to the industry with which Mr. Royce has collected this vast amount of material and to the skill and accuracy displayed in the editing and printing. The book will be the basis of work on Balzac for many years to come and should find a place in all libraries where serious work is done in French literature.

H. C. L.

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*Miguel de Unamuno.* Por M. ROMERA-NAVARRO. Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería. 328 págs. Seguramente el señor R. N. hubiera hecho una tesis brillante sobre Alarcón o sobre Clarín, pero por eso mismo hay que agradecerle que, desdeñando el éxito fácil, se haya lanzado intrépidamente a intentar un estudio completo de la recia personalidad de Unamuno, el español más importante después de Goya, según ha dicho recientemente un ensayista famoso. En la introducción hace el señor R. N. una semblanza del ex-rector de Salamanca, bastante amena aunque inferior a otras publicadas anteriormente. Luego estudia al novelista, al poeta, al ensayista, abrumando un tanto al lector con argumentos y citas importunas. En algunos capítulos molesta un poco el tono de profesor. En otros se notan omisiones graves. El libro de poesías titulado *Teresa*—un ejemplo basta—no aparece mencionado ni en la bibliografía, donde por cierto hay también varias lagunas. Faltan entre otros los nombres de Cassou, Puccini y Sánchez Rojas. En general, aunque no puedo compartir todas sus opiniones ni aprobar su método, la obra del señor R. N. me parece cuando menos útil. A ella habrá que recurrir mientras no se escriba el libro definitivo sobre Unamuno. Y sólo otro Unamuno sería capaz de escribirlo.

J. R.

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*Les Origines du Mélodrame.* Par E. C. VAN BELLEN. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1927. Pp. 220. This Amsterdam dissertation is based upon an article of M. Pitou in *RHL.*, 1911, but is a far more extensive and detailed study of the genre, carried well into the nineteenth century. A useful index of over 300 plays is added. The author finds that there are advantages in isolating, as M. Pitou did, "le Mélodrame du Drame et de la Tragédie" (p. 7), but it is doubtful whether it is possible to do so successfully, especially in view of the many resemblances that Van B. points out between this and other literary forms. However, the study has been carefully made and will be of use to those who are interested both in popular drama and in the theater of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The author can hardly be reproached for not knowing Dr. Mason's dissertation on the same subject, accepted by the Johns Hopkins University in 1911, but of which only a small portion has been published.

H. C. L.

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[Mr. Burton contributes an exhortation "To the Teacher," Mr. Gordon a short general introduction and brief prefaces to the plays, and Mr. Onions an admirable summary of the peculiarities of Shakespeare's diction.]

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE SOURCES OF POE'S *THE PIT AND THE PENDULUM*

Edgar Allan Poe was widely read in the literature of the occult, the supernatural, the unusual; he poured over stories of mystery, he ransacked historical and medical journals for pathological cases; and he absorbed this literature with a sponge-like thoroughness that reminds one of Coleridge. Like Coleridge, too, he appropriated, assimilated, and in a large sense made what he read his very own. Poe's sources have never been thoroughly traced, but what has been done leads one to hazard the opinion that enough material would be found to build another Road to Xanadu. Much has been written of Poe's plagiarisms, perhaps too much, for we forgive Shakespeare or Coleridge or Poe when the product he turns out is infinitely better than the raw materials from which he gleaned. This paper, therefore, is in no sense a study in plagiarism; it is merely an endeavor to point out the background of Poe's reading for the story of "The Pit and the Pendulum," and to allow the reader to draw his own conclusion as to the real debt which the author owed to his predecessors.

Poe's story contains four distinct motifs or elements: the idea of a contracting cell or dungeon, the pendulum as an instrument of torture, the application of heat to the dungeon walls to produce terror in the victim, and the pit with its attendant horrors. Let us consider these elements with the idea of finding parallels or sources.

In the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for February, 1850, a reviewer in a notice of the recently published edition of Poe remarks: "Although he [Poe] possessed a vivid imagination, and was in many instances a creator in literature, he was quite as frequently a plagiarist of both thoughts and forms. The story of 'The Pit and the Pendulum,' in the first of the volumes before us, for instance,

is a daring theft and combination of two tales; one in *Blackwood*, under the title of 'Vivenzio, or Italian Vengeance,' and the other, a tragic scene by the German, Hoffmann. From the *Blackwood* writer, Mr. Poe took the gradually decreasing dungeon, and from Hoffmann, the pendulum, pointed with an instrument of torture. This machinery constitutes his whole *nouvelette*."<sup>1</sup> Let us examine these two charges. We can dismiss the latter summarily by saying that a careful search through the tales of Hoffmann reveals no story of a pendulum used as an instrument of torture. Nor in commenting upon the sources of "The Pit and the Pendulum" does Woodberry,<sup>2</sup> or Miss Phillips,<sup>3</sup> or Palmer Cobb<sup>4</sup> make any mention of Poe's obligation to Hoffmann. The reviewer's wish was evidently father to the thought.

Of the first charge a fuller explanation is necessary. Though there is no 'Vivenzio, or Italian Vengeance,' in *Blackwood's* for August, 1830, there is a tale by William Mudford<sup>5</sup> entitled *The Iron Shroud*. This is undoubtedly the story the reviewer had in mind, and no student can doubt that here is the source of Poe's "decreasing dungeon." The parallelisms in descriptive phrases, in the actual shape of the dungeons, the gradually decreasing size, and above all the psychological analysis of the two victims are too striking to be merely accidental.

For his story Poe drew further upon *Blackwood's*. Good reason there is to believe that he got the idea of the pendulum as an instrument of torture, not from Hoffmann as the *Knickerbocker* reviewer asserted, but from a story in *Blackwood's* under the title of "The Man in the Bell."<sup>6</sup> The narrator of this story one Sunday goes with a companion into the lofty belfry of the village

<sup>1</sup> *Knickerbocker Magazine*, xxxv, 163.

<sup>2</sup> Stedman and Woodberry edition of Poe.

<sup>3</sup> *Edgar Allan Poe, The Man*, by Mary E. Phillips, Philadelphia, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe*, New York, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> William Mudford (1782-1848), editor of many magazines and a frequent contributor to *Blackwood's*.

<sup>6</sup> That Poe was a reader of *Blackwood's* needs no proof. His activity as editor and reviewer, and the wide circulation of that journal in America furnish general evidence. See Professor Killis Campbell's illuminating article in *University of Texas Studies in English*, October, 1925, pp. 166-196, entitled "Poe's Reading."

church to unmuffle the bell. Some one calls his companion away. The regular bellman starts to ring for the Sunday service. Here is a situation bristling with possibilities of terror, such as was dear to Poe's heart. Let the reader compare the following excerpts from this story with the pendulum motif in Poe, "But by a hasty and almost convulsive effort, I succeeded in jumping down, and throwing myself on the flat of my back under the bell." "Over me swung an immense mass of metal, one touch of which would have crushed me to pieces . . . at first my fears were mere matter of fact. I was afraid the pulleys above would give way, and let the bell plunge on me. At another time, the possibility of the clapper being shot out in some sweep, and dashing through my body." "Every moment I saw the bell sweep within an inch of my face; and my eyes . . . followed it instinctively in its oscillating progress until it came back again." Notice that the victim in his delirium sees hateful and terrorizing pictures: "In the vast cavern of the bell hideous faces appeared, and glared down on me with terrifying frowns, or with grinning mockery still more appalling." Again like Poe's victim he comes out of his experience dazed by fear and terror. Finally, it should be noted that not only the details are markedly parallel, but the psychological effect on each victim is the same.<sup>7</sup>

So much for the contracting dungeon and the descending pendulum. For the third element, the heated walls, a story in *Blackwood's* for December, 1837, "The Involuntary Experimentalist,"<sup>8</sup> furnishes a source. A situation so unusual as that of the unfortunate physician trapped in a boiler within a burning building could not escape Poe's keen sense of the horrible.

It is the main purpose of this study, however, to point out a likely source for the more important part of "The Pit and the Pendulum"—that is, the analysis of the victim's experiences in the dungeon, particularly the mental states through which he passes. It can be shown, I believe, that Brockden Brown's *Edgar*

<sup>7</sup> Miss Margaret Alterton, in *University of Iowa Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 27-29, calls attention to some of these parallels.

<sup>8</sup> *Blackwood's*, XLII, 487-492. It should be noted that Poe actually mentions "The Men in the Bell" and "The Involuntary Experimentalist" in his "How to Write a Blackwood's Article."

*Huntly*, chapter xvi,<sup>9</sup> is the actual source of the dungeon motif in Poe's story. In passing I should like also to hazard the suggestion, though I shall now offer no proof, that chapter xiv—the story of Weymouth: his ill-treatment at the hands of Spanish monks and his rescue by a French doctor—contains a probable source for the Inquisition element and for the conclusion of Poe's narrative.

That Poe was a great admirer of Brown and learned some of the tricks of his art from his predecessor the following comments from his own pen attest. "Nevertheless, leaving out of the question Brockden Brown and Hawthorne (who are each a *genius*,) he [Simms] is immeasurably the best writer of fiction in America."<sup>10</sup> Again: "Among writers of the less generally circulated, but more worthy and more artistical fictions, we may mention Mr. Brockden Brown, Mr. John Neal, Mr. Simms, Mr. Hawthorne."<sup>11</sup> In commenting upon "The Challenge of Berletta" Poe observes: "It is certainly a vivacious work, but is defective in having little of what we understand by the 'authorial comment'—that which adds so deep a charm to the novels of Scott, of Bulwer, or of D'Israeli—more especially to the works of Godwin and Brockden Brown."<sup>12</sup> Again: "We have no hesitation in calling it ["Murder Will Out"] the best ghost-story we have ever read. It is full of the richest and most vigorous imagination—is forcibly conceived—and detailed throughout with a degree of artistic skill which has no parallel among American story-tellers since the epoch of Brockden Brown."<sup>13</sup>

"The Pit and the Pendulum" and chapter xvi of *Edgar Huntly* both begin with reflections on the nature of sleep, dreams, delirium, death, and the power of darkness and silence over one's soul. The speculations in the two stories, furthermore, have much in common. The victim in each has swooned or fallen into a deep, mysterious sleep. Poe goes into great detail in this part of his tale; but it is in describing the victim's return to consciousness that Poe has paralleled most closely Huntly's experience. Brown writes:

<sup>9</sup> Chapter numbering in some editions is incorrect. I refer here to my edition in the Modern Readers' Series, Macmillan, 1928.

<sup>10</sup> Harrison's edition of Poe, xvi, 41.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* xi, 206.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* xii, 224.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* xii, 249.



"My return to sensation and to consciousness took place in no such tranquil scene. I emerged from oblivion by degrees so slow and so faint, that their succession cannot be marked. When enabled at length to attend to the information which my senses afforded, I was conscious for a time of nothing but existence." Poe: "Then the mere consciousness of existence, without thought—a condition which lasted long. Then, very suddenly, *thought*, and shuddering terror, and earnest endeavor to comprehend my true state." Brown: "From this state a transition was speedily effected." Poe: "Then a rushing revival of soul and a successful effort to move." Brown: "I perceived that my posture was supine, and that I lay upon my back." Poe: "I felt that I lay upon my back, unbound." Brown: "I attempted to open my eyes. The weight that oppressed them was too great for a slight exertion to remove. The exertion which I made cost me a pang more acute than any which I ever experienced. My eyes, however, were opened; but the darkness that environed me was as intense as before." Poe: "So far I had not opened my eyes. . . . I longed, yet dared not to employ my vision. I dreaded the first glance at objects around me. . . . At length, with a wild desperation at heart, I quickly unclosed my eyes. . . . The blackness of eternal night encompassed me." Each victim expresses fear—great fear—of the darkness. Brown: "But that which threw me into deepest consternation was my inability to see. I turned my head to different quarters; I stretched my eyelids, and exerted every visual energy, but in vain. I was wrapped in the murkiest and most impenetrable gloom." Poe: "It was not that I feared to look upon things horrible, but I grew aghast lest there should be *nothing* to see. . . . My worst thoughts, then, were confirmed. The blackness of eternal night encompassed me."

Both victims have thus returned to consciousness and by the same general experiences, and each is thrown into consternation because of the darkness which envelopes him. Now each begins to speculate upon the nature and cause of his condition. Brown: "I endeavored to recall the past; . . . Since my sight availed nothing to the knowledge of my condition, I betook myself to other instruments. The element which I breathed was stagnant and cold. The spot where I lay was rugged and hard." Poe: "The atmosphere was intolerably close. I still lay quietly, and made effort to exercise my reason. I brought to mind the inquisitorial proceed-

ings, and attempted from that point to deduce my real condition." Huntly fears that he has become suddenly blind; or that he exists as in a wakeful dream, or that he is buried alive. Worst of all: "Methought I had fallen into seeming death, that my friends had consigned me to the tomb." Poe: "Yet not for a moment did I suppose myself actually dead. Such a supposition, notwithstanding what we read in fiction, is altogether inconsistent with real existence—but where and in what state was I? . . . Had I been remanded to my dungeon?"

After this fruitless speculation, each victim sets about the exploration of his dungeon, along almost identical lines and with the same general experiences. Even the language employed is strikingly similar. Brown: "After various efforts I stood upon my feet. At first I tottered and staggered. I stretched out my hands on all sides, but met only with vacuity. I advanced forward." Poe: "Upon recovering, I at once started to my feet, trembling convulsively in every fibre. I thrust my arms wildly above and around me in all directions. I felt nothing; . . . I cautiously moved forward." Brown: "Proceeding irresolutely and slowly forward, my hands at length touched a wall. This, like the flooring, was of stone, and was rugged and impenetrable. I followed this wall. An advancing angle occurred at a short distance, which was followed by similar angles. I continued to explore this clue, till the suspicion occurred that I was merely going round the walls of a vast and irregular apartment." Poe: "And now, as I still continued to step cautiously onward. . . . My outstretched hands at length encountered some solid obstruction. It was a wall, seemingly of stone masonry—very smooth, slimy, and cold. I followed it up; stepping with all the careful distrust with which certain antique narratives had inspired me. . . . I had met, however, with many angles in the wall, and thus I could form no guess at the shape of the vault . . .", and in another paragraph Poe says, "In feeling my way I had found many angles, and thus deduced an idea of great irregularity;"

Each victim by now is fearful that his condition is hopeless and that search will be of no avail. Brown: "The utter darkness disabled me from comparing directions and distances. . . . Overpowered by my fears and my agonies, I desisted in my fruitless search." Poe: "This process [following the wall], however, afforded me no

means of ascertaining the dimensions of my dungeon; . . . I had little object—certainly no hope in these researches.”

The victims now again ponder upon their forlorn state. Huntly remarks: “This knowledge of the desperateness of my calamity urged me to frenzy. I had none but capricious and unseen fate to condemn. The author of my distress, and the means he had taken to decoy me hither, were incomprehensible. Surely my senses were fettered or depraved by some spell. I was still asleep, and this was merely a tormenting vision; or madness had seized me, and the darkness that environed and the hunger that afflicted me existed only in my own distempered imagination.” Poe: “I saw clearly the doom which had been prepared for me. . . . To the victims of its [the Inquisition’s] tyranny, there was the choice of death with its direct physical agonies, or death with its most hideous moral horrors. I had been reserved for the latter. By long suffering my nerves had been unstrung, until I trembled at the sound of my own voice, and had become in every respect a fitting subject for the species of torture which awaited me.”

The two victims are now seized with hunger and thirst. Huntly partakes of fresh panther’s meat and Poe’s hero, of food supplied by his enemies, and each with direful consequences. As soon as they have eaten, each is seized by dreadful thirst. Brown: “I was now assailed by torments of thirst.” Poe: “A burning thirst consumed me, and I emptied the vessel at a draught. It must have been drugged; for scarcely had I drunk, before I became irresistibly drowsy. . . . I say to my horror; for I was consumed with intolerable thirst . . . the food in the dish was meat pungently seasoned.” This meat, it would appear, had the same effect as the panther meat which Huntly ate.

Now each victim falls into a deep sleep as of death. Brown: “Gradually my pains subsided, and I fell into a deep sleep. I was visited by dreams of a thousand hues.” Poe: “A deep sleep fell upon me.” There are two other similar experiences. By some “miraculous chance” Huntly had escaped falling into the pit in the cave; Poe’s hero “by the merest of accidents.” Then, Huntly in exploring his cave counted one hundred feet; Poe says: “there was in all, then, a hundred paces.” Then, too, the glaring eyes of the rats in Poe’s story suggest Brown’s description of the eyes of the panther.

It is not so much that these details are similar as that they are given in the same general order of development, with the same psychological effect. Poe, then, undoubtedly read his Brown and his *Blackwood's* and appropriated, much as did Shakespeare, his source. In this case he was unusually slavish in following those sources, for he not only took the four threads of his story from others, but followed Brown in the smallest details. It is, however, to be noted to his credit that when the materials passed through the crucible of his brain the amalgam was essentially his own, and something essentially finer than the originals.

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#### GULLIVER'S TRAVELS AND LE THÉÂTRE ITALIEN

Students of the satire in *Voyages Imaginaires* have failed to notice three or four comedies in *Le Théâtre Italien*<sup>1</sup> which clearly belong to the genre, even though the fiction of a geographical voyage is gratuitous and incidental. The troupe of talented Italian actors was recalled to Paris in 1716, in which year they resumed the performance of their comedies. At first, as during their previous sojourn, the medium was Italian; but in response to a widespread demand the company set itself to learn French, and actually from 1719 on all the plays were spoken in French. Of the scores produced, at least four are satiric voyages. These, together with the dates of their first production on the stage are *Arlequin Sauvage* (1721), *Timon le Misanthrope* (1722), *L'Isle des Sauvages* (1725), and *L'Isle des Talens* (1743), in all of which the scenes are laid in imaginary, fantastic latitudes where Swiftian satire is diluted with music and farce. The elements of the satiric voyage are present: a journey and shipwreck, a contrast of civilizations and manners, and pointed satire on contemporary European life.

No source has ever been discovered for the sustained irony of *Gulliver*, and it will not be found here. It seems quite clear, on the other hand, that suggestions for the satire on law and court procedure, and on the love of money, which follow one another in

<sup>1</sup> *Le Nouveau Théâtre Italien, ou recueil general des Comédies représentées par les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roi*, nouvelle éd., Paris, 1753.

the pages of Gulliver's fourth voyage, were borrowed from *Arlequin Sauvage*.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, Swift admired the wit and humor of *Le Théâtre Italien* to the point of ranking it first among foreign libraries of humor. In an essay for the *Intelligencer* wherein he analyses the nature and purpose of satire, he writes:

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word (humour) is peculiar to our English tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English nation, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions; and particularly, whoever has a taste for true humour, will find a hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Théâtre Italien*; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.<sup>3</sup>

Before analysing the source material in *Arlequin Sauvage* let us ask whether Swift can reasonably be expected to have read this particular comedy in time to consider it at all in the composition of *Gulliver*? His essay on satire, just quoted, was written in 1728, and *Gulliver* appeared in 1726. We know from many sources that *Arlequin Sauvage* was first acted publicly in Paris in 1721, and that it was revived on the stage for a second run in 1723.<sup>4</sup> No collected edition of the plays was printed till 1733, but the editors of this and later editions tell us that private printings were broadcast throughout France by the authors to advertise their productions.<sup>5</sup> From these irregular printings the later collections were made. A few of the comedies are noted as "not previously printed," but *Arlequin Sauvage* is not one of these. Certainly a number must have found their way into Swift's hands if he located a

<sup>2</sup> *Op cit.*, II. The authorship is attributed to L. F. deLisle.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Sir Walter Scott (1824), XI, 91-92. *The Intelligencer*, 1728-9, No. iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire anecdotique et raisonnée du Théâtre Italien* (1769), I, 490 ff; and VII, 471. *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris* (Claude Parfaict), 1767, I, 282. This authority also alludes to the printing of an extract of *Arlequin Sauvage* in the *Mercur* of June, 1721.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Nouveau Théâtre Italien*. I. (*Avertisement*, iii) Les Comédiens Italiens ayant enfin appris le François, & s'étant mis en état de représenter en cette Langue, on a imprimé la meilleure partie des Pièces qui ont paru sur leur Théâtre. Plusieurs Auteurs touchés de l'ambition de voir rouler sous la Presse leurs noms, & leurs Ouvrages, firent les frais de l'impression de leurs Pièces, de façon que ces Pièces se trouverent dispersées en plusieurs endroits. . . .

"hundred instances" of true humor in them. We may assume, then, that *Arlequin Sauvage* was printed, like its fellows, at the time of its production in 1721, and most likely again at its revival in 1723. That this was not too late for *Gulliver* appears from Swift's letter to Pope, Sept. 29, 1725:

I have employed my time, besides ditching, in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my Travels, in four parts complete, *newly augmented* [italics mine], and intended for the press. . . .

In the French play, *Arlequin*, an untutored savage, journeys to an island, ironically named, "l'Isle Sauvage," whose inhabitants boast of a complex civilization and are wholly subject to intricate law. Thus the rôles are the reverse of the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* where Gulliver is civilized man and his hosts are nature's unspoiled children. But in both cases the civilization is exposed as an illusion, and just as Gulliver finally recognizes his identity with the Yahoos, so the inhabitants who entertained *Arlequin* learn at last that their island, in spite of its legal machinery, is really savage.

Toward the end of chapter five of Gulliver's last voyage we read:

There was another point which a little perplexed him [the king of the Houyhnhnms] at present. I had informed him, that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be further satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country; because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what he ought to do, and what to avoid. . . . I assured his honour, "that law was a science in which I had not much conversed, farther than by employing advocates, in vain, upon some injustices that had been done me. . . ."

Gulliver goes on to describe legal ignorance of office and the law's delays. His own unhappy experience with a lawsuit is again mentioned in a similar conversation with the king of Brobdingnag:

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice, his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was better able to do, having

\* *Swift*, XI, 316-7.

been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in Chancery, which was decreed for me with costs. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Arlequin has quite as much difficulty as Gulliver's kings in comprehending the utility of law, and as in *Gulliver*, personal experience makes the explanation convincing:

(Arlequin) Je ne sçais: mais vous me paraissez de sots animaux.

(Lélio) Tu nous fais beaucoup d'honneur. Ecoute: tu n'es plus parmi des Sauvages qui ne suivent que la Nature brute & grossiere, mais parmi des Nations civilisées.

(A) Qu'est-ce que cela, des Nations civilisées?

(L) Ce sont des hommes qui vivent sous des Loix.

(A) Sous des Loix? Et quels Sauvages sont ces gens-la?

(L) Ce ne sont point des Sauvages, mais un ordre puisé dans la raison, pour nous retenir dans nos devoirs, & rendre les hommes sages, & honnêtes gens.

(A) Vous naissez donc fous & coquins dans ce pays?

(L) Pourquoi le penses-tu?

(A) Il n'est pas bien difficile de le deviner. Si vous avez besoin de Loix pour être sages & honnêtes gens, vous êtes fous & coquins naturellement; cela est clair. . . . Mais puisque vous avez de la raison, pourquoi avez-vous besoin de Loix; car si la raison apprend à faire le bien & à fuir le mal, cela suffit; it n'en faut pas davantage.<sup>8</sup>

(Arlequin) Dis-moi donc ce qui te fâche?

(Le Passant) C'est la perte d'un procès.

(A) Quelle bête est-ce là, un procès.

(Le P) Ce n'est point une bête, mais une affaire que j'vois avec un homme.

(A) Et comment est faite cette affaire?

(Le P) Mais elle est faite comme un procès (à part: Me voilà fort embarrassé pour lui faire comprendre ce que c'est qu'un procès) (haut:) Sçavez-vous que nous avons des Loix dans ce pays?

(A) Oui. . . .

(Le P) Il y a dix ans que j'intentai un procès à un homme qui me devoit cinq cens francs, & je viens de le perdre, après avoir essuyé trente Jugemens différens.

(A) Et pourquoi donner trente Jugemens pour une seule affaire?

(Le P) A cause des incidens que la chicane fait naître.

(A) La chicane. Qu'est-ce que cela?

(Le P) C'est un art que l'on a inventé pour embrouiller les affaires les plus claires, qui deviennent incompréhensibles lorsqu'un Avocat & un Procureur y ont travaillé six mois.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 167.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 12. *Arlequin*, Act I, Sc. 3.

- (A) Et qu'est-ce qu'un Avocat & un Procureur?
- (Le P) Ce sont des personnes instruites des Loix & de la formalité.
- (A) De la formalité? Je ne sçai pas ce que c'est.
- (Le P) C'est la forme & l'ordre dans lequel on doit présenter les affaires aux Juges pour éviter les surprises.
- (A) C'est bon cela; ainsi avec cette forme on ne craint plus de surprise?
- (Le P) Au contraire, c'est cette même forme qui y donne lieu.
- (A) Mais puisque les Juges sont des gens établis pour rendre justice, pourquoi n'empêchent-ils pas la chicane?
- (Le P) Ils ne peuvent pas; parce que la chicane n'est qu'un detour pris dans la Loi, & auquel la forme que l'on a établie pour éviter la surprise a donné lieu. . . .
- (A) Ecoute, je pourrois bien te casser la tête pour prix de ton impudence; est-ce parce que je t'ai rendu tes cautions que tu veux te moquer de moi?
- (Le P) Je ne moque point, je ne vous dis que trop la vérité: les Loix sont sages, les Juges éclairés & honnêtes gens; mais la malice des hommes qui abusent de tout, se sert de l'autorité de la Justice pour soutenir l'iniquité. Comme il faut continuellement de l'argent, les pauvres ne peuvent faire valoir leurs droits, & les autres s'épuisent.
- (A) Quoi. Vous donnez de l'argent?
- (Le P) Sans doute. il le faut toujours avoir à la main, sans quoi Thémis est sourde, & rien ne va.
- (A) Les gens de ce pays ont le diable au corps pour faire argent de tout; ils vendent jusqu'à la justice.
- (Le P) On la donne quant au fond; mais la forme coûte bien cher; & la forme chez nous emporte toujours le fond; je me suis épuisé pour soutenir mon procès, & je le perds aujourd'hui parce que la forme me manque. . . .<sup>o</sup>

Not the least significant of the many points of resemblance between this scene and the corresponding one in *Gulliver* is the way both discussions end with the financial bias of justice, while the nature of money itself is a perplexity to the uncivilized parties:

My master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow-animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying they did it for hire: Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials of which it was made and the value of the metals; "that when a Yahoo had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; the finest

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<sup>o</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-75. Act III, Sc. 2.



clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks, and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore, since money alone was able to perform these feats, our Yahoos thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent, either to profusion or avarice; that the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and that the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former; that the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully. . . .<sup>10</sup>

(Arlequin) Qu'est-ce que cela de l'argent?

(Lélio) En voilà.

(A) C'est-là de l'argent? Cela est drôle (Il le porte à la dent) Ahi.  
Il est dur comme un diable.

(L) On ne le mange pas.

(A) Qu'en fait-on donc?

(L) On le donne pour des choses dont on a besoin, & l'on pourroit presque l'appeller une caution, puisqu'avec cet argent on trouve par tout ce qu'on veut. . . . Je vais te l'expliquer. Il y a deux sortes de gens parmi nous, les riches & les pauvres. Les riches ont tout l'argent, & les pauvres n'en ont point.

(A) Fort bien.

(L) Ainsi pour que les pauvres en puissent avoir, ils sont obligés de travailler pour les riches, qui leur donnent de cet argent à proportion du travail qu'ils font pour eux. . . .

(A) Vous êtes fous, car vous cherchez avec beaucoup de soins une infinité de choses inutiles; vous êtes pauvres, parce que vous bornez vos biens dans l'argent, ou d'autres diableries, au lieu de jouir simplement de la nature comme nous, qui ne voulons rien avoir afin de jouir plus librement de tout . . . Ramene moi donc où tu m'a pris, afin que j'aie oublié dans mes forêts qu'il y a des pauvres & des riches dans le monde.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *Swift*, XI, 319-320.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-56. Act II, Sc. 3. A study of *Le Théâtre Italien* has yielded also an unnoticed item of Gulliveriana. Among some parodies of contemporary literature (*Les Parodies du Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Paris, 1758, 4 vols.) is *l'Isle de la Folie*, 1727 (III, 267-318) a playlet of one act in which the principal character is Gulliver himself, thrust quite against his will upon a fifth voyage. The farce is a parody of *l'Isle de la Raison*, by Marivaux, itself a comedy about Gulliver. In the parody, the inhabitants of the Isle of Folie are monomaniacs, each of whom holds to the belief that he alone is reasonable. In this multifold bigotry, Gulliver recognizes the essence of human folly. Incidentally, it no doubt is the subject of reference by Lady Bolingbroke in her letter to Swift, February (17?), 1727.

JONATHAN SWIFT'S *A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT AND THE  
THOUSAND AND ONE QUARTERS OF AN HOUR,  
TARTARIAN TALES* OF THOMAS  
SIMON GUEULETTE.

The question of Swift's originality in the way he has Gulliver extinguished the fire destroying the palace of Lilliput has already been discussed in the excellent studies of Pietro Toldo and William A. Eddy.<sup>1</sup> Both attribute the action of Gulliver to the influence of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, the two great works of François Rabelais. There is no doubt that the drowning of the Parisians by Gargantua, the doings of his mare and of Pantagruel have inspired the episode in the first chapter of *A Voyage to Lilliput*; but, with the exception that Gulliver is a giant, we do not see anything in the works of Rabelais which may recall the incident of the burning palace. Pietro Toldo, it is true, implies a possible source: the *Ricciardetto* of N. Forteguerra, in which a giant uses the same method as Gulliver to save the palace from being burnt by the enemies of the country. This might be an excellent source, (altho it lacks the very essentials which make of Gueulette's story the prototype of Gulliver), were it not that *Ricciardetto* was not published till 1738.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript circulated among the few chosen friends of the churchman who wrote it, but only after 1725, whereas the composition of *Gulliver's Travels* was already well advanced by the close of 1720.<sup>3</sup>

The work of T. S. Gueulette, on the contrary, was published in 1712,<sup>4</sup> and it attracted such attention that five editions followed

<sup>1</sup> Pietro Toldo, *Les Voyages merveilleux de Cyrano de Bergerac et de Swift et leurs rapports avec l'œuvre de Rabelais. Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, vol. 4 et 5, 1906-1907; William A. Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels*. Princeton, 1923. (For other writings on the sources of Swift, see Eddy's book, p. 208.)

<sup>2</sup> N. Forteguerra, *Ricciardetto*. Parigi, 1738; Cf., *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original and Early Editions of Italian Books*, p. 77. New York, The Grolier Club, Dec., 1902.

<sup>3</sup> See: *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. Eldrington Ball, London 1910, III, 113, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Simon Gueulette, *Mille et un Quarts d'heure, Contes Tartares*, J. B. Mazuel, Paris, 1712.

each other between the years 1712 and 1723. Swift was fond of tales of wonder and may have read those of Gueulette, one of the great masters in this particular field.<sup>5</sup> The well known proficiency of Swift in the French language<sup>6</sup> did not need to wait for the first English translation of Gueulette's book in 1759.

The story in the *Tartarian Tales* which must have been the source of Swift is intitled, *Adventures of the physician Abu Bakkr*.<sup>7</sup>

It deals with the strange delusion of the son of Saramah, governor of Jingi, who has "taken into his head that he shall one day lay under water the kingdom of Bisnagar."<sup>8</sup> For fear of such a disaster he refuses obstinately to give free rein to a very natural want, and he may die victim to his madness if no one interferes. The physician Abu Bakkr tells us how he effected the cure:

"I had the patient put into a warm bath. When I found the young man of the temperament I desired, . . . I went into another room and ordered slaves to cry out: Fire! Fire! with all their might, and with resin and brimstone to form the appearance of a conflagration at the door and windows of the patient. I then returned to him in a great fright: Ah! my lord, said I, all our hopes now center in you alone. Behold the ravages which an irresistible fire makes at Jingi! . . . the flames begin to reach the palace, and everything is lost if you do not speedily interpose your assistance."<sup>9</sup>

The patient got out of the bath quickly and asked what he could do to prevent such a calamity.

"Ah! my lord," said the physician, "give your water a free passage; this alone . . . can stop the furious conflagration.—You are right, replied the young man . . . It never entered my thought that an inundation which I feared might prove fatal to my country, . . . should turn out so much to its advantage. Upon this he yielded to my advice, and delivered his water, that had been so long pent up, with the greatest freedom. I ordered

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<sup>5</sup> For the fondness of Swift for such a literature, see his *Letter XL to Stella*, January 26, 1711-1712, and Martha P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale In England*, New York, 1908, pp. 244 sq.

<sup>6</sup> See *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, I, Introduction, p. xli, n 2; I, 2; III, 406 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *The Thousand and One Quarters of an Hour, Tartarian Tales*, ed. L. C. Smithers. New York, H. M. Caldwell Co., n. d. (*Adventures of the physician Abu Bakkr*, pp. 286 sq.).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

that the flames should be removed, in the proportion the young man might have reason to think he extinguished them. . . ." <sup>10</sup>

There are many resemblances between this story and Swift's. Gulliver is alarmed in the night by the cries of many people; the word fire! is shouted incessantly; the high officers of the crown come to him and entreat him to go to the palace as only his intervention can save it from instant destruction; he has to get out of bed; a natural and urgent want, caused by previous drinks, is suddenly increased by the heat of the fire, just as in Gueulette's story it is increased by the warmth of the bath; altho the governor's son is not a giant, the fire is extinguished in the same fashion. Furthermore, the hero of Gueulette's story refers twice to his fear that giving free rein to his natural want he might lay his own land under water and drown the inhabitants. This recalls the deep distrust of the admiral of Lilliput who expresses his fear that Gulliver might "raise an Inundation by the same means, to drown the whole palace." <sup>11</sup>

The numerous similitudes found in the two stories tend to justify the belief that Swift had read and remembered the work of Gueulette.

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#### A "CHARACTER" FROM CHAUCER IN A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SATIRE

The pamphlet literature which poured from the English press between 1640 and 1660 is for the most part a dismal waste of controversy and invective. Among the scattered pieces which may still have a spark of interest is an edition of a poem by James Strong, the full title of which follows:

Joanereidos: Or, Feminine Valour: Eminently discovered in Western Women: As Well By defying the merciless Enemy at the face abroad, as by fighting against them in Garrison Townes; sometimes carrying stones, anon tumbling of stones over the Works on the Enemy, when they have

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>11</sup> *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. H. Morley, London 1890. (*A voyage to Lilliput*, ch. vii, p. 98.

been scaling them, some carrying powder, other charging of Peeces to ease the souldiers, constantly resolved for generality, not to think any ones life deare, to maintaine that Christian quarrell for the Parliament. Whereby, as they deserve commendations in themselves, so are they proposed as example unto others. *Languet virtus sine adversario.* Horace. *Scribimus indocti, doctij. &c.* By Ja. Strong, Batchelour, &c. Printed An. Dom. 1645.

It is preserved among the *Thomason Tracts* in the British Museum [E. 287. (1)]. A manuscript note dates the pamphlet "June 9th."

Strong's poem, six and a quarter pages long, is a high-flown piece in praise of the Puritan women who helped defend the town of Lyme against the Royalist troops. It is written in heroic couplet, burdened with learned allusion. It is not Strong's effusion, however, which interests us, but the critical apparatus, for this versifier is an early victim of a type of satirical burlesque which was to flourish in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A manuscript copy of the poem fell into the hands of a Royalist printer; when the printed version came forth it was equipped with thirty pages of epistles and verses in burlesque commendation of the author. The text was supplemented with explanatory notes which twisted the pious author's meaning into ridiculous or obscene nonsense. A pompous prologue and an epilogue were written. And most interesting of all, a character of the author, drawn out of Chaucer by I. Chaucer junior, was included. The nature of this extended Chaucer allusion, I think, has not been hitherto noticed. The belated son of Chaucer pieced together sentences and phrases from the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* and filled in where necessary with his own devices to make a ludicrous picture of Strong. The text, originally printed in black letter, is given below:

#### A CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

Me thynk it, Sirs, accordaunt to reason,  
To tell you now all the condycion  
Of thilke on, so as it semed me,  
And what hem were, and of what degre,  
And eke in what aray that he were in,  
And all for forward (*sic*) by Saint Runnyon.  
A Clerke of Oxenford he was tho,  
That vnto Logicke had long ygoe,  
Of his complexion nothing sangwyne  
He is, but all swa swart; and of Latyne  
A few termes hath he, two or thre,

That he han learned out of some degre:  
 His face is bald and shines as any glas,  
 His mouth as great as is a furnas,  
 With scaled browes, blacke and pyllled berde,  
 Of his visage children are sore afferde;  
 His voyce as 'smale as is a Gotes fare,  
 I trow he be a Geldyng or a Mare;  
 His here is by his eeres round yshorne,  
 His top is docked like a Priest beforene;  
 He is short shouldered, athicke gnarre,  
 There nis no doore but he wol heve the bar,  
 Or breke it at a renning with his heed,  
 Dares none ones wyle him but he wol be deed,  
 Aye by his belt he bares a long Pavade,  
 And, of a sword full trenchaunt is the blade,  
 To rage as twere a whelpe he is sayde,  
 Yet of his porte, as meke as is a Mayde:  
 Full longe he lokes, and thereto soberly,  
 Full thred-bare is his over Court py;  
 For he han yet gotten him no benefice  
 He is nought worthy to have none office,  
 And yet Saynt Julyan is in's countre,  
 And the best begger of his house truly:  
 Full longe are his legges and full lene,  
 I lyke a staffe, there is no calfe ysene,  
 Of yedding he bares utterly the price,  
 Well loveth he garlike, onyons, and eke lekes,  
 He holden a syde wemme for the none,  
 Full oft tyme he han the bourde begun,  
 No Crysten man soe oft in his degree,  
 And in Lyme at the siege had he be,  
 But soth to say he is somewhat squaimus  
 Of fartyng, and of speche dangerous.  
 Now is it not of God a ful fayre grace,  
 That such a lewde mans wit shal pace  
 The wisdom of an heape of learned men:  
 But I must sayne as that I farther twyn,  
 I weene he fares as doth an open ers,  
 That ylke frute is ever lenger the wers,  
 Til it be rotten (*sic*) in molloke or in fire,  
 And so God save vs al that here be.

I. Chaucer *junior*.

Some of the burlesque epistles and prefatory verses, signed with a variety of pseudonyms, are interesting for their literary allusion

and comment. First comes a letter from the bookseller, "Thomas Harrison," explaining that the "matchlesse peece of Poetrie" is printed from one of sundry transcriptions and is annotated to give the author's true meaning "by one that had a great insight into the Author's fancie"! Ridicule of his efforts in heroic poetry comes in verses signed "Tho. Allen."<sup>1</sup> The writer declares that Strong's lofty style is to be compared with the work of the great poets,

. . . when great *Gascoyn* liv'd,  
And *Alexander Barclayes* Muse contriv'd  
That rare Translation of *Brants* stately ship  
Fraught with those fooles deserv'd his Satyrs whip:  
I'de thinke their charming soules reviv'd in thee,  
But that I find a vast disparitie:  
Their lines are easie, and their phrases common,  
Thine are heroike, thy words us'd by no man; . . .  
*Withers* a man of Arms and Arts hath wrote  
In gallant rhime, but thy immortall throat  
Hath farre out-voic'd him, and thy active Muse  
Out-does his lance, and pen; all Pedlars use  
Next unto Almanacks with care to buy  
Their deare delight *Tho. Pru's* sweet Poetrie,  
Which spread in wickar scive, hath oft invited  
The Chamber-maids with itch of verse delighted,  
Unto their moving shops, where they doe sell  
Nothing but tape and needles half so well,  
Thy stately Poem will usurp their place,  
And bring them to the fatall sad disgrae (sic)  
Of chandlers shops, whilst thine alone are sung  
With tunefull noyse unto the long-ear'd throng;  
Whose well-weigh'd praises will advance thy name  
'Bove *Heywood, Viccars, or John Taylors* fame.

Later, Strong is hailed as the greatest poet since Abraham Fraunce "and haughtie Church-yard dy'd."<sup>2</sup>

The victim of this literary practical joke was a pedantic Parliamentarian who matriculated at New Inn Hall, Oxford, on April 8, 1636, and received his M. A. "by accumulation" on July 2, 1657. At one time he was an army chaplain and was rector of

<sup>1</sup> Sig. A 2, "To my ingenuous friend, M. James Strong, on his excellently well-pen'd Poem."

<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 3. Verses signed "Peter Jeffrey."

Bettiscombe in 1648.<sup>3</sup> The subject matter of his unfortunate effort in verse describes an episode during the siege of the fishing village of Lyme in Dorset, which had defied the troops of Prince Maurice for nearly two years preceding the publication of the poem.<sup>4</sup> Another edition of this production appeared in 1674 with additional prefatory verses and a coarse ballad biography of the author.

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### NEW ACTORS OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

The popularity of the drama in Elizabethan and Jacobean times is evidenced—perhaps as conclusively as any way else—by the large number of actors of this period. Sir Edmund Chambers<sup>1</sup> has compiled a list of more than 400 of them.

He is not concerned, however, with the players who flourished after the death of Shakespeare. It is to be expected that the profession was at least as popular between 1616 and 1642 as it was between 1558 and 1616. Certainly the financial return—which, no doubt, was a chief attraction of the stage—did not decrease after 1616. But whatever drew men to the stage, it seems true that more were acting in the latter period than in the former. In working on a history of the London dramatic companies 1616-42, I have found records of as many players in the 26 years of this period as are known for the 58 years of the earlier one.

Of course, the practice of prefixing lists of the actors to published plays was more common in Stuart than in Elizabethan times, and the Jacobean and Caroline practice of swearing whole companies as Grooms of the Chamber in the royal household has preserved names which would otherwise be unknown. These facts must be taken into consideration. I do not think, however, that they will entirely account for the increase. Many of the players

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1892), iv, 1438.

<sup>4</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (London, 1893), i, 343-344; also *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray, (Oxford, 1888), iii, 158, 239, 417 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, 295-350.



in the Caroline actor lists were on the stage during Shakespeare's lifetime. More significant still, there is no Henslowe's diary for Stuart times.

Of course, not all actor's names come from such obvious sources as these. There are many whom it is impossible to connect with any company, much less with any play or particular rôle. They were men who may have conned the lines of Webster or of Shakespeare, but where or what they played is still a riddle. It may be of some interest to mention some of the new players whose very names have been hitherto unknown.

Of these new actors listed below, the majority have been found in the registers of London churches. I am confident that several of the registers which I have not yet seen would yield more new names.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, except for St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate and St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, the registers of the churches which are situated in the old theatre districts have never been published. To go through the original records is a laborious task, especially when the results are problematical, and the fee which is generally charged for a thorough search is scarcely a nominal one. Perhaps other scholars will do for some of these registers what Miss E. M. Denkinger has done for those of St. Botolph, Aldgate.<sup>3</sup>

By far the most fruitful of the registers I have seen are those of St. Giles, Cripplegate, a parish which seems to have been even more popular with the actors than St. Saviour's in Southwark.<sup>4</sup> In the registers of St. Giles are more than 200 entries concerning actors; the great majority of these still await publication, a task which I hope soon to perform.

Besides the ones from the parish registers, there is one new actor

<sup>2</sup> It is to be expected that the registers of churches like St. Giles in the Fields, St. Bartholomew the Great, St. Benet's Gracechurch, St. Anne Blackfriars, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Dunstan in the West, St. Alphage, London Wall and St. Mary Aldermanbury, contain unknown material on the actors. Records of players are astonishingly plentiful in the registers of churches near the old theatres; I have never failed to find new material in the registers I have examined, even when Collier and Cunningham had been through them once.

<sup>3</sup> *PMLA.*, March, 1926.

<sup>4</sup> See my article, *Times Literary Supplement* (London), 15 November, 1928.

whose name comes from the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books at the Public Record Office. In these books, a well known source for dramatic material, I have found a gratifying number of new facts about the actors, though this is the only new name which escaped Mrs. Stopes.<sup>5</sup>

*Burger, Robert*

1559 14 April; <sup>6</sup> "Robert Burger, a common player." From the burial registers of St. Benet's, Gracechurch.<sup>7</sup>

*Fulcis, Thomas*

1594 15 August; "Thomas Fulcis late player, gent." From the burial registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate. This "late player, gent" is an intriguing bit. Players are more often called gentlemen than is commonly supposed, particularly in the reign of Charles I, but I have never before seen this sort of designation. It is possible that the writer meant that Fulcis had reformed and left the stage.

*Pratt, Samuel*

1615 3 November; "Samuel Pratt servant to one of the players, buried" From the registers of St. Anne's Blackfriars.<sup>7</sup> It is unlikely that Samuel Pratt was himself a player, though his master may have used him about and even on the stage. However, Sir Henry Herbert's certificate for the servants of the King's players in 1624,<sup>8</sup> which names at least seven players and attendants otherwise unknown, may indicate that men who were considered servants rather than players actually appeared on the stage. Samuel Pratt may have been one of these. He lived near the private house of the King's company.

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<sup>5</sup> *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. 46, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> Although the first three names here do not fall within the period under discussion, I have taken this opportunity of making them known.

<sup>7</sup> From its proximity to the Blackfriars theatre, this church may be expected to include actors in its registers, which I have not yet been able to examine. This reference comes from a collection of rough MS. notes, belonging to J. P. Collier and now at the Bodleian, which contains material collected by him and by Peter Cunningham for a volume on the actors. I am unable to say why they did not publish it. Though much of Collier's work is suspect, I have checked most of the material from the MS. and found it roughly accurate and never fabricated. It is from this MS. that most of Sir E. K. Chamber's information about actors in the parish registers has been taken.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, J. Q., *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 74.

*Megus, William*

1622 19 May; "Buried Katherine Megus, d of William Megus, a player" From the registers of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

*Hitchens, Frances*

1624 17 November; "Katherine dau of Frances Hitchens, Player" From the burial register of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

*Taylor, Thomas*

1624/5 10 January; "Buried sonne of Thomas Taylor, Player"

1625 4 August; "Thomas Taylor, gent"

1625 21 August; "Roger sonne of Thomas Taylor, Player"

All from the burial registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate. This is another mute reminder of the ravages of the plague. Taylor's designation as player indicates that another of the unidentified defendants in Gervase Markham's suit was an actor,<sup>9</sup> perhaps at the Fortune, which was not far from St. Giles.

*Hammersley, Henry*

1626 16 April; "Affryca Da of Henry Hammersley, Player" From the baptismal register of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

*Cley, Henry*

1626 27 August; "Susanna Da: of Henry Cley, Player" From the baptismal registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

*Kite, Jeremy*

1627 4 April; "Wm son of Jerymie Kite Player"

1632/3 20 February; "ffrancis da: of Jeremy Kite Player"

Both from the baptismal register of St. Giles, Cripplegate.<sup>10</sup>

*Bugge, John*

1628/9 20 January; "A Warraunt to sweare John Bugge one of the Queene of Bohemias Players A Groome of ye Chamber in ordinary without fee. Jan 20 1628". Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Book. L. C. 5/132, p. 75.

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<sup>9</sup> Wallace, C. W., in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. 46, 1910.

<sup>10</sup> Since writing this article I have noticed that Leslie Hotson in his admirable new book, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 21, mentions a Jeremy Kite who was one of the company of English players at The Hague in 1644 and 1645. At any rate, the above is the first evidence that he was an experienced actor in the earlier period. His connection with a company under the patronage of the Prince of Wales in 1645 and his earlier residence near the Fortune, so long connected with the Prince's men, prompts the conjecture that he was a member of that company in earlier and happier times.

1630/1 7 February; "A petition of the President & Censors of the Colledge of Phisitions against diuerse Empericks (vizt) Butler A Glover, Trigg A Castmaker, Bugges one of the Queene of diuers Empericks Bohemias Players sometimes an Apothecare, one Hill, one Blagden, one Blanck A pewterer & others for pratising Physique agst ye Charter of the Colledge. Answered (vizt) None of the persons complayned of in this petition, nor any others are admitted to his Mats service to intitule them to ye practise of Phisique against the Charter of the Colledge & his Mats Laws. And therefore if the Petr<sup>s</sup> conceive that they have cause of suit haueing acquainted the parties interested wth this my reference they may freely take the benefitt of his Mats Lawes for their reliefe. Feb 7 1630". P. R. O., Petitions to Lord Chamberlain. L. C. 5/183, p. 185.<sup>11</sup>

1632 18 May "A petition of Francis Heath against John Bugge Heath agst Bugge debt 50<sup>ld</sup>. Answered of course. eod" P. R. O. Petitions to Lord Chamberlain. L. C. 5/183, p. 242.<sup>11</sup>

*Whetstone, Thomas*

1630/1 9 January; "Roger sonne of Thomas Whetstone, Player" From the baptismal registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

*Gradwell, Richard.*

1632 5 August; "Anne dau of Richard Gradwell, Player"  
1633/4 16 March; "Chr. Richard son: of Richard Gradwell, Playr"  
Both from the baptismal register of St. Giles, Cripplegate. A Henry Gradwell was a member of the Prince's company about this time. Possibly Richard was connected with the same company.

*Hammerton, Nicholas*

1634/5 3 January; "Richard sonne of Nicholas Hammerton, Player." From the burial records of St. Giles, Cripplegate. He may have been related to Stephen Hammerton of the King's company.

*Browne, Joseph*

1636 9 December; "Lucretia dau of Joseph Browne, Player"  
1639/40 4 February; "William sonne of Joseph Browne, Player"  
Both from the baptismal registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

G. E. BENTLEY.

*London, England.*

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<sup>11</sup> The pages in this book are not numbered. This reference simply indicates my counting, a clumsy device, but better than examining each item.

## A NOTE ON THE PAGINATION OF THE FIRST FOLIO

Three theories have been advanced to explain the fact that each of the three sections, the Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, into which the First Folio of Shakespeare (1623) is divided, has an independent series of signatures and pagination. In 1902, Sir Sidney Lee asserted that this arrangement was adopted in order that the printing of the three sections might be carried on simultaneously.<sup>1</sup> Although seven years later, in 1909, Professor Alfred W. Pollard by typographical evidence demonstrated the fallacy of this theory,<sup>2</sup> it was even more emphatically advanced, in 1923, by Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes.<sup>3</sup> Pollard himself urged that the division was "probably editorial rather than typographical" and that its purpose was the convenience of the reader.<sup>4</sup> Finally, in 1924, Sir Israel Gollancz surmized that "the original plan was to issue the collection in three folio volumes,"<sup>5</sup> a theory which is now rendered untenable by the discovery, in the London edition of the *Mess-Katalog* of the Frankfort book-fair, of the advertisement of the First Folio when it was to have been sold at the Autumn Mart held in October, 1622. This entry reads, "Playes written by *M. William Shakespeare*, all in one volume, printed by *Isaack Iaggard*, in fol."<sup>6</sup> Of the three theories which have been advanced to explain the use of independent series of signatures and pagination in each of the sections of the First Folio, then, only that of Pollard remains a plausible one.

It is not improbable that, as Pollard has suggested, the division was editorial rather than typographical. An equally valid argument, on the other hand, can, we believe, be formulated for the hypothesis that it was Jaggard, the printer, who determined upon this arrangement of signatures and pagination. Let us consider two facts:

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to Facsimile* (Oxford, 1902), p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (London, 1909), pp. 131-34.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford, 1923), p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Shakespeare Association, London, *Studies in the First Folio* (London, 1924), p. xxii.

<sup>6</sup> F. P. Wilson, "The Jaggards and the First Folio of Shakespeare," in *Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 5, 1925, p. 737.

(1) It was not against the policy of the Jaggards to commence a new series of pagination and signatures in the middle of a volume. This is evidenced by André Favyn's *A Theater of Honour* (1623), a work printed simultaneously with the First Folio. The French original of 1620 from which it is translated was issued in two quarto volumes which were paged continuously. When Jaggard printed the English version in one folio volume, he marked the division in the original by a phrase (sig. Ccc 4v), "The Ende of the Thirde Booke and first Tome," and by a caption half hidden among the rules on the opposite page (sig. a 1r), "The II. Tome." Despite the fact that this division is without significance in a work of one volume and that it is marked less conspicuously than the beginning and ending of a "Booke," Jaggard began the second "tome" with a new series of signatures and pagination.

(2) The present arrangement was a convenience to the printer. *Winter's Tale*, the last of the comedies, was not printed until after the two histories which follow it.<sup>7</sup> Had the printer employed one continuous series of pagination and signatures throughout the volume, he would have been forced either to add greatly to the irregularities of the book or to stop and wait for copy. It is not unlikely that when Jaggard came to the end of *Twelfth Night* and discovered that the manuscript for *Winter's Tale* was not yet available, he decided upon the expedient of using independent series of pagination and signatures for each section, an arrangement which permitted him to begin work upon the histories at once and to finish the comedies when copy for *Winter's Tale* reached the printing office.

The use of independent series of pagination and signatures for each of the three sections of the First Folio, then, was not "a clumsy device" (as Sir Sidney Lee considered it). It was, instead, probably a convenience to the reader and almost certainly an advantage to the printer.

EDWIN ELLIOTT WILLOUGHBY.

*The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

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<sup>7</sup> E. E. Willoughby, "The Heading, *Actus Primus, Scaena Prima*, in the First Folio," in *Review of English Studies*, iv (1928), 326.

## DOWNES'S TRIBUTE TO MRS. BRACEGIRDLE

Mr. R. G. Noyes has shown<sup>1</sup> that readers of the *Roscius Anglicanus* have been guilty of uncritical enjoyment of a passage relating to the most famous charmer of the Restoration stage. But does not his discovery explain, rather than "explode," the "pretty but after all extremely obscure hyperbole which students of the theatre have considered a quaint tribute to Mrs. Bracegirdle?"

*Justice Busy*, a Comedy wrote by Mr. Crown; 'twas well Acted, yet prov'd not a living Play: However Mrs. *Bracegirdle*, by a Potent and Magnetick Charm in performing a Song in't, caus'd the *Stones of the Streets to fly in the Men's Faces*.<sup>2</sup>

This is certainly a tribute, its quaintness being due to Downes's over-ingenious twisting of a line from the song itself; and it seems hardly more obscure than Antony's assurance that the stones of Rome would rise and mutiny. The gallantry of Downes is in no way impeached by Mr. Noyes's very interesting find.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

## ITALIAN ACTORS IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

So little is known and so much surmised as to the influence of Italian drama on Shakespeare's age that every little fact about the foreign actors in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England should be carefully noted and checked, to aid further investigation and prevent vain guessing. About Drusiano Martinelli, one of the very few recognized *comici* certainly in London in Elizabeth's reign, a fair number of facts have been published by D'Ancona, Bartoli, Baschet, Rasi, and Sanesi in their books on the Italian theatre. He was the brother of Tristano Martinelli, a famous Arlecchino, the husband of a successful actress, Angelica, who gave him a great deal of trouble and whose infidelities he either provoked or avenged by neglect and cruelty. All three of the Martinelli were among the Duke of Mantua's favorites and formed part of one of

<sup>1</sup> *MLN.*, XLIII, 390-391 (June, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 45.

another of his licensed companies in Italy, France, and Spain. Whether or not they belonged to the *Gelosi* before the dissolution of that troupe in 1604 is uncertain; they certainly all acted with G. B. Andreini and with P. M. Cecchini in the early years of the seventeenth century.

It has not, I believe, been noticed that some time between 1606, when he is recorded in Lyons, and 1608, Drusiano Martinelli died. The proof of this is found in the Catalog of Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, where there is listed a manuscript volume unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1904:

Libro di diuersi pensieri, che tratta della sacra scrittura, composto da Drusiano Martinelli Mantovano, fratello di Arlecchino comico, et scritto di sua propria mano e per essere morto, non ha potuto fornirlo, per farlo poi stampare per nome d'Iddio, et per dedicarlo al Serenissimo Duca di Savoia, che così era il suo desiderio et per compire al intento suo io Tristano Martinelli detto Arlecchino Comico suo fratello, l'ho dedicato alla Serenissima libreria del Serenissimo Sig. Carlo Emmanuele Duca di Savoia mio Sig. e patron. L'anno 1608.

Evidently Drusiano shared the conventional piety of his fellows and, like the more famous Andreini, devoted leisure moments of his dissolute life to conciliating Heaven and his patron with a mixture of repentance and flattery.

Another actor certainly in London during Shakespeare's lifetime, and a more obscure one, is "Scoto of Mantua," alluded to by Ben Jonson in *Volpone*, II, 1, and elsewhere. James I in his *Daemonologie* (*Workes*, etc., London, 1616, Bk. I, 105) says:

He will learn them manie juglarie trickes at Cardes, dice, and such like, to deceiue men's senses thereby: and such innumerable false practiques; which are prouen by ouer-manie in this age: as they who are acquainted with that Italian called Scoto, yet liuing, can report.

Scoto, however, was not a mere juggler and mountebank but an actor and leader of a company, whose real name was Dionisio and who was licensed by the Duke of Mantua, like many of his fellows. The document containing these facts was in part cited by Adolfo Bartoli in the preface to his *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* (p. xciii), and is given here entire, as verified for me by Miss Kathleen M. Lee, from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence (MS. Magliabech. II, III, 454-6, in Filza 908. c. 103).

A letter from P. Vinta, Fiscale, to Belisario Vinta, Secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany:



Questa mattina a hora 17 in circa feci precetto ai Cantanti in Banchi esistenti in Firenze che si riducano a tre capi et tre squadre, una di Dionisio de. lo Scotto Mantovano, una di Marsilio Savino Venetiano, et una di Decio Albani da Siena, che non ardissero per tutta l'ottava della Pasqua di Resurrect. montar in Banco ne recitare, o far recitar Commedie in Piazza, o strade, et luoghi publici della Città, nè anco in alberghi, hosterie, o altro luogo di essa con intervento di Zanni, o strioni infami, o donne disoneste e lascive sotto pena del mio arbitrio, et il Cancre. del fisco prese memoria in scriptis del tto. et in continenti ordinai al Bargello che si procurasse l'osservanza de tale editto, et mandai il Cancre. del fisco al P. Priore di S. Lorenzo ch'egli fece intender il di sopra, et li udi molto volentieri. Soggiungendo a V. S. che nella proibitione per le medesime ragioni compresi non solo la città di Fiorenza, ma anco gl'altri luoghi del suo stato, acciò non si ritirassino per questo tempo in Prato, Empoli, et simili dove sono visti di raro, et harebbono lasciato li devini offitij per correr a quelli spettacoli, et commedie, che sarebbe stato disordine, e contro la buona mente, et intentione di S. A. la quale potrà comandar se devo sopra ciò far altro, et con questo a V. S. prego lunga, et felice vita. Di Fiorenza li 11 marzo 1602.

Di V. S. Ill.

Affmo. Fratto,  
P. Vinta.

WINIFRED SMITH.

Vassar College.

## DEFOE'S CONCEPTION OF POETRY

The following item, culled from Robert Wodrow's *Analecta: Or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*<sup>1</sup> may be of interest not only to students of Defoe, but also to students of the theory of poetry in the 18th century:

November and December, 1715—About this time, severall worthy Ministers are removed by death. Mr. Robert M'Cala, Minister, first at Inshanan, and then at Stirling, a most pleasant, facetious man, and yet solid and serious Minister; who greu very much in his ministeriall gifts toward the close of his ministry. He was of a most peircing flight, and had some of the most surprizing flights and turns of thought, and turns upon incidentall things, that I have heard. I have heard, that when the knouen Daniel Defoe was in Scotland, about the Union, he heard him preach a whole day at Stirling, and had never seen him or heard of him before; and, being asked his opinion of the sermon, he said, he was extremely pleased with it, and he believed he was one of the best poets

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh, Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842-43, 4 vols., II, 305.

of the age; and when answered, that he had noe vein nor turn that way, and for what was knouen, had never made a verse all his dayes, "That is nothing," said the other, "it may be he does not rhyme, but I see by his turns of speaking and lively images, that he has a poetically flight and imagination, though he has not given himself to verse."

Harvard University.

BURNS MARTIN.

### AN EQUIVALENT FOR DANIEL DEFOE

Walter Wilson in his *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel DeFoe* (1830) supposed the *Equivalent* to be one of several Tory attacks upon Defoe when he was pilloried in 1703, whereas, as will be readily seen from the following extract, it really is a Scotch satire written in 1706 when Defoe was in Edinburgh working for the Union of England and Scotland.

Let banter cease and poetasters yield  
 Since fam'd DeFoe is master of the field.  
 What none can comprehend, he understands  
 And what's not understood his fame commands.  
 This mighty bard, more mighty in invention  
 But most of all in humble condescension;  
 Has left the pleasures of Parnassus-hill  
 And stoops so low as here to draw his quill  
 'Mongst us rude Scots: . . .  
 His Four Essays do give us wealth, yea more  
 His own vast stock is added to our store.  
 He is not servile, nor does writ for gold,  
 Nor is he poor as poets were of old.

It is obvious from a reading of the poem, an original copy of which I recently saw at the National Library of Scotland, that the author was opposed to the Union, that he was fairly familiar with Defoe's journalistic activities in Scotland and that he regarded him as an unscrupulous hireling. A pamphlet<sup>1</sup> written by Dugald Campbell in which a similar attitude is expressed towards Defoe suggests that Campbell may have written the *Equivalent*. Be that as it may, the satire is worth resurrecting, for it supports the few known facts on an important period in Defoe's career, the full story of which still awaits further investigation.

CHARLES EATON BURCH.

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<sup>1</sup> *Reply to the Authors of the Advantages of Scotland by an Incorporate Union, and of the Fifth Essay at Removing National Prejudices . . . 1707.*

TOM BROWN AND *TRISTRAM SHANDY*

It has been generally assumed that the facetious account of the birth and breeding of Tristram Shandy was inspired by the early lives of Pantagruel and Martinus Scriblerus. Such does, indeed, seem to have been the case, for Rabelais and Swift at more than one point in the writings of Sterne were to be numbered among those authors of "miscellaneous writing" and burlesque to whom he was indebted. John Ferriar points out many striking parallels to passages in Montaigne, Burton, Beroalde, d'Aubigné, and Scarron, in addition to Rabelais and Swift.<sup>1</sup> The description of the birth of Tristram Shandy, Ferriar attributes directly to Martinus Scriblerus and Pantagruel,<sup>2</sup> while in a footnote he only "strongly suspects" imitation of Tom Brown.<sup>3</sup>

But the parallel in the clockwinding incident is too clear to remain in a footnote (where it is merely mentioned and not explained) even though we had no other evidence of the influence of Tom Brown upon Sterne. The passages are as follows:

You have all, I dare say, heard of the animal spirits, as how they are transfused from father to son. . . . 'Pray my dear,' quoth my mother, 'have you not forgot to wind up the clock?' 'Good God,' cried my father . . . 'did ever woman, since the creation of the world, interrupt a man with such a silly question?'.<sup>4</sup>

Nay, to give you the last proof of their ill-breeding, in the critical minute of joy, when they ought to be all rapture and contemplation, then, even then, when they should be wrapt up in holy silence, they'll ask you a thousand foolish questions, as *mal à propos*, as if one should interrupt a popish priest at the elevation, and ask him what a clock it is.<sup>5</sup>

The irrelevant interruption might, of course, occur to any number of comic writers independently; but it stretches our credulity

<sup>1</sup> John Ferriar, *Illustrations of Sterne*, second ed., 1812, I, chapters 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42: "The birth and education of Pantagruel evidently gave rise to those of Martinus Scriblerus, and both were fresh in Sterne's memory when he composed the first chapters of *Tristram Shandy*."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93 n: "I strongly suspect that Sterne took the incident alluded to, from the *Description of a Country Life* in the supplementary volume of Tom Brown's works."

<sup>4</sup> *Tristram Shandy*, chapter 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Description of a Country Life," in *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown*, 1721, v. 47-48.

in coincidence to believe that out of the possible "thousand foolish questions" so "*mal a propos*" Sterne should have chosen the one used by Tom Brown.

On *a priori* grounds we might feel sure that Sterne read Tom Brown, whose burlesque is very much in his own vein and who was the acknowledged inspiration in the satire of so many Eighteenth Century writers, including Swift and Addison. In one famous passage in the *Sentimental Journey* it seems clear that he was copying Tom Brown almost verbally. This chapter of the *Sentimental Journey*, entitled "The Dwarf," has been traced to Scarron's *Le roman comique*<sup>6</sup> where the parallel throughout a long incident is too close to admit any doubt of the debt. But what has not been noticed is that the similarity in at least one detail is closer to Tom Brown's translation of *Le roman comique* than to the French of Scarron. The passages are too long to quote, and in the main the two versions offer no choice. A dwarf crowds into a packed theatre, finds himself just behind a gigantic, boorish man who completely blocks his view of the stage, and repeatedly requests the giant to make room for him,—a request which is stolidly ignored. In most of this narrative Tom Brown translates Scarron word for word, but in the most conspicuous departure from the phraseology of his author he adopts the expression used by Sterne. The repeated requests of the dwarf are received as follows by the giant:

Il tourna la teste, et vit le petit impatient . . . La Baguenodiére en fut si peu ému, qu'il se retourna vers le theatre.<sup>7</sup>

He turn'd his Head about, and saw the little Impertinent . . . but which he took as little Notice of as before, only turning about, and looking upon him, and then returning to his former Posture.<sup>8</sup>

The German turned his head back, looked down upon him . . . and unfeelingly resumed his posture.<sup>9</sup>

It seems clear that Sterne is another of those famous humorists

<sup>6</sup> *Le roman comique*, par Scarron. Paris, 1857. Tome 2, pp. 68-78. (Deuxième partie, chapitre xvii.)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>8</sup> *Comical Works of Mons. Scarron, translated by Mr. Thomas Brown*, sixth ed., Dublin, 1751, I, 295.

<sup>9</sup> Sterne, *Sentimental Journey*. Vol. I, chapter, *The Dwarf*.

who turned to the relatively obscure Tom Brown for concrete incident.<sup>10</sup>

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## THE FRENCH SOURCE OF TWO EARLY ENGLISH FEMINIST TRACTS

Before we can understand the evolution of feminist ideas in England during the eighteenth century, we shall have to know more about the vast stream of minor literature on the subject at the end of the seventeenth. One problem is the interrelation of French and English tracts. It is well known, of course, that a considerable group of English pamphlets are translations, imitations, or adaptations of French writings—for example, of the essays by Fénelon,<sup>1</sup> Bellegarde,<sup>2</sup> and Poulain de la Barre.<sup>3</sup> And there is no reason to believe that the full extent of this borrowing has been determined.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For a study of the influence of Tom Brown on Swift and his contemporaries, see my *Gulliver's Travels—A Critical Study* (Princeton University Press), chapters 3 and 4, and the references in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687), adapted by George Hickes as *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter* (1707).

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres curieuses de littérature et de morale* (title of one letter: "Si les femmes sont inférieures aux hommes par le mérite de l'esprit") (1702), translated, with an introduction, as *Letters of Monsieur l'Abbé de Bellegarde to a Lady of the Court of France* (1705).

<sup>3</sup> *De l'égalité des deux sexes* (1673); *De l'éducation des dames* (1674); and *De l'excellence des hommes contre l'égalité des sexes* (1675). The first of these was translated as *The Woman as Good as the Man or the Equality of Both Sexes*. By A. L. 1677. Either this translation or its source was drawn upon freely for a series of English pamphlets appearing in 1739 and 1740: *Woman not Inferior to Man* (1739); *Man Superior to Woman* (1739); and *Woman's Superior Excellence over Man* (1740). On these borrowings, see C. A. Moore, "The First of the Militants in English Literature," *The Nation*, February 17, 1916, pp. 194-96; also Florence M. Smith, *Mary Astell* (1916), Appendix II, "Authorship of *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*," pp. 177-82.

<sup>4</sup> A question has been raised as to the English authorship of the spirited essay long ascribed to Mary Astell: *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex in Which Are Inserted the Characters of a Pedant, a Squire, a Beau,*

Two other cases can be demonstrated. The essay published anonymously in the same volume with the second edition (1696) of the *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* has a French original. This essay is entitled *A Farther Essay Relating to the Female Sex, Containing Six Characters and Six Perfections. With the Description of Self-Love*.<sup>5</sup> It has a Dedication to Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Kildare, and a Preface to the Fair Sex, both unsigned and without acknowledgments. The indebtedness, however, is complete, as preface and essay are literal translations of a French treatise by Madame de Pringy, which had been published anonymously two years earlier: *Les differens caractères des femmes du siècle avec la description de l'amour propre. Contenant six caractères et six perfections*.<sup>6</sup>

Again, in 1705, Madame de Pringy's essay (which, in 1699, had had a second French edition) was used as the basis of *A Legacy for the Ladies or Characters of the Women of the Age, by the late Ingenious Mr. Thomas Brown*.<sup>7</sup> The *Legacy* omits the original preface but presents a close translation of the essay proper, with only minor changes in the headings. The Dedication to Madame Dorathea Hubert, signed S. B. (probably Samuel Briscoe, for whom the book was printed) refers casually and vaguely to a French original used by Brown.

The essay thus twice translated into English within a single

*a Vertuoso, a Poetaster, a City-Critick etc.* In a Letter to a Lady. Written by a Lady. [1st ed. Easter, 1696 (*Term Cat.*)]. See A. H. Upham, "English *Femmes Savantes* at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xii (1913), 262 ff., and Florence M. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-82.

<sup>5</sup> London, 1696. The title page reads further: *To which is Added a Character of a Complete Beau*. Another essay, not pertinent in this connection, is also included.

<sup>6</sup> Paris, 1694. The Dedication to Princesse Madame Marie d'Orleans is signed D. P. Quérard and the *Nouvelle biographie universelle* assigns the essay to Madame de Pringy. In the same volume with it is: *Le Portrait d'une femme honnête, raisonnable et véritablement chrétienne* par Mr. l'Abbé Goussault (Paris, 1694). According to Barbier (*Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, Paris, Daffis, 1872), a still earlier edition had appeared, "La Haye, Hondt et Van Ellinkhuysen, s. d. (vers 1650)."

<sup>7</sup> The rest of the title reads: *With a Comical View of London and Westminster. . . . To which is Prefixed the Character of Mr. Tho. Brown and His Writings, Written by Mr. Drake, London, 1705.*

decade presents "characters," such as coquettes, bigots, and wits, balanced with homilies on the contrasting abstract virtues—"Les Coquettes," for example, with "La Modestie." The concluding part is a presentation of the conventional charge that self-love is the predominating passion in woman. The tone of the whole is worldly and somewhat cynical but obviously intended to be admonitory. Neither the French original nor the English translations can be identified with the rationalistic propaganda of Poulain de la Barre and Mary Astell. They belong definitely to the conventional literary tradition, with William Walsh's *Dialogue Concerning Women*, St. Évremond's essays, and Steele's papers—for example, his contrast, in *Spectator* No. 33, of the vain Laetitia with the modest Daphne, and of Honoria with Emilia in *Spectator* No. 302. Nevertheless it is clearly evident that, although such tracts were chiefly exercises in "character" literature, they were effective as social documents because they kept before readers ideas relating to woman and afforded points of attack for serious reformers.

RAE BLANCHARD.

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#### PETOWE'S CONTINUATION OF *HERO AND LEANDER*

In *MLN.* XLIII (Feb. 1928), 101-4, Mr. Douglas Bush listed English versions of the *Hero and Leander* story. May I add a poem by Henry Petowe: *The Second Part of Hero and Leander conteynning their further Fortunes by Henry Petowe, London, 1598.* The 150 lines printed in Dyce's *Marlowe* (pp. 398 ff.) contain such claptrap as a tournament, a knight in disguise, a cruel duke, happy wedding bells, and final metamorphosis into pine trees. The wooden heroic couplets embrace a number of lines as bad as this:

While these my eyes, quoth he, gaze on thy eyne;  
or this:

Yet, since her lord Leander was not nie,  
She was resolu'd eyther to liue or die.

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## THREE THEFTS FROM CLEVELAND

Better poets than Cleveland have not infrequently paid him the homage of imitation or theft. Sometimes they have been blamed for what they stole. A case in point is Mr. H. C. Beeching's condemnation of Vaughan for following the tracks of Herbert into this figure:<sup>1</sup>

But, as in nature, when the day  
Breaks, night adjourns,  
Stars shut up shop, mists pack away,  
And the Moon mourns.

But Vaughan took the figure straight out of Cleveland's verses *Upon Phillis*,<sup>2</sup> which had appeared three years before Vaughan printed *Faith*:

The marigold (whose courtier's face  
Echoes the sun and doth unlace  
Her at his rise—at his full stop  
Packs and shuts up her gaudy shop)  
Mistakes her cue and doth display.

And not only Vaughan, but also Benlowes in *Theophila*:<sup>3</sup>

(Pearl'd dewes add stars) Yet earth's  
shade shuts up soon  
Her shop of beams; whose cone  
doth run  
'Bove th' horned moon, beneath the  
golden-tressèd sun.

Cleveland is successful here, and Vaughan a failure; because Vaughan fails to remake the image to his purpose, which is serious, while that of Cleveland is not. Benlowes comes much closer to achieving the grandeur which Vaughan attempted to add to the image.

A third instance of theft from Cleveland involves Marvell, who has often been reprimanded for some of the images in *Appleton House*.<sup>4</sup> One of the most objectionable of these is

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Vaughan*, The Muses' Library, pp. xl-xli.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in 1647.

<sup>3</sup> 1652. See Saintsbury, *Caroline Poets*, I, p. 356, xxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Written after Marvell went to Nun Appleton in 1650.



And now the salmon-fishers moist  
 Their leathern boats begin to hoist;  
 And, like Antipodes in shoes,  
 Have shod their heads in their canoes.

Several years before these lines were written Cleveland had printed (in 1647) his *Square-Cap*, which contains the same image:

Then Calot Leather-cap strongly pleads,  
 And fain would derive the pedigree of fashion.  
 The antipodes wear their shoes on their heads,  
 And why may not we in their imitation?

In Marvell the image is gratuitous, it supports nothing but its own cleverness; in Cleveland it is all the poor lawyer has to stand on in his argument for favor. Perhaps the real source of Marvell's failure is the introduction of *canoes*, which brings the image into Dr. Johnson's class "of enormous and disgusting hyperboles." Cleveland's image, as before, is essentially a witty image.

Surely Cleveland comes out of this business better than Vaughan, Benlowes, or Marvell. This does not mean, of course, that he is the better poet; but it does mean that Cleveland was sometimes a better man than his debtors, that he had a certain skill in the witty image that is not to be despised. We begin to wonder how far Cleveland, the most popular poet of his day, proved a storehouse of conceits to the seventeenth century poets, who made so free with one another's material.

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## A NOTE ON TIMONEDA

Very little attention, it would seem, has been paid to an article by F. G. Olmedo, published about ten years ago, announcing the discovery of a new 'Ternario' of Juan de Timoneda<sup>1</sup> in the old convent of San Zoil (Carrión de los Condes), now used as a Jesuit College. The periodical in which the article appeared being difficult of access in this country, some information concerning the

<sup>1</sup> *Un nuevo ternario de Juan de Timoneda*, in *Razón y Fe*, XLVII, (not XLVIII, as the *Bibliografía* of the *Revista de filología española* reported it) 1917, pp. 277-296; 483-497 (not 489-496).

bibliographical 'find' of Mr. Olmedo may not be unwelcome to American hispanists.

It is a parchment-bound volume in gothic type throughout, and contains, together with the new 'ternario,' a *Tratado del clarísimo Orador y poeta Francisco Petrarcha / q̄ trata de la excelencia de la vida solitaria* . . . , Medina del Campo, Guillermo de Millis, 1553; three 'tratados,' one lacking the title-page, on 'humility,' the second entitled *Victoria de pensamientos*, the third *Consuelo de muerte humana*, all printed in one volume, Barcelona, Juan Carles Amoros, 1551; and, finally, an *Obra muy prouechosa* . . . *Llamase Baculus Clericalis* . . . *por el* . . . *maestre Bartholome Cucala* . . . , Alcalá de Henares, Juan de Brocar, 1554. The title-page of the new 'ternario' itself Mr. Olmedo describes as follows:

[Coat of arms of the Archbishop D. Francisco de Navarra]. *Ternario Spiritual / en el qual se contienen tres Auctos sacados de la sagrada scriptura. Dedicados al Illustriss. y Reuerēdiss. señor el señor don Francisco de Nauarra Arçobispo de Valencia. ec. Agora de nueuo compuestos y mejorados por Juan Timoneda. Con priuilegio. [Al fin:] Impresso en Valencia a XXVIII de Nouiembre. 1558. Vendense en casa de Juan Timoneda librero.*

The second and third volumes of Timoneda's works, begun by Menéndez y Pelayo, have not yet appeared<sup>2</sup> and for the religious plays we still have to be content with Pedroso. Hence the interest and importance of a volume which brings an earlier text, slightly different and with a modified *introito*, of the charming *Aucto de la oveja perdida* and, besides, an *Aucto del Nacimiento* and an *Aucto de la Quinta Angustia*, both, so Mr. Olmedo believes, not previously known.

He has reprinted the *Aucto de la oveja perdida* entirely, intending to add the relatively few variants of the edition of 1575.<sup>3</sup> Thus we have now three reprints of this notable play, none of them, unfor-

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Olmedo does not believe that Menéndez y Pelayo ever wrote the intended essay on Timoneda, but declares: 'Dios se ha encargado de llenar muy cumplidamente ese vacío con las eruditas investigaciones de un joven valenciano . . . D. Eduardo Juliá y Martínez' (p. 277).

<sup>3</sup> A number of these variants have not been noted, however. Thus, in Olmedo's text, p. 487: *Esta ha ques correndera*; Pedroso, p. 78-2: *Esta ha de ser correndera*. Olmedo, p. 488: *no te echo culpa*; Pedroso, p. 79-1: *no te doy culpa*. Olmedo: *endilgalla mal*; Pedroso: *endilgalla a mal*. Olmedo: *no te me yguales*; Pedroso, p. 79-2: *tú no te iguales* etc.

unately, satisfactory; the oldest in date, Pedroso's, reproduces the text of 1575 through a copy made by Durán (cf. p. 77-2, *note*), and adds variants of the sixteenth century copy of the more extensive text preserved in the Academia de la Historia; Olmedo's, as we have seen, takes the edition of 1558 as a basis, providing it with a number of the variants revealed in comparison with Pedroso; finally, and most recent, there is a reprint, with no scientific pretensions, prepared for a performance of the *auto* by students of the University of Salamanca, based on Pedroso's text, with a few random variants from Olmedo.<sup>4</sup> The *introito* of the *Aucto de la oveja perdida* in the new 'ternario' is different, for while in 1575 it was addressed to D. Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, in 1558 it was part of a performance patronized by his predecessor, D. Francisco de Navarra. The title-page is described as follows:

*Aucto dela oueja perdida Obra Uamada la Pastorella / agora nueuamente compuesta, sacada de muchos Euangelios, especialmente sobre aquel q̄ escriue el glorioso san Lucas a sus quinze capitulos dela oueja perdida, que Christo n̄ro saluador dixo a los escribas y fariseos. De nuevo añadida y mejorada por Juan Timoneda. [Siguen dos viñetas que representan a Cristo y a San Pedro en traje de pastores.]*<sup>5</sup>

Strictly speaking it can perhaps not be said that this version was previously unknown. Not that it was generally known, and less still that it was known for what it was. But it seems quite probable that it is identical with a manuscript version which appears as nr. 23 in a still largely unpublished manuscript of 'consuetas,' discovered on the island of Majorca in 1887 and described in that year, and more fully later, by Mr. Gabriel Llabrés.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript play is entitled *Obra Uamada la Pastorella*, corresponding to the subtitle of the *Aucto de la oveja perdida* in the new 'ternario.'<sup>7</sup>

"*La Oveja Perdida*" *Auto Sacramental de Juan de Timoneda*, representado en Salamanca el día 9 de Junio de 1920, con ocasión de la solemnísimas Asamblea Eucarística. Publicalo con una introduccion, notas y glosario, el Dr. D. Antonio García Boiza, Profesor de la Universidad de Salamanca. (Salamanca, 1921.)

<sup>5</sup> Olmedo, *l. c.*, p. 485.

<sup>6</sup> First in the *Boletín de la sociedad arqueológica Lulliana* (Palma 1887 f.), II, 53 ff.; later, in an article entitled *Repertorio de "Consuetas" representadas en las iglesias de Mallorca (Siglos XV y XVI)* in *Revista de archivos, Tercera época*, V (1901), 920-927.

<sup>7</sup> Pedroso gives the 1575 subtitle as *Obra Uamada pastorella*.

Pending a detailed examination of the manuscript, it may be said that our guess is confirmed by the connections which we shall presently establish between the same manuscript and the second *auto* in the 'ternario.'

Neither the second *auto* nor the third have, unfortunately, been reprinted by Mr. Olmedo. Considering them as of slight importance, he has merely outlined their contents, quoting passages here and there. These will be sufficient, however, to further identify the second *auto* and to raise some question as to the authorship of the third.

It may be only an accident that the second *auto*, a Christmas play, appears immediately after the *Obra llamada la Pastorella*, as nr. 24 in the Majorcan manuscript (fols. 90 vo.-97 ro.) with the title: *Colloquio peregrino elegantissimo cō muchas preguntas dela sagrada scriptura para la noche de navidad. Compuesto y copilado por iuan timoneda de muchos y diuersos y catholicos auctores*. It was apparently copied from a printed original as the mention 'Con privilegio,' immediately following upon the title, seems to imply.<sup>8</sup> But whether the copy was made from the edition discovered by Olmedo only a detailed comparison with the new 'ternario' (the integral publication of which is highly desirable) will eventually show.

As to the third *auto*, the *Aucto de la Quinta Angustia*, it does not seem to have been noticed that it is identical with the *Auto de la quinta angustia que nuestra señora passo al pie de la cruz*, which is preserved in an anonymous edition of Burgos, Juan de Juan, 1552.<sup>9</sup> The passages quoted by Mr. Olmedo correspond exactly

<sup>8</sup> Such was also the case with Bartolomé Aparicio's *Obra del Peccador* (nr. 3, fols. 12 ro.-18 vo.) of which the copy contains the indication 'ynpresa en Seuilla.' We shall examine elsewhere what this implies for the bibliography of Aparicio.

<sup>9</sup> First mentioned by Gayangos, described and excerpted by Salvá, I, 364 f. and more recently reprinted from the copy in the British Museum by Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 280-300. The new text will make it possible to correct a number of probable misprints in the older one, such as line 66 *piédras* (r. *piernas* [?]); 75 (meaning ?); 237 (incomplete); 326 *y apretada ten, con ten* (r. *y apretadlo, ten con ten* [?]); 369 *vida* (r. *via*); 416 *yo hos dexé* (r. *y hos dexe* [?]); p. 298 (Romance) *se le quieren arrincar* (r. *arrancar* [?]); p. 300 *Dos dolores* (r. *Los* [?]).

with the text of this *auto*.<sup>10</sup> The authorship of the *Auto de la Quinta Angustia*, here first ascribed to Timoneda, is now more of an open question than ever and will add to the problems of the scholar who shall determine more definitely the originality—or acquisitiveness—of the enterprising bookseller.

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THE 1603 EDITION OF JUAN DE LA CUEVA'S *COMEDIA DEL SACO DE ROMA*

It is well known that the plays of Juan de la Cueva were first published in 1583, and again in 1588 with considerable changes in the text, but so far as I know, no mention has been made by any bibliographer of *suelta* editions of any of these plays made during the author's lifetime. However, the Library of the Hispanic Society of America possesses a copy of the *Comedia del saco de Roma y muerte de Borbón, y coronación de nuestro inuicto Emperador Carlos Quinto*, published at Barcelona by Sebastián de Cormellas, al Call, in the year 1603.

This edition consists of fourteen leaves, in quarto. It contains no preliminary material, and omits the argument of each act. The text, printed in single and double columns, follows closely the edition of 1583 so far as I can judge from Professor Hämel's description<sup>1</sup> of it, but contains many errors and omissions. The printing of these variants would seem to contribute nothing to the understanding of the original text. It appears to merit attention solely as a bibliographical rarity.

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<sup>10</sup> Olmedo p. 292: *Mi mujer bien lo decía* etc. corresponds to the *auto* as published in the *Romanic Review*, II. 106-120; p. 293: *Hay dueñas, dolor, dolor* etc. to II. 191-192; *Ay, Juan, y cuán mal trocado* etc. to II. 176-180, *Ay, Hijo, cuán lastimada* etc. to II. 412-421, *Dios te salve, cruz preciosa* etc. to II. 552-556; p. 294: *Si me adurmiere, madre* etc. to p. 299 f.

<sup>1</sup> *Juan de la Cueva und die Erstaussgabe seiner Comedias y Tragedias*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLIII, 1923, 139-140.

## REVIEWS

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*Die humoristische Gestalt in der französischen Literatur.* VON W. GOTTSCHALK. Heidelberg, 1928. Pp. 391. (Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher).

In his introduction Mr. Gottschalk adopts the conventional description of the humorous figure: it must contain both comic and tragic elements, must provoke laughter and at the same time arouse pity and respect; the basic feeling of love on the part of the author differentiates humor sharply from satire. In the application of this description other criteria are added, however, which may exclude a character from the ranks of the truly humorous. In the Middle Ages, for example, with one modest exception in *Le Tombeur Notre Dame*, the humor (in the popular sense) has too much brutality, coarseness, and immorality to be true humor (in the modern esthetic sense). The comedies of the sixteenth century do not rise above the level of farces until we reach Godard's *Les Desguisez* and enter upon "*den Boden der Moral, auf dem allein die zarte Blume Humor gedeihen kann*" (p. 73). The beginning of humorous prose literature in France is found in Rabelais' *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, in the persons of Frère Jean and the three kings, but here grotesque satire so fills the foreground that the humor cannot reach full development (p. 67). There is no humor in any branch of the novel in the seventeenth century; Hylas in *L'Astrée* is said not to be a humorous figure; the realistic novels called *comique* are on too low a plane to fulfill the requirements. Nor in the comedies and tragi-comedies which precede Molière is the "tender breath of humor" (p. 87) to be found.

Molière's great humorous figures are Arnolphe (*L'école des femmes*), the first embodiment of tragic humor in French literature, and Alceste (*Le misanthrope*), a gripping creation of comic-tragic humor. Tartuffe is characterized with biting satire, but all his opponents with a fine humor. In all of Molière's other plays the burlesque and the satirical are said to outweigh the humorous elements. The followers of Molière are satirical with the exception of Regnard, whose Criséis (*Democrite*) is, in Mr. G.'s opinion, the first important humorous female character in French literature. With the awakening of sensibility in the eighteenth century comes an increase in humor, not in Rousseau, but in Marivaux, both in his plays and his novels; in Xavier de Maistre's *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, in Lesage's *Gil Blas* (but in the first book only), and to a lesser extent in several minor authors as Piron, Gresset, Collin d'Harleville.

Humor flourishes best where there is freedom of the individual.

Since 1830, with greater political freedom, there has been a corresponding development of humor. For the novel, Töppfer, Claude Tillier, Musset, Sandeau, Erckmann-Chatrian, Cherbuliez, Droz, Theuriot are mentioned. Balzac is found to have but few humorous characters, Pons and Schmuck (*Le cousin Pons*), and Modeste (*Modeste Mignon*). Flaubert is humorous in *Un cœur simple*. Daudet, of course, in *Lettres de mon moulin*. Daudet's novels are in general satirical with the exception of *Le Nabab*, *Tartarin sur les Alpes* and *Port Tarascon*. Tartarin in *Tartarin de Tarascon* is said to leave one cold. Maupassant possesses the technique of the humorist in his contrasts of the comic and the tragic, but lacks kindness of heart. How much the tragic side outweighs the amusing in Mr. Gottschalk's conception of humor is shown by his selection of Mme Loisel (*La parure*) as one of Maupassant's few humorous figures. *Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, the four books of the *Pierre Nozière* series (twenty pages are devoted to a résumé of the plot of this series, with a regret that there is not space for a detailed analysis of each book), *Filles et garçons*, the six *nouvelles* of the French Revolution and *Thaïs* give Anatole France a place as one of the greatest French humorists, *malgré lui*, evidently. High praise is given to Alice Cherbonnel (*Mon oncle et mon curé*) and Jeanne Schultz (*La neuvaine de Colette*). Modern humorists in the novel are Pierre Mille (*Le monarque*), Lichtenberger, Duhamel (*Les plaisirs et les jeux*), Rolland (*Jean-Christophe*). In the drama, Augier is found to show humor in *Le gendre de M. Poirier* only; Musset only in *Un caprice*. Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* is judged comparable to *Le misanthrope* in tragic humor, and superior to it in that the humor is not confined to the central figure, but plays over others as well, Roxane, Christian, Ragueneau.

Mr. Gottschalk's reading has been extensive; it includes the most important authors and many minor ones from the Middle Ages down to the present time. His discussion is vigorous, too much so, in fact, for his decisions are categorical in tone. A more modest attitude, in judging a literature which is not his own, would be welcome, even though the subject be that of humor. Outwardly impartial, his inward conviction as to his racial superiority in this matter is betrayed rather naïvely. The 150 editions, in a short period, of Halévy's *L'Abbé Constantin* and the election of the author to the ten (sic) immortals of the French Academy, prove, he says, that *auch der Franzose* has great understanding for true humor. In discussing Jean Giraudoux the pious hope is expressed that "that finely cultured and widely traveled author, acquainted with German thought, poetry and sentiment, may, sometime, write also a humorous work in *unserem Sinne*."

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*L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française (1550-1585)*. Par MARCEL RAYMOND. Deux tomes. Paris, Champion, 1927. Pp. 398 + 376. Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance.

*Bibliographie critique de Ronsard en France (1550-1585)*. Par MARCEL RAYMOND. Paris, Champion, 1927. Pp. 150.

It is often hard to tell whether a given poet draws his inspiration directly from Ronsard, or from the latter's source, and we know so little about the dates of certain productions that we can hardly say whether Ronsard influenced, or was influenced by them. M. Raymond fully realizes these difficulties and discusses them without *parti pris*. He often finds borrowings both in theme and in verbal details of which there can be no doubt and he proves clearly that Ronsard exerted an enormous influence upon almost all forms of French poetry in the second half of the sixteenth century. One cannot fail to admire the industry with which he has collected the opinions expressed about Ronsard by his contemporaries, the skill with which he has discovered borrowings, and the intelligence with which he has traced various important tendencies. The book not only forms a valuable complement to the studies of Ronsard by M.M. Laumonier, de Nolhac, and P. Champion, but illuminates the history of French verse throughout the period discussed.

I find little to alter. An investigation of tragedy might yield additional examples of the poet's influence. We should like some evidence in support of the statement that Ronsard exerted an indirect influence upon Louise Labé. I do not believe that Ronsard took the name of Billard in order to address *stances* and a sonnet to Hélène de Surgères, but that the poems in question were written by Claude Billard in honor of Mme de Retz, with whom he was well acquainted.<sup>1</sup> Ashton's list of the editions of Du Bartas should be greatly reduced according to M. Vaganay.<sup>2</sup> One wonders why the date, 1639, is assigned to the *Berger extravagant*.<sup>3</sup>

These are, however, only minor details that diminish very little the general excellence of the book. It is supplemented by the *Bibliographie critique*, an alphabetical list of the sixteenth-century authors and works studied by M. Raymond. I hope that he will soon be able to give us another volume, in which, as he originally intended to do, he will trace the history of Ronsard's diminishing reputation and influence in the seventeenth century.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

<sup>1</sup> II, 72. For a discussion of this point cf. my article shortly to appear in *RHL*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II, 299 and *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1928, pp. 342 ff., 398 ff.; these articles appeared, of course, after M. R.'s book.

<sup>3</sup> I, 357.



*Ronsard: Sa vie et son oeuvre.* Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris, Boivin et Cie., 1924. 288 pp.

Ce sont là des leçons faites à la Sorbonne aux approches du quatrième centenaire de Ronsard. Le livre est dédié avec une noble courtoisie "au maître des Ronsardisants," Paul Laumonier. Disons tout de suite qu'il ne fait double emploi ni avec les magistrales exégèses de l'auteur de *Ronsard poète lyrique* (1909) ni avec la synthèse élégante mais rapide de Jusserand (1913) ni avec l'ouvrage tout récent de Pierre Champion. Le Ronsard de M. C. nous dit l'auteur lui-même, n'a pas la prétention de découvrir Ronsard, mais cependant il évoque devant nos yeux un Ronsard bien réel, en chair et en os et en esprit.

M. C. marque bien l'influence du milieu et du terroir sur la formation du poète (1-40). Il y a dans Ronsard du "régionalisme" avant la lettre comme dans Rabelais et du Bellay et Montaigne. Quand on remarque chez beaucoup d'écrivains de la Renaissance l'empreinte de leur province d'origine on se demande si après tout, le Régionalisme n'est pas presque autant que l'Humanisme un des caractères de la Renaissance française.

Dans l'étude des Premiers Essais poétiques (41-65) M. C. dégage avec beaucoup de netteté les idées maîtresses de Ronsard qui sont, à ce moment là, l'implantation de l'Ode, l'accompagnement de l'Ode par le luth, l'imitation d'Horace et de Pindare. Mais antérieurement à ce stade humaniste (et peut-être parallèlement) il y a eu des influences nationales, indigènes dont le traitement par M. C. (42) est, semble-t-il, un peu bref. Par delà Marot et avec le *Roman de la Rose* n'y a-t-il rien eu du Moyen-Age qui ait laissé au moins des traces chez Ronsard? On aimerait le savoir. Villon? Martin Le Franc? Les vieux chansonniers? On se prend à souhaiter que quelqu'un connaissant bien son Moyen-Age et son XV<sup>e</sup> siècle—et ce pourrait être par conséquent M. C. lui-même—regarde d'un peu près la question. En tout cas il faut savoir gré à M. C. d'avoir su mettre en valeur l'originalité de Ronsard dans ces premiers essais avec autant de large compréhension qu'il avait déployé de scrupule à montrer combien Ronsard suit de près Pindare, Anacréon, Horace, Pétrarque, les Néo-latins et Marot. M. C. est servi par une connaissance fervente de la musique. Elle lui fournit les comparaisons les plus heureuses pour montrer comment Ronsard fait en somme ce que font les musiciens les plus originaux: le développement personnel d'un thème antérieur et extérieur à eux.

L'évolution de Ronsard vers la simplicité et l'amour pour Marie succédant à Cassandre sont tracés (127 à 160) par M. C. avec un charme très digne du sujet. Il est curieux de noter le synchronisme de l'abandon du pétrarquisme et du platonisme chez Ronsard et chez du Bellay. En effet c'est la même année 1553 qui chez tous

deux marque cette date. On dirait d'un mot d'ordre. (Au sujet du platonisme de du Bellay on lira avec fruit la thèse de R. V. Merrill, *The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay*, Chicago, 1923). L'avènement de Ronsard à la grande poésie philosophique, celle des *Hymnes*, suit de près (1555) la renonciation au Pétrarquisme. L'*Hymne de la Mort* pour lequel M. C. nous semble indûment sévère (164) marque une rupture complète avec la théorie de 1549 et c'est peut-être ce poème dans lequel il faut saluer la naissance de la grande poésie lyrique française. Dès lors l'analogie de Ronsard avec Hugo s'affirme irrésistiblement, renforcée encore par l'impression hugolienne que nous laisse la grande poésie satirique de Ronsard. Ce dernier, il est vrai, a mis—chose étrange,—une incomparable puissance poétique à défendre des idées de modération et de tradition tandis que le Hugo des *Châtiments* n'est jamais plus grand que dans l'outrance. Mais la comparaison s'impose tout de même et M. Cohen a raison de parler au sujet des poésies politiques de Ronsard d'une rénovation de la poésie française.

Il est explicable mais tout de même un peu injuste que Ronsard soit à peu près uniquement connu du grand public comme le poète de l'Amour et de la Nature et très peu comme l'orateur et le penseur authentiques des *Hymnes* et des *Discours*. La poésie des Sonnets à Hélène, "la dernière aventure" de Ronsard comme dit M. Cohen est si on ose dire plus portative que les Discours. Elle possède un charme d'émotion incomparable et M. C. en a parlé (251-272) avec beaucoup de délicatesse et de justesse. Mais Ronsard n'est pas contenu tout entier dans ces vers d'anthologie et on saura gré à M. C. d'avoir montré les autres aspects de l'inspiration de Ronsard, la fierté, la grandeur quasi cosmique de son imagination. Il eût pu ajouter que Ronsard a été un de nos plus remarquables "intimistes." Certains de ses poèmes sont autobiographiques non seulement parce que des événements et des êtres réels les ont inspirés mais parce que l'Homme s'y confesse avec une précision dans la franchise qui est toute moderne. (Voir les incomparables vers de Ronsard malade et mourant). Et d'autre part, ce n'est pas seulement l'alexandrin, c'est toute la « phrase » poétique que Ronsard a assouplie. Cette « phrase » garde chez lui une familiarité d'accent, une souplesse, un nonchaloir savant qui, d'habitude, ne se trouvent que dans la belle et bonne prose. En somme, à côté et au sein même de Ronsard versificateur et poète, il y a un *Ronsard styliste* qui attend encore son historien et son critique. Mais si on s'attaquait à cette étude que M. C. n'a pas entreprise on resterait tout de même l'obligé de son livre si vivant, si nerveux et si sage.

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*The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage.* By LESLIE HOTSON.  
Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xiv + 424.  
\$5.00.

Many studies in the history of the Restoration drama and stage have appeared during the last few years, but in none of these has there been presented any fresh documentary evidence on the theatrical activities of the time. It is, therefore, with especial delight that one welcomes the publication of Professor Hotson's volume, crammed as that is with the results of his research in the Public Record Office. A lengthy appendix gives an account of over a hundred hitherto unknown Chancery bills dating from 1623 to 1711, as well as a number of equally interesting miscellaneous documents (Christopher Beeston's will, Killigrew's grant of 1660, D'Avenant's indenture of 1661, and a set of licenses to George Jolly), while the text contains reference to a mass of other material not thus printed *in extenso*. Most assuredly Professor Hotson has added very considerably indeed to our knowledge of stage history between 1640 and 1710, and has, in addition, thrown a little new light upon the fortunes of the theatres immediately before the period of civil war.

In reviewing his work, it may be well briefly to consider those portions of his research which seem to be of chief importance. Not much is said here of the drama. Professor Hotson's documents enable us to correct the wrong dating of some four or five plays, and one record has an entertaining account of the "plotting" and penning of a tragedy; but that is all. The rest of the material is purely theatrical. This perhaps leads the author to the omission of some matters of importance. Thus the account of *Players and Parliament* might have been strengthened by reference to the printing of plays during the period 1642-1660 and to the re-institution of city pageants in 1655. Both of these have their bearing on the play-tastes of the Commonwealth era. In this first chapter, however, Professor Hotson has given us sufficient to indicate the falsity of the long-prevailing view that acting ceased in 1642 and was not resumed until 1660. He has added much to the records which Professor Rollins had already printed, and has even found reason to suspect that Commonwealth officers quartered at Knightsbridge were not entirely averse to witnessing the performance of dramatic pieces. Entirely new matter, too, is provided concerning D'Avenant's pre-Restoration operas; a ballad is quoted which seems to show this energetic theatre-lover occupying in April 1656 no less than four play-houses. Was he, too, associated with that "pastoral" of 1658 which Professor Hotson does not seem to mention? The account of Jolly's adventures is full of vividity; much is done to ease out the tangle of actors and companies between

1660 and 1664; and a vast amount of new information is provided concerning theatrical finance up to the end of the century. There are still, of course, some moot points, and occasionally Professor Hotson, in destroying an earlier theory, raises new questions yet to be settled. One of the most interesting of these is that which concerns the print published in 1819 and identified later by Mr. W. J. Lawrence as the Nursery in the Barbican. If it was not the Nursery, as Professor Hotson appears to prove, what then was this royally ornamented building? Even with all the recent research devoted to the Restoration stage by scholars such as Professor Hotson, Mr. W. J. Lawrence, and Professor Hazelton Spencer, many little knots remain to be unravelled.

Professor Hotson's book is cast in the form of a series of essays, not in that of a connected survey, and personally this is the one feature in it which I regret. A complete survey would have certainly entailed the repetition of much matter given elsewhere, but from Professor Hotson's pen such a comprehensive history would have had its own value, and some of the later documents might have assumed a more vital importance when placed in their proper and appropriate setting. As it is, of course, Professor Hotson has given us 407 pages, and 407 pages packed with scholarly material of the best.

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*Collected Essays and Papers: I. The Influence of the Audience on Shakespeare's Drama.* By ROBERT BRIDGES. New York, Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. vii + 29. \$1.00.

*Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright.* By R. FLORENCE BRINKLEY. Yale Studies in English, No. 87. New Haven, 1928. Pp. 153.

*Shakespeare in America.* By ASHLEY THORNDIKE. Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1927. New York, Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. 22. \$0.45.

*The Problems of Hamlet.* By G. F. BRADBY. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 60. \$0.50.

The poet laureate's chief interest, in his elaborately artful and beautifully printed essay, seems to lie in the spelling reforms which are embodied in the setting of it and which to the reader are piquant rather than disturbing. The value of his proposals, however, I shall leave to experts in that dubious field. Mr. Bridges finds in Shakespeare's plays much that is foolish, filthy,

and brutal, much also in the higher planes of character and action that is misleading or inharmonious. These faults he lays at the door of Shakespeare's audience; had its taste been more refined he would always have written his best. But since the audience liked grossness in language and surprises in character, he gave them grossness and surprises. In the theatre mystery may be more useful to the dramatist than explicitness, for when motives are multiplied and confused the most contradictory and surprising actions can be given a show of reason. The essay is interesting and gives food for thought, but I for one would not choose Mr. Bridges as a guide through Shakespeare. He is not robust enough.

Miss Brinkley's main contribution to the biography of Field, the straightening out of the confusion between Nathan and his brother Nathaniel the publisher, has appeared before now in print (*MLN*, Jan., 1927). Her more extended account in the present thesis adds little of importance, but gathers together all the known facts and gives as coherent an account of this actor's stage career as our scanty knowledge will allow. The only objection I can bring against this section of the book is that the treatment of the Field family is needlessly hazy. We learn that John Field the divine and the "father of Nathan" were the same only by inference; we presume that the divine was not the same as John Field the astronomer; but we are never told what was his relation to the astronomer or to the more eminent clergyman, Richard.

Miss Brinkley devotes a chapter to analyzing Field's two solo plays, *Woman is a Weathercock* and *Amends for Ladies*, both of which she puts in 1609-10. She then attacks at some length the problem of assessing the plays in which he has been thought to have had a hand, arriving at this conclusion: that he wrote the *Induction*, *Triumph of Honour*, and *Triumph of Love* in *Four Plays in One*, acts iii and iv of the *Queen of Corinth*, acts i and v of the *Knight of Malta*, and act iv of the *Honest Man's Fortune*, but had nothing to do with any of the others except possibly to advise his friend Chapman in the staging of *Bussy* and *Timon of Athens*. As to his share in the *Fatal Dowry*, she allots him as certain act ii, part of act iii scene 1, and act iv scene 1.

As to Field's virtues as a playwright, Miss Brinkley gives him moderate and judicious praise. His chief merit is a familiarity with stagecraft which makes his plays act well, and his dialogue is usually crisp and lively. But he had little originality. He adapts to his own uses the modes of the day in respect to character and situation and goes in for the popular satire on contemporary manners, but he adds nothing except his own vitality, because he has nothing to say.

The purpose of Mr. Bradby's convenient manual is "to set out, as concisely and as clearly as possible, all the difficulties which

have to be faced and solved before we can regard the play as a consistent whole, and Hamlet as a complete and intelligible character." Whereupon follow, briefly summed up, the evidences which show that there are problems concerning Horatio, the Queen, Ophelia, the Ghost, the voyage to England, and Hamlet himself. These in all cases amount to discrepancies in conception, as for example that Horatio is in some places presented as a stranger to the court of Denmark, in others as having lived there. The upshot of the argument is that the play contains contradictions which cannot be reconciled and which point to a change in intention during the composition, without the final revision which would have wrought complete harmony. Whether or not the reader will agree at all times with Mr. Bradby's findings, his monograph offers a most serviceable point of departure for a study of the play.

Professor Thorndike agreeably and not too minutely sketches the history of Shakespeare in America in respect to general reading, scholarship, and the stage. His more ambitious and difficult task is to answer the questions raised in his opening sentences: "What is the influence of a great poet upon the civilization of a particular country? What effect does he have on its manners, its art, its thinking, its faith?" Without attempting in such brief space any final analysis, he suggests that "we have sought in literature for buoyancy and optimism, for an uplifting beauty, for an enlarged and fortified courage. In Shakespeare . . . we have found what we have sought, a renewing of our faith in man and his works."

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND.

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*A Century of Broadside Elegies*, being ninety English and ten Scotch broadsides. . . . Photographically reproduced and edited with an Introduction and Notes by JOHN W. DRAPER. London: Ingpen and Grant, 1928. Pp. xviii + 229. £3 3 s.

This handsome book contains a hundred seventeenth-century elegies photographically reproduced, and hence is of considerable interest and value. The editorial work, however, shows signs of haste as well as of unfamiliarity with the material and with the period. Haste is no doubt responsible for the wavering spelling, the abundant typographical errors, the inconsistent mechanical "style," and the occasional bad grammar (pp. 204, 212). Haste may likewise account for the surprising linguistic information—as that "God's Vicegerents" means "Viceregents," that "different" is "in three syllables, as often in American pronunciation," and that "triumphing" has its accent "on the second syllable, as in

Elizabethan" (phraseology often repeated, and perhaps meaning Elizabethan English, or usage)—and for the explanation of obvious mythological allusions, often without an eye to the text. For instance, the editor tells us (p. 8) who Castor and Pollux were, but fails to observe that Castor is Henry, the deceased Prince of Wales, that Pollux is Prince Charles. Again p. 168 informs us that "Britain's Phœbus" is "the sun," when really it is "Charles II." On p. 124 the editor states that Apollo shot and killed Achilles, whereas Virgil assigns this deed to Paris.

Unfamiliarity with his material further affects the value of the editor's notes. Many of the broadsides are reprinted from Narcissus Luttrell's collection, but Luttrell's diary is not once referred to, though it throws much light on persons and dates that puzzle Mr. Draper. Dates, indeed, are vaguely handled throughout, often being taken from the date of purchase of the broadside. Thynne, according to Luttrell's diary, was murdered on February 12, 1683, but Mr. Draper mentions only February 15, when Luttrell bought his copy. A similar vagueness characterizes the notes on Essex's alleged murder (really suicide) in 1683; while there is an apparent contradiction (due to Old Style?) between a note on p. 102 referring to the Great Fire, which began on September 2, 1666, and the subject of the elegy, who died on "the 30th day of the Seventh Month, 1666." No reference is made to Jeaffreson's *Middlesex County Records*, which gives (iv, 75 f.) the indictment on which Thomas Sadler (who is unknown to the editor) was tried and condemned. Too little is told of earlier reprints of the elegies, as of No. 8 in Wilkins's *Political Ballads* and No. 75 in Thorn-Drury's *Little Ark*; while the citations of "Library of the Society of Antiquaries (No. —)" and "Halliwell" will be clear only to a few special students of broadside literature.

The explanatory notes must be accepted with caution. To illustrate, the "malodorous reference" on p. 52 is not to the Reverend Robert Adkins but is to the notorious Alderman Thomas Atkins. "St. Hugh's bones" (p. 52) does not refer to Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, but is merely a name for shoemakers' tools (Saint Hugh was the patron of the "gentle craft"). To explain "Applause . . . Exit . . . Clap" (p. 108) as "a theatrical metaphor" is to miss the whole point of the epitaph on Davenant. "Honesty is the best Policie" may be "sometimes attributed to Benjamin Franklin" (p. 110), but it has also, more appropriately, been attributed to Cervantes. The "Renowned College" of p. 128 has no 'ecclesiastical or academic meaning,' but is a euphemism for Newgate prison. "That *French* Latroon" (p. 128) seems to me less likely to mean "that French robber" than to refer to Meriton Latroon, the hero of a famous English picaresque novel. The "Countryman in Fable" (p. 152) has no connection whatever

with Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, but, as the broadside plainly states, refers to an Aesopic fable of "The Old Man and Death." "Smec" (p. 169) should be explained as "Smectymnuus," not "reeking fumes."

Mr. Draper's remarks on the history and the characteristics of the broadside elegy seem to me in most instances of dubious validity. Certainly there is no reason to assert that broadside elegies are rare before 1640 (if his No. 1—which is really a ballad—be accepted as an elegy, then dozens of similar "elegies" earlier than 1640 are extant). The editor is apparently unacquainted, to name only one item, with the numerous elegies in the Heber-Huntington collection, which show the type in full development by 1570. Various other broadside elegies of a date earlier than 1570 are in existence, though it is no doubt true that more copies are actually *preserved* (a different thing from *written* or *printed*) after 1640 than before 1640. It is likewise incorrect to assert that "the earlier broadsides . . . would seem . . . to have been traditional songs not unlike the popular balladry"; that balladists were generally Cavaliers who purveyed only to townsmen; that advertising matter at the end of a broadside was uncommon, the sheet in question (p. 152) being probably composed only for the sake of the advertisement; and that the broadside elegy is, in a sense, the progenitor of nineteenth-century poetry. Nor am I impressed by the elaborate differences, extending even to typography, that the editor professes to find between Puritan elegies and Cavalier elegies. Indeed most of the generalizations in the Notes and the Introduction appear to me to be based on an inadequate knowledge of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century broadsides.

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*El castigo sin venganza*, tragedia de Lope de Vega, editada por C. F. A. VAN DAM. Groninga: P. Noordhoff, 1928. 414 pp.

El ilustre hispanista holandés Van Dam reproduce en su lujosa edición de *El castigo sin venganza*, el manuscrito conservado en la Ticknor Library de Boston, anotando las variantes de varias impresiones y comentando escrupulosamente el texto en notas dignas del mejor de nuestros eruditos. En el Estudio Preliminar da cumplida cuenta del manuscrito, de las ocho ediciones previas, de las traducciones e imitaciones. Después fija definitivamente la fuente utilizada por Lope, y se inclina a creer que no leyó la novela de Bandello sino una versión española de la traducción francesa de Belleforest, basándose en que los detalles añadidos por éste no faltan en *El castigo sin venganza*.



Lope no ha seguido servilmente a su modelo. Convirtió al marqués viudo de la novela italiana en un duque soltero y libertino, multiplicando así las escenas dramáticas. Federico, el bastardo, verá por fuerza con recelo el casamiento de su padre, ante la posibilidad de que un hijo legítimo venga a impedirle heredar la corona ducal. Esta modificación que a primera vista parece innecesaria, sirve para acrecentar el interés de la acción. En Bandello el mismo marqués ve por un agujero consumarse el adulterio. Lope, dando prueba de buen gusto, inventó un anónimo. Otros cambios esenciales, como la sustitución del castigo público por la venganza secreta, le fueron impuestos al dramaturgo español por la casuística del honor. La mayoría de las variaciones introducidas se explican por la tendencia de Lope a humanizar los caracteres y a buscar mayor verosimilitud en las situaciones.

Todo esto y mucho más se encuentra detalladamente estudiado en el examen literario que de la tragedia lopesca hace el señor Van Dam. Los párrafos sobre el título, los personajes, las unidades, los tópicos, son igualmente minuciosos. Las notas, numerosas y acertadas, me sugieren las observaciones siguientes:

23. *que yo sé quién* . . . Pueden encontrarse en textos modernos expresiones semejantes. En los pasajes de Cervantes aducidos, el caso no es exactamente el mismo.

35. *no es mala aquella casada*. "Mala" tiene un sentido más amplio que "fea." Tampoco "buena" significa necesariamente "guapa," en la frase *una buena mujer* por ejemplo.

1025. *un desprecio autorizado*. "Presumido" en lugar de autorizado sería adjetivo tan impropio como el de Lope.

1070-71. Versos oscuros indudablemente. Creo sin embargo que se refieren al "onbre ingrato" del verso quinto de la décima.

1230-31. No es este pasaje indescifrable. Se trata simplemente de una trasposición violenta. Entiéndase: "la licencia de irme adonde confirme que fuí desdichado por leal."

1489. "Paso" en la acepción de "quedo" se usa aún hoy, en Sudamérica al menos. Cf. Silva, Nocturno I: "Poeta, dí paso Los furtivos besos!"

1787. El femenino "bachillera" tiene ahora sentido análogo.

1916-20. El mote "sin mí, sin vos y sin Dios" fué glosado por varios poetas del siglo xv, Pedro de Cartagena entre otros:

Ved que puede hermosura  
sin los favores de vos,  
que por ella sin ventura  
sin ventura esto en tristura  
yo sin vos, sin mí, sin Dios.

2382. El pueblo español dice todavía "naguas." Cf. Baroja, *La feria de los discretos*, cap. i: "María que va con las naguas puercas al teatro."

Esta nota última es de las que sobran. Pero no quiero poner reparos a una edición que sólo merece elogios. El señor Van Dam, que debe su orientación científica, según propia confesión, al Centro de Estudios Históricos de Madrid, ha conseguido con su libro,

"primera monografía de esta índole que en ropaje verbal castellano, sale a la luz pública", llamar la atención sobre el naciente hispanismo de los Países Bajos. Ya está bien.

JOSÉ ROBLES.

*Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca.* ARNALDO FORESTI.  
Brescia, Vannini, 1928.

Here is a book which will mark an epoch in Petrarch studies. Its additions to biographical data, especially of the later years, and to our knowledge of some of Petrarch's friends, are numerous, interesting, and important.

Yet the author has unearthed no new material, there are no newly discovered manuscripts such as created such excitement among *Petrarchisti* in the eighties of the last century. The librarian of Brescia has merely thumbed over and over the well-known pages of the Familiar Letters, of the *Canzoni*, of the Latin writings in verse and prose, and of the history and memorials of the period, and now modestly offers us his remarkable *spigole petrarchesche* without a word of pride or explanation. Merely a Latin motto, which shows that these studies were finally brought together *post tantum tempus quaerendi*. It is true that Petrarch scholars have long had access to many of them in the files of erudite journals and local *archivi*, but several were hitherto unpublished.

There are just fifty of them in this volume. Perhaps the most useful thing that a review of the work can do is to offer a hint as to the items to be found in certain of them, a thing not always to be deduced from their titles.

In I it is established when and where it was that Petrarch saw Dante *prima pueritiae parte*, and at the same time confirms the old conjecture that Dante was at Genoa in 1311. II changes the date of ser Petracco's birth by nearly twenty years, from 1248-52 to 1266-67, while III puts back that of his mother's death to Francesco's 15th year. IV establishes those of his going to Montpellier and of his leaving Bologna, and the probable details of his travels in 1321-23, when because of disturbances professors and students forsook Bologna for Imola. V suggests Orso dell'Anguillara instead of Giacomo Colonna, as the recipient of *Canzoniere*, 27, and VI offers Giovanni Colonna instead of Petrarch's brother Gherardo as the recipient of 99. VIII corrects by a year De Sade's date for Petrarch's expedition to the Cave of Ste. Baume. IX attempts to prove Cardinal Colonna the recipient of *Canzoniere*, 40, and to associate 39 with it. A grave objection to this ascription is Petrarch's use in 40 of *tu*, which he never uses in the *Canzoniere* (unless this once) to a member of the Colonna family. X suggests that it was

Azzo da Correggio, and not Charles of Luxembourg, who kissed Madonna Laura in *Canz.*, 238. XIII is of great interest. It seeks to identify the *donna* of *Donna mi vene*, the canceled sonnet 121, with the mother of Petrarch's daughter Francesca, connects *Canzoniere*, 189, with it, and reminds us that in the Chigi ms. the latter poem, immediately followed by *I' vo' pensando*, closes the First Part. XV seeks to date the *Salmi penitenziali* as of the time of Gherardo's *monacazione*. XVI groups the three *Canzoni*, 119, 264, 360, together with the third book of the *Secretum*, and would date them all about 1343. This puts both the *Canzone della Gloria* and *I' vo' pensando* three years later than many scholars would admit. Foresti appears to assume that Petrarch's order of arrangement in the *Canzoniere* is almost perfectly chronological. XVII, VII, IX, and XXIX are concerned with Petrarch's books and reading. XIX assembles facts concerning the "Elicona" at Parma. XX assigns a new date (1344) to the *Ep. met.*, II, 12, and suggests that it was directed not to Luchino Visconti, but to John of Parma. XXI uses a new date, 1345, for the visit to the source of the Adige, described in *Ep. met.*, III, 20. XXII connects *Canzoniere*, 139, with Petrarch's visit to Montrieux in 1347, and XXIII relates the first Eclogue to the same visit. Here, in XXIV (which dates the *Ep. met.*, III, 13, as of the same year), and elsewhere, the author shows that in the arrangement of the Familiar Letters and of the Epistles, Petrarch sometimes varies, according to analogies in subject-matter, an order for the most part chronological. XXV shows that the two young men mentioned in *Fam.*, VII, 10, were Bruno Casini and Zanobi da Strada, that the *Ep. met. Ad Brunum florentinum* (III, 10) was addressed to the former, and that III, 8, to Zanobi, should be referred to the same year, 1348. XXVI and XXVII relate the two *Ep. met.*, III, 11, and III, 7, to the same dark year. XXVIII dates the *Ep. met.* to Boccaccio (III, 17) as of September, 1350. XXX shows that it was the Venetian Benintendi de' Ravagnani who induced Petrarch to begin correspondence with Niccolosio Bartolomei of Lucca, and that *Fam.*, IX, 12, was probably addressed to him. XXXI relates *Fam.*, VII, 17, and identifies the recipient of the 11th *Sine titulo*. XXXII lays down the principle that the letters *Sine titulo* follow a chronological order more exactly than the other collections do, relates the 7th, and shows that its recipient was not Cola da Rienzo, but Cardinal Guidi of Boulogne. XXXIII dates the 9th and 10th *Sine titulo*, and adds them to the correspondence with Nelli. XXXIV adds to our knowledge of one of Petrarch's friends, Don Luca of Santo Stefano at Parma. XXXV relates the *Ep. met.*, I, 6, to the time of Petrarch's last departure for Italy in 1353. XXXVI pieces together a sketch of "Bolanus," a friar who often acted as letter-carrier for Petrarch, and identifies him with the one whom he calls "Cicero pergamensis." XXXVII

identifies the recipient of *Ep. met.*, III, 31, together with the *pueri insignis et divinae indolis* of *Var.*, 8, with Barriano, legitimized son of Azzo da Correggio. XXXVIII shows that the journeys referred to in *Fam.*, XVII, 6 and 10, and *Ep. met.*, III, 19, are the same, and would have taken Petrarch to Avignon in 1354, on a mission from the Archbishop Giovanni Visconti, if the plan had not suddenly been canceled. XXXIX, by dating the last two letters in *Sen.*, XVI, throws light on the date of the *De remediis*. XL dates *Fam.*, IX, 4, as of 1350-51, and *Var.*, 50 and 61, as of the summer of 1355. It identifies the recipient of all three as John of Parma, and the "Clarissimus vir" mentioned in them as Luchino dal Verme. XLI restores to Petrarch an *Ep. met.* addressed to Zanobi da Strada, and hitherto ascribed to Boccaccio. XLII shows that the *Carmen prooemiale* to the *Epistolae metricae* was sent to Barbato in 1357, though written in the summer of 1350. XLIII dates Petrarch's visit to Bergamo as of 1359, and assembles facts concerning Capra, his host. XLV dates *Sen.*, X, 3, as of 1362. XLVI dates *Fam.*, XXII, 4, as of April, 1360, and discusses other late letters in the correspondence with Barbato. XLVII studies the textual history of the *Carmen bucolicum*. XLVIII assembles facts concerning Petrarch's favorite scribe John of Ravenna, establishes the dates of his stay in Petrarch's house and of his first flight, shows his friendship with Coluccio Salutati, and gives support to the hypothesis that identifies him with Giovanni di Iacopo Malpaghini. L dates the *Epistola ad posteros* as of 1350-51, and suggests emendations in the text.

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*Die Kindersprache*, von CLARA und WILLIAM STERN. Vierte, neubearbeitete Auflage. Pp. xii + 436. J. A. Barth, Leipzig, 1928. M. 24.

The first edition of this valuable book appeared in 1907, and the second and third editions were merely reprints of the first. A thoroughgoing revision, then, had become highly desirable, in view of the considerable amount of work done since 1907 on the speech of children. Mr. Stern's revision (his wife did not take part in the work) has been carefully done, and the book has been brought up to date in most respects, although the reviser seems not to have made the acquaintance of Watson and his behaviorists, in spite of the great stress which this school of psychology lays on the speech of children. On p. 237 Mr. Stern records a talk with his five-year-old daughter Hilde in which the child sets forth with engaging clarity and simplicity the principles of Watsonian behaviorism! Did Watson drink inspiration from Hilde? In the bibliography I miss the articles of U. T. Holmes and M. M. Nice

published in the second volume of *American Speech*. But the only striking example of out-of-date theory I have found appears in the following passage (p. 327):

Diejenigen Sprachen, die . . . die einzelnen Worte (sic) in unbiegsamer Vereinzelung brauchen, gelten allgemein für tiefer stehend gegenüber jenen Sprachen, in welchen das einzelne Wort zu einer Gruppe verwandelt, durch Umlaut, Ablaut, Vorsilbe, Endsilbe usw. auseinander entstehender Wörter gehört.

The *allgemein* of this passage is particularly striking. I should have thought that the exact opposite of Mr. Stern's statement would nowadays receive general recognition! Certainly languages like English and Chinese, which have largely or wholly lost their original elaborate inflexional system and now depend on word order and prepositions, can hardly be called primitive, but must be described as late and highly sophisticated products of the human genius.

The plan of the fourth edition does not differ from that of the first, and need not be described here. As a whole, the work is admirably done, and is the best thing we have on its subject. At the same time, my reading of the volume has brought it sharply home to me that the study of the speech of children is still in its beginnings. At almost every point the evidence on which the authors rely to build up their theories is appallingly meager. We need full records of the speech of thousands of children, if we are to generalize with any assurance. Such records can hardly be obtained through the technic used by Mr. and Mrs. Stern. We must fall back on instruments, like the dictograph, and on coöperative rather than individual research, if we are to reach definitive conclusions.

I will conclude with a few comments on matters of detail. The Sterns' principle of *Mehrdarbietung* is so important (particularly for pedagogy) that it deserves a place in the text itself rather than its present position in a footnote (p. 138). Hilde's *r* was hardly spoken in the throat, in spite of the authors' testimony (p. 153); it was more probably a uvular or velar *r*, as the authors themselves unwittingly reveal when they compare it to the *ch* of *doch*. Here the evil consequences of the use (or misuse) of the technical term *guttural* are manifest; see my discussion in *American Speech* I, 371 f. It is unfortunate that in this edition Mr. Stern left out the discussion of the definitions of *sentence* which appeared in the earlier editions (p. 179 note). The intelligence tests given to Welsh children (p. 298) are of exceedingly dubious value, so far as the point at issue is concerned; indeed, I should consider them practically worthless. Under words for "sleep," Mr. Stern gives (p. 373) the Russian *beibei*; I might add that *by-by* in my own childhood had the same meaning (quite independently of the Russian usage, needless to say).

KEMP MALONE.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

*The Hermit in English Literature from the Beginnings to 1660.*

By CHARLES P. WEAVER. George Peabody College for Teachers Contributions to Education, Number Eleven. Nashville, Tenn., 1924.

*Childhood in English Non-Dramatic Literature from 1557 to*

*1798.* By F. LAMAR JANNEY. Johns Hopkins University Doctoral Dissertation, 1924.

*University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English, Number Six.*

December 22, 1926. Austin, Texas.

These studies are examples of the detail work of English scholarship. The authors have blocked off small areas for intensive study, with the purpose of exhausting these areas of the evidence of the literary and social mind at work in them.

Dr. Weaver is working in virgin soil. The hermit is a stock figure in English literature from the earliest times to the romantic revival, from Bede to Sir Walter Scott. A valuable introduction summarizes the history of the religious solitary, and the main investigation traces three stages of his literary development in England: "(1) the religious, including saints' legends and pious tales; (2) the semi-religious or social, including the hermit in social service rôles in the medieval tales of chivalry; and (3) the unreligious or philosophic, including the hermit in the variable capacity of counselor in the literature from 1500 to 1660." Dr. Weaver calls attention to the fact that the interest of the 17th century in the hermit is a phase of the popular interest in the life of solitude and reflection, while in the 18th century the figure is little more than a conventional adjunct to the gothic revival and the craze for landscape gardening.

Dr. Janney in his essay reviews the pictures of English childhood found in literature from *Tottel's Miscellany* to the *Lyrical Ballads*. It has often been noted how little real interest is taken in children as individuals, except as subjects for discipline, before Wordsworth's mystical interpretation of the springing life. This study furnishes ample evidence of the generally incurious and unsympathetic attitude of adults toward the young, and motivates this lack of feeling for childhood by the Calvinism of the 16th and 17th centuries and the rationalism of the 18th.

The sixth number of the *Texas Studies* contains seven papers. Two studies by T. P. Harrison, Jr. detail the parallels between Montemayor's *Diana* and its continuations and Sidney's *Arcadia*, and between the *Diana* and Shakespeare. Theodore Stenberg draws attention to *Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets*, which in many ways anticipates Sidney's, and to which Webb's

*Discourse* is "heavily indebted." *Peele's Use of Folk Lore in "The Old Wives' Tale,"* by Sarah Lewis Carol Clapp, is but a preliminary sketch of what would undoubtedly prove a richly remunerative investigation. Fannie E. Ratchford prints a collation of the two versions of Bolingbroke's *The Patriot King*. Herman Styles Ficke offers Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story* as the source of Rider Haggard's *She*.

THOMAS H. ENGLISH.

*Emory University.*

*Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland.* By CLARK HARRIS SLOVER. University of Texas Studies in English, no. 6. 1926, pp. 52; no. 7. 1927, pp. 111.

This study is developed from part of a University of Chicago doctoral dissertation which was prepared under the direction of Professor Tom Peete Cross. It is clearly arranged and is well done. Table of contents and index are not supplied.

Since at the time of Caesar the Cymric tongue of Britain and the Irish of Ireland were already different languages, it has been sometimes assumed that a presumption against extensive transmission of saga and story from Ireland to Wales exists. This presumption is largely illusory because the existence of a few bilingual speakers will suffice for the transmission of a great amount of story. It is destroyed altogether when it is shown, as Dr. Slover shows, that during the period in which we are interested, from 300 to 1100 A. D., communication between Ireland and Great Britain was unceasing and operated through several channels. During the earlier centuries communication was by war, the planting of colonies, and subsequent intermarriage, and during the later centuries rather by intercourse between Irish and British ecclesiastical centers. All this time traders never ceased to pass to and fro across the Irish Sea. Under these circumstances to suppose that language interposed any important barrier to the transmission of story would be incredible.

Among the more striking pieces of evidence collected by Dr. Slover may be mentioned a canon adopted by an Irish council of the eighth century which explicitly forbids from ministering in Ireland any cleric coming from Britain unless he brings a letter. Communication must have been frequent to make it worth while to enact in Ireland a special canon about British clerics. Another important piece of evidence is a letter written by an Irishman in Britain to his friends at home which exists in a tenth century MS. The writer informs his friends in Ireland that at the court of King Mermin in Britain there is an Irish scholar who has a disconcerting habit of testing his visiting countrymen by means of a cryptogram.

He warns his Irish friends, evidently assuming that in the natural course of events many of them will visit Britain.

In the last twenty-five years scholarship has indicated remarkable parallels between Irish saga literature and Arthurian romance, e. g.: *Fled Bricrend* and *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*; *Serlige Conculaind*, and Chrétien's *Yvain*; Irish palaces in *Tochmarc Emire* and elsewhere, and the grail castle in Chrétien's *Perceval*. Dr. Slover's book shows that there is no difficulty in believing that Irish stories in these and other instances passed directly from Ireland into Wales, and thence of course to the French and English romance writers. His results are of basic importance to the discussion of the origin of the stories that deal with King Arthur and the Round Table.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

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*Handkerchiefs from Paul, being Pious and Consolatory Verses of Puritan Massachusetts; Including Unpublished Poems by Benjamin Tompson, John Wilson and Anna Hayden, Together with other Poems by Samuel Torrey and Samuel Danforth and John Wilson. Reprinted from Rare Originals. Edited by KENNETH B. MURDOCK. Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. lxxiii + 134.*

*A Leaf of Grass from Shady Hill. With a Review of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass. Written by Charles Eliot Norton in 1855. Edited by KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. 31.*

*Letters from Sunnyside and Spain, by Washington Irving. Edited by STANLEY T. WILLIAMS. Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. vi + 80. \$2.00.*

*Handkerchiefs*, a beautiful little book sponsored by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, is an interesting collector's item. To any lover of fine printing it will be a delight, and its value will be enhanced by the smallness of the edition—only three hundred and fifty copies have been printed. Any further appeal is frankly antiquarian. One must care greatly for the Puritan past to feel much enthusiasm for these sheaves of somewhat shrivelled wheat that have been gleaned from the earliest days of New England. The quaint title that suggests the grimmest of consolations is taken from a phrase by John Wilson, the younger, in the foreword to his father's equally quaint echoes of an earlier Puritanism; but it fits more neatly the elegiac poems—if one may



venture to fasten the gaud of a pretentious word to plain homespun—contributed by the Tompson family. These latter are simple and homely, with something of honest ungainly emotion exuding from the chill Puritan stoicism. John Wilson's long poem—first printed in England in 1626—has a certain vivacity running through its naïve credulity, but it speaks little for the intellectual powers of a distinguished light of the Boston churches. Perhaps the most interesting bits in the collection are the almanacks of Samuel Danforth for the years 1647-48-49. Mr. Murdock is a competent antiquarian and he has done his work with loving care. There is an excellent introduction and the notes attack the knottiest genealogical—and other—problems with unflagging zest. The fragments are an addition to our somewhat scanty collection of early New England verse, and as such are welcome; but they throw no fresh light on the strange mentality of the New England Puritan, nor do they increase our respect for his literary gifts. The editor is of the opinion that the poems "help to dispel the illusion" that the American Puritan was hostile "to art in all its forms," but a moderately critical reading of these acrid verses will leave one confused as to the grounds of the editor's certainty. The Puritan may not have been hostile to art but it was hard for him to be an artist.

Mr. Murdock's second volume, issued to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles Eliot Norton, and similar in format to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, seeks to defend the thesis that New England Brahminism was more sympathetic with Whitman than has been generally assumed. It reprints a criticism of *Leaves of Grass* contributed by Norton to *Putnam's Monthly* for September 1855, together with a poem of some 28 lines done by him in the Whitman measure. The latter would seem to have been an attempt to see what a Cambridge gentleman could do with the new rhythms after deleting the rowdyisms. Of the criticism the editor remarks, "Seek as one may in other periodicals and newspapers of the time, there seems to have been no criticism—not even Whitman's own—more just or better calculated to spread discerning appreciation of *Leaves of Grass*." How just is such appraisal may be adequately measured by the following passage which contains pretty much all of Norton's critical comment. "A fireman or omnibus driver, who had intelligence enough to absorb the speculations of that school of thought which culminated at Boston some fifteen or eighteen years ago, and resources of expression to put them forth again in a form of his own, with sufficient self-conceit and contempt for public taste to affront all usual propriety of diction, might have written this gross yet elevated, this superficial yet profound, this preposterous yet somehow fascinating book. . . . [I]t is a mixture of Yankee transcendentalism and New York rowdyism, and, what must be

surprising to both these elements, they here seem to fuse and combine with the most perfect harmony. The vast and vague conceptions of the one, lose nothing of their quality in passing through the coarse and odd intellectual medium of the other; while there is an original perception of nature, a manly brawn, and an epic directness in our new poet, which belong to no other adept of the transcendental school." The rest of the review is given over to illustrative passages selected with an eye chiefly to vivid description. Of the real meaning of the poems Norton reveals not the slightest comprehension. The book is a collector's item and it adds another title to our growing Whitmaniana.

Mr. Stanley Williams presents eighteen letters—some of which have heretofore appeared in *The Yale Review*—written between the years 1840 and 1845, when Irving was in his late fifties. Half were written at Sunnyside and reflect the quiet of his country retreat, and half from Spain where he was putting himself through the paces of diplomacy. Most of them are addressed to his niece Sarah Storrow, who had lately gone to France to live, leaving a gap in the family circle that none could fill. They are in every sense worthy of Irving. Although they add little to our knowledge of him as a man of letters, they are delightful reflections of his playfully affectionate nature, and confirm the impression of him as the most sympathetic of friends and uncles, a kindly gossip and *flâneur*, content to float genially on an ebbless tide of visits, and not like Mark Twain finally embittered by a dreary wash of banquets and speeches. There are hints in these letters of the burden the years were bringing him—financial as well as physical—but never a touch of cynicism. His outlook was still sunny and his humour without any astringency. Irving was a delightful gentleman of the old-school, the wine of whose nature never soured, and one must rejoice that Mr. Williams is recovering for us certain bits of his work that have been overlooked. When he has finally got his materials together we should have the fresh study of Irving that has long been overdue.

VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON.

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*A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.* By CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP, with contributions by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, and ANDREW KEOGH. Cornell Studies in English, IX. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. xii + 507.

Professor Northup's *Register of Bibliographies* marks an era in study of the English language and literature. The full import of

this observation can be best brought out by recalling the constantly increasing difficulties which have beset the investigator during the last generation and by reviewing the long series of false starts and disappointments which have preceded the appearance of Professor Northup's book.

The need of a general catalogue of English literature was recognized by the Library Association of England as early as 1877. The feasibility of undertaking such a catalogue was discussed seriously by W. A. Copinger in his inaugural address as president of the London Bibliographical Society in November, 1892 (*Transactions*, I [1893], 35 ff.). In December of the same year H. B. Wheatley urged the preparation of an English bibliography as one of the most important tasks within the scope of the society's activities, and indicated a plan by which the proposed work could be carried out (*Ibid.*, I [1893], 63 ff.). Further suggestions were offered by A. H. Huth in March, 1894 (*Ibid.*, II [1894], 17 ff.). In spite of the distinguished character of its supporters the project was not, however, undertaken, and in December, 1894, J. A. Isaacs made an unsuccessful appeal to the society to undertake a revised edition of Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (*Ibid.*, II [1894], 1 ff.), which, although at that time "the only fair attempt in the English language at a Manual of Bibliography," had long since become antiquated.

American scholars have been even more insistent in their demands for an adequate bibliography of English literary history. In 1904 Miss Hammond told the Bibliographical Society of America that "the student of English, the collector, the lover of early printing, the librarian of a reference library, are all in need of systematized bibliographies of English literature" (*Bibliogr. Soc. of Am., Proceedings and Papers*, I [1904-5], 67). In the year 1910 a questionnaire answered by fourteen prominent American scholars brought out the fact that, of all the workers in the field of Modern Languages and Literatures, those in English were probably most in need of revised bibliographical aids (*Bibliogr. Soc. of Am., Papers*, V [1910], 86). At least one of the scholars consulted placed among the most important desiderata "a bibliography of bibliographies of English philology and literary history, combined with a well selected bibliography of the whole field." (*Ibid.*, V [1910], 87). In the same year Professor Northup, speaking before the Bibliographical Society of America, emphasized the necessity of a bibliography of English literature and described a method of collecting and organizing the titles (*Ibid.*, V [1910], 80 ff.).

The demands of scholars are now at least partially realized in Professor Northup's volume. The work, compiled with the co-operation of Professor Adams of Cornell University and Mr. Keogh of

the Yale University library, is the result of long and careful collecting and sifting of titles. Instead of attempting a complete bibliography of the bibliographies of the language and literature of the English-speaking peoples, the compilers have wisely confined themselves to a selected list—the only kind of bibliography that is really of much assistance to the practical investigator. They “have deliberately rejected some thousands of references which might have gone into the book, while they have earnestly sought to include all items of real value” (Preface, p. ix). Though there may be some difference of opinion as to the wisdom of including or omitting this or that title, all fair-minded scholars must admit that the work as a whole has rendered the burden of collecting a bibliography in the field of English philology far easier than it has ever been before. The book will stand with Watt’s *Bibliotheca Britannica*, which appeared more than a century ago, as one of the great landmarks in the history of bibliography.

TOM PETTE CROSS.

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*Valentine and Orson: A study in late medieval romance.* By

ARTHUR DICKSON. New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. vi + 309.

The fifteenth century romance *Valentin et Orson* (VO) is based directly on a lost French romance from which the fourteenth century *Valentin und Namelos* (VN) traces its origin. The interrelations of VN and VO and their various derivatives have already been studied at length, and such investigations, notably Seelmann’s, have found general acceptance. Consequently Dickson undertakes a quite different task, the discovery and evaluation of parallels to the incidents, and his task turns out to be a very profitable one. He points out the myriad confusions and contaminations which have found their way into the various texts—without often entering into the minutiae of textual criticism—and thus presents clearly and effectively the manner and substance of these late romances built of materials swept together from every corner. Since completeness is necessarily out of the question in such studies,<sup>1</sup> it is

<sup>1</sup> Without making a special search for omissions I note the following details which might have proved worthy of inclusion: Priebisch comments on the relations of *Esmoreit* and VN; see *Neophilologus* VII (1922), 57 ff. Baum (“The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot,” *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.* XXXI [1916] 590 ff.) might have contributed something for p. 32, n. 11. Caesarius of Heisterbach IV, 102 (ed. Strange, I, 272), tells the story of the use of cold water as a remedy for passion; see Wesselski *Mönchsleben* (1909), no. 10, and the surprisingly scanty references; Baesecke’s remarks (*Der Münchner Oswald* [Germ. Abh. XXVIII, 1907] p. 372) are equally unavailing.

ungracious to haggle over details when such a wealth of material is offered to us.

The essential theme of the study is the demonstration that VN is based on the Jealous Sisters *märchen* (Aarne-Thompson No. 707; Grimm No. 96). In the absence of a careful study of this *märchen* effective comparison is difficult. Dickson makes the point that a set of incidents in VN corresponds closely to the *märchen*. His argument would have been more cogent if it had been possible to show that the specifically French form of the *märchen* displayed a striking number of minor agreements with the romance. In our present state of knowledge such a demonstration is out of the question, and it will always be difficult because of the possibility of influence from VN upon modern tradition.

I find one or another of the more elaborate excursuses interesting, particularly the discussion of the Brazen Head (pp. 191 ff.). The abundance of collectanea, notably for French romances, makes Dickson's book a reference work of importance. Its typographical execution is entirely satisfactory.

ARCHER TAYLOR.

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*Krisen und Probleme der neueren deutschen Dichtung.* Von EMIL ERMATINGER. Zürich, Leipzig, Wien: Amalthea Verlag, 1928. 403 Seiten.

Der Züricher Germanist hat in diesem Bande Reden und Aufsätze aus den letzten zehn Jahren vereinigt, die zum größten Teil seinen Buchveröffentlichungen parallel laufen oder ihre Ergebnisse in anderer Form zusammenfassen, aber den persönlichen Anteil stärker zum Ausdruck bringen. Trotz der Verschiedenheit des Inhaltes (von einzelnen Dichtern z. B. wird Gryphius, Grimmelshausen, Klopstock, Pestalozzi, Goethe, Gotthelf, Keller, Meyer, Leuthold behandelt) fehlt ihnen nicht die Einheit der Problemstellung; fast überall ist es die Frage nach dem rationalen oder irrationalen Erlebnisgrunde, in dem die behandelten Dichter oder Literaturströmungen wurzeln; sie bildet in theoretischer Behandlung den Auftakt ("Die deutsche Literaturwissenschaft in der geistigen Bewegung der Gegenwart") sowie in ausgedehnter Anwendung auf drei Jahrhunderte deutscher Dichtung ("Zeitstil und Persönlichkeitsstil") den Ausgang der Sammlung. Besonders trüchtig erweist sich diese Fragestellung in den beiden Aufsätzen, welche den Gipfelpunkt und zugleich die Mitte des Buches bilden, über "Goethes Frömmigkeit in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*" und über "Zwei Dichterworte" (aus den *Wanderjahren* und Kellers *Verlorenem Lachen*). Ist doch gerade bei Goethe die 'ratio,' mit der er sein Leben beherrscht und ordnet, und das 'Schaudern'

vor dem Unerforschlichen zu einer so unerreichten Polarität gebracht, daß man sich über die Dynamik dieser beiden Kraftströme und ihrer Spannungen so oft hat täuschen können.

Zweifellos hat Ermatinger recht, wenn er "Dichter wie Bürger, Lenz, Klinger, Maler Müller nur irgendwie Fortsetzer des Rationalismus" nennt, indessen tragen gerade sie den Irrationalismus in die äußere Lebensführung, und das gibt, um ein Merck'sches Wort zu gebrauchen, "nichts als dummes Zeug." Warum also nicht beiden Lebenseinstellungen vereint den ihnen gebührenden Platz lassen? Dem Rationalismus ist Ermatinger entschieden gerechter geworden in seinem Buche über 'Barock und Rokoko.' Die Neigung ihn zu bekämpfen erklärt sich freilich aus der Absicht des Verfassers, breitere Kreise von dem Bedürfnis unserer Zeit nach neuer Geistigkeit zu überzeugen. Doch besteht für den Deutschen stets die Gefahr eines unbeherrschten Irrealismus; wohl in keinem Schrifttum hat es so viele verirrte Genies, so viele geniale Fragmente des Lebens wie der Dichtung gegeben als in unserem. Sollte es uns darum nicht anstehen, die historische Notwendigkeit solcher Bewegungen wie des Naturalismus wenigstens mit größerer Gerechtigkeit anzuerkennen?

Wir vergessen, glaube ich, im Rückschlage unserer neuen Entwicklung, daß jene Positivisten in Theorie und Dichtung die Wegbereiter waren, die erst einmal aufräumen mußten in den muffigen Stuben von anno 70 und 80, den Plunder von Stuck und Papiermaché, das künstliche Heldentum hinauswerfen, Schnürbrüste und Plastrons, Röllchen und Knopfstiefel zusammen mit Legenden und Gesetzen von Kinderdankbarkeit und Elternaufopferung in die Osterfeuer türmen mußten. Und wenn sie über dem "Hab Acht auf die Gassen" die Sterne zu vergessen schienen, so war doch in ihrem Kampf um die Wahrheit in der Gewissenhaftigkeit ihrer Arbeit und in dem stillen Heldentum, mit dem sie "den schweren Tod" Niels Lyhnes starben, noch ein Abglanz der Himmelslichter und eine Heiligung dieses Lebens. Im Naturalismus selber bahnt sich dann auch schon die Wendung zur neuen Geistigkeit an; das scheint mir z. B. in Hauptmann unverkennbar (*Emanuel Quint!*), dem Ermatinger ein bereitwilliges Einfühlen versagt.

Es ist indessen unmöglich, in dieser Besprechung auf Einzelheiten einzugehn, ohne dem Reichtum des Buches, der Fülle seiner Anregungen und der Weite seines Blickes durch unproportionierte Ausstellungen Unrecht zu tun. Hervorheben möchte ich wenigstens noch den Aufsatz über Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, in knappem Rahmen das beste Bild von des Dichters weltanschaulicher Entwicklung.

ERNST FEISE.

*William Blake: Creative Will and the Poetic Image.* By JACK LINDSAY. Fanfrolico Press, London, 1927. 3sh. 6d.

*Poetical Sketches by William Blake*, with an Essay on Blake's Metric, by JACK LINDSAY. The Scholartis Press, London, 1927. 9sh.

These two handsomely printed volumes contain a wholly fresh appreciation of and attack on Blake.

The first of these books is "not a critical essay on Blake's poetry, but an effort to define the condition of mind his work represents and to expose its psychological machinery from the inside. . . . I have tried to acclaim and attack Blake by the values implicated in his own system of symbols: not merely to dissect his world, but to set it into action in my own mind," writes Mr. Lindsay. By just such reference to reality Blake's reputation eventually will stand or fall; and up to a certain point (let us say 1793), Mr. Lindsay succeeds admirably. He has got beyond Blake's initial state of "Innocence" (where most readers are content to stop), well into "Experience"; but he denies that Blake achieved any synthesis of these "two contrary states of the human soul." In other words, Mr. Lindsay appreciates the early lyrics, but is baffled by the prophecies.

He sees Blake as a true genius, appearing at the end of the "mudflats of Augustan prosody," "the Miltonic, wrongly called the Augustan period." (Mr. Lindsay has a great hate for Milton; and having discovered that Milton influenced eighteenth century verse very extensively, he blames it all on him. He forgets that in those dismal days, Milton's name was a war cry of freedom.) Blake in his youth rediscovered the imagination. "He opened his mouth to sing once again the lyrics of the Elizabethan's fresh ardour"; but in these early works "Blake does not mean that we should go round dreamily imagining every flower we see to be a beauteous maiden, every lamb Jesus bleating at us, every clod of clay a humble housewife. He means that we should strive to live at our highest sincerity and intensity of emotion, that we should seek to clear the senses till they are burnished into an almost spiritual precision, a clarity of passion, that we should seek to live in a limpid sunlight of desire and delight, to live always at our deepest centres of self." Then something happened, which prevented Blake from writing more poetry. The subterranean forces no longer groped upward into the perfect flowers of lyrics; instead they cracked and rent the surface, revealing the processes of Blake's mind, but stopping their true work. "The chief interest in Blake is that for some reason big patches of the conscious shell broke and vanished, and the naked suffering of his soul tumbled out. He

has given us a full chart of all that stagnation or disruption of the creative impulse means." "The spectacle that is granted us is not in any case one of lunacy. It is of abruptly exposed chambers of the mind's deep, of forces so abruptly bared that they are raw and quivering and cannot do more than struggle into a mass of smoky and tormented hieroglyphs when they strive to enter consciousness." "Blake did not detect the cause of the earthquakes in his spirit, which finally left it with all its strata twisting across each other in a gigantic space of distortion and despair rifted here and there with an exquisite ecstasy." "There is no genuine synthesis. . . . Blake himself, the creator, who should be centre and master of them all, is lost among these elements that constitute him."

But is it Blake or Mr. Lindsay that is lost? Mr. Lindsay, I believe; for just at this point he ceases to analyse Blake. His writing henceforth, ingenious as it is, describes admirably the effect of the prophetic books upon himself, but does nothing to elucidate them. His prose becomes the child of Thompson's Shelley and Pater's *Mona Lisa*. Charming it is; but it tells us more of the author than of its subject.

Misinterpretations, furthermore, abound. He believes that Enitharmon represents Pity, "and therefore if love is to be whole it must rise above pity"—not observing that Enitharmon is named Pity only when separated from Los (true inspiration), and that love to be whole must include (not discard) pity. Mr. Lindsay says that Blake teaches "the repudiation of all discipline save that of desire"; whereas Blake demonstrates very clearly the disasters that follow when Luvah seizes the reins of the horses of Intellect. Mr. Lindsay quotes as a sample of the ruin of the ideal Jerusalem the famous terminal lines "All Human Forms identified, even Tree, Metal, Earth and Stone"; but if this be not the ultimate synthesis, instead of ruin, what is it? And Blake's theories of art he completely misunderstands, forgetting (to quote Fielding) that "Life may as properly be called an art as any other", and that Blake's examples of the supreme artists were Christ and his apostles.

The essay on metrics is anything but pedantic. Mr. Lindsay continues his attack on Milton's verse: its development "is not progressive but oscillatory—there is no real movement except the intellectual one of narrative. . . . Formally, the effect is one of a rocking-horse: a very cunning and Pegasean rocking-horse which can curvet and canter, which has all the externals of movement, every twitch of the muscle. Only, the horse does not move ahead. It is the grand manner, one admits; but the rhythms are constructed, not constructing: they have been measured out, severely meditated, not left to feel themselves into fluid lengths: the contrasts are those between one fine stretch and another fine stretch, they are never stairs climbed by unseen beautiful feet."



Mr. Lindsay demonstrates that Blake's early meters, like Shakspeare's, are dynamic, not static; however, much of Blake's later work was written in "a state of strenuous physical titillation, when the very roots of the hair tingle; but I do not think that any really profound poetry is ever written in it,"—and Milton is blamed: "for some dark reason, after freeing himself from the Miltonic bondage, Blake returns completely to it." Mr. Lindsay's scansion is nothing new—indeed, it hardly could be, for he has a good ear; yet his trick of scanning the cadence instead of the meter is startling at first glance. I suspect that he intended it to be.

Opinionated Mr. Lindsay is, wordy, and often deliberately irritating; but his point of attack is fresh and vital, for which we thank him, however much we may disagree with some of his conclusions.

S. FOSTER DAMON.

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## BRIEF MENTION

It is a pleasant duty to record here two valuable American contributions to the study of the University drama of England's Renaissance. In the *Yale Studies* in English, no. LXXIX (1928) Professor JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON presents a welcome edition of Samuel Brooke's *Melanthe*, a Latin pastoral play presented during the King's visit to Cambridge in March, 1615. He finds that it is chiefly indebted to Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, though it owes something as well to two other popular pastorals, Tasso's *Aminta* and Bonarelli's *Filli di Sciro*. The editor provides much biographical and bibliographical information, as well as a commentary on the Latin text. A few passages of Horace might have been added to the notes: on lines 116-117 cp. *Odes* i, 9, 19-20; on 140, *Odes* i, 13, 8; on 431, *Odes* i, 9, 9.

From the University of Delaware Press comes a neat little edition of John Christopherson's *Jephthah*, the only extant sixteenth-century English University drama in Greek. The Greek text is edited; and cleverly translated into English verse, by FRANCIS HOWARD FOBES; the introduction is by WILBUR OWEN SYMPHERD. The play is based on the Bible story of Jephthah and his daughter, and seems to have been written about 1544. The chief model is professedly Euripides, but, as Professor Fobes points out, there are also echoes of various other Greek poets. For example, line 988 borrows the *διάνδιχα μεμμήριξεν* of *Iliad*, i, 189.

W. P. MUSTARD.

*The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry, circa 1600-1650.* By JOHN BERNARD EMPEROR. Columbia, Missouri, 1928. 133 pp. \$1.25. In the third volume of *The University of Missouri Studies* (July, 1928) Mr. J. B. Emperor sets forth a detailed discussion of the influence of Catullus on one of the greatest periods of English lyric poetry. This is a very interesting study, though the net result of it all is somewhat less than the length of the monograph, and its sumptuous form, might suggest. Of thirty-seven poets dealt with, many show little or no trace of the influence of "the bard of Sirmio," and some of the "borrowings" quoted from other writers are at best very doubtful. The ancient verdict applies, "to be used with caution."

A few changes and additions may be suggested. P. 30: the passage quoted from Samuel Daniel's *Pastoral* is really translated from the first chorus of Tasso's *Aminta*. P. 31: the fifth quotation from Daniel should be referred to Seneca, *Phaedra*, 607, "curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent." P. 46: the little poem about Lais and her mirror is probably derived from a Greek epigram, *Anthol. Pal.* vi, 20. P. 61: the Latin model of Ben Jonson's song "Still to be neat" was written much earlier than the sixteenth century; see Riese's *Anthologia Latina*, no. 458, and K. F. Smith's discussion of the poem, *American Journal of Philology*, xxix (1908), 133-155. P. 105: the ninth quotation from Herrick seems to owe something to Horace; *Od.* i, 4, 15-20.

In George Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Act 1, Sc. 2, "Heard he a Lawyer . . . still the Philosopher laugh," one is reminded of what Catullus says about the grinning Egnatius, *Carm.* xxxix, 1-7. And in Act 2, Sc. 3, of the same play, "And as the foolish Poet . . . showed like to a ditcher," we have the Suffenus of Catullus, xxii, 4-17. Catullus xliii, 8, is quoted at the close of Chapman's *Justification of Perseus and Andromeda*, "O saeculum insipiens et inficetum."

W. P. MUSTARD.

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*Un Grand Poète de la Vie moderne, Emile Verhaeren (1855-1916).* Par EDMOND ESTÈVE. Paris: Boivin, 1928. Pp. ix + 227. (Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.) A charming presentation of Verhaeren's work, made with taste and judgment, this book traces the formative influences of the poet's youth, studies with abundant quotation his social, industrial, and national poems and his plays, and includes special chapters on his style, vocabulary, and rhythms. One cannot read the volume without desiring to turn again to the works of the poet and without regretting anew the severe loss sustained by French letters in the death of M. Estève.

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H. C. L.

CARL MAHLING. *Über Tonvokal + ht im Frühmittelenglischen* (Berlin dissertation). Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1928. Pp. viii + 200. A detailed presentation of the stressed vowels and diphthongs occurring before *-ht* in the twenty-five manuscripts which preserve the great body of English material from the end of the twelfth to the early years of the fourteenth century is accompanied by an indication of the forms taken by stressed vowels in other positions and by a summary account of the various spellings—39 in all—whereby the development of Old English *ht* is represented in the texts included in these manuscripts. The classification is the simplest possible: considerations of dialectal provenience have been rejected, and all the forms are presented as if they had developed from West Saxon. This simplicity of arrangement has the defect of presenting an obviously distorted picture of the actual sound developments, and the advantage of facilitating further investigation of the material. Attempted simplification, however, in my judgment, has been carried too far where, for example, forms derived from Latin, French, or Norse words containing the simple vowel *-a-* are grouped with those in which the Old English breaking diphthong *-ea-* occurred; or where, without comment, such participles as *aweht*, *astreht* are included under *-ea-* forms, or *wercte*, *forwyrrhte*, *wrahtest*, *dehtren*, *walde*, *marhen* are listed under Old English *-o-* forms. Nor is it apparent why a number of forms with West Saxon *-eo-* are classed as “mit i-umlautsmöglichkeit.” But since such peculiarities of classification are obvious to any competent student of Old and Middle English phonology, they are not vital defects in a study which has its chief value not in its own *Ergebnisse* but in making an unwieldy mass of material more readily available for further study and interpretation.

W. F. BRYAN.

*The Essays of Montaigne*, translated by E. J. TRECHMANN. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1927, 2 vols., \$3.00. The reading public is unusually fortunate in having the Essays of Montaigne made available in English twice during the last three years. Previous to the work of George B. Ives, published by the Harvard University Press in 1925, there had been no translation of the Essays into English since Cotton “englished” them two hundred and fifty-five years before. Trechmann, like Ives, aims to improve on the work of Florio and Cotton. This in accuracy it certainly does. A careful comparison will reveal the interesting fact, however, that Trechmann tends to preserve Florio’s phraseology to a greater extent than does Ives. Trechmann has gone to considerable trouble to get the best possible verse translations

of the poetical quotations in the Essays. A valuable feature of Trechmann's work is the printing at the top of each page of the chief topic discussed in it. Trechmann and Ives differ in almost countless cases in their interpretation of the original French. A comparison of these two sets of interpretations will prove a great stimulus to those interested primarily in the meaning of the word in the text of Montaigne. It will doubtless prove also as Robert Louis Stevenson, the greatest of the disciples of Montaigne, puts it in another connection, a task for all that a man has of fortitude and delicacy.

G. C. TAYLOR.

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*Les plus anciens Chartes en langue provençale.* By CLOVIS BRUNEL. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1926. Pp. lxiii + 499. In 1909 Paul Meyer presented new material for the study of early Provençal in his *Documents linguistiques du Midi de la France*. M. Brunel now gives us a large collection of notarial documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with a study of the morphology of their language. Since these documents are taken from various regions, they will yield important evidence for a geographic study of early Provençal, but their special value consists in the fact that they are dated and will thus serve to determine with great accuracy the date and order of linguistic changes. The importance of such data for the student of Troubadour literature cannot be overestimated. A large glossary is provided, which contains many words not to be found in dictionaries of Old Provençal.

EDWIN B. WILLIAMS.

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There could be no better evidence of the new life that has recently come into the scholarly study of the literature of our own country than the establishment of *American Literature, a Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography*. If we may judge by the 111 pages of this first number (33 of which are given to reviews by distinguished scholars) the new quarterly will not only stimulate investigation and offer it a needed outlet but will also maintain standards of accuracy, thoroughness, and good writing, together with breadth of outlook, in a field where these qualities have sometimes been to seek. To the energetic American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association, who cooperate in publishing the journal, to the directors of the Duke University Press, who have given it a pleasing and distinguished format, and to the editors, J. B. Hubbell of Duke (Chairman), W. B. Cairns of Wisconsin, K. B. Murdock of Harvard, F. L. Pattee of Rollins, and R. L. Rusk of Columbia, who are so wisely directing it, *Modern Language Notes* offers its hearty congratulations.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## THE TEXT AND EDITIONS OF WILSON'S *ARTE* *OF RHETORIQUE*

It is unfortunate that a number of mistaken views are held concerning the text and editions of the first adequate rhetoric in the English language, Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1553. The most important error which has gained general acceptance concerns the relation of the editions of 1553 and 1560.

The general assumption today is that the edition of 1553 is quite incomplete, and that the edition of 1560 represents an extensive revision and enlargement of the first printing, so that the first edition cannot be used as a basis in establishing a text. This is the statement of Mair in his edition of the *Rhetoric* in 1909, the only reprint available for students. A collation of the text as printed in Mair with a copy of the edition of 1553, lent by the Newberry Library of Chicago, has shown this position to be untenable.

Mair's edition of 1909 is entitled *Wilson's Arte Of Rhetorique, 1560*. In reality, as Mair explains later, he has reprinted the text of 1585 with a few changes, resulting from a comparison of the editions of 1560 and 1567. Some one hundred and forty variant readings collated from these three editions are given at the end of the book, so that the student is enabled, presumably, to reconstruct the text of 1560.

Mair, in his introduction, reminds us that the first publication of the book was in 1553. He says:

The last year of Mary's reign had been a stirring time for the author, and little leisure was left him for literary tasks. But with the accession of Elizabeth security and prosperity returned to him, and he set about preparing a new edition of his successful text book. Much was altered and much added; he prefaced it by a new prologue of much per-

sonal interest. Towards the end of the year the corrected and completed book was issued from the press.<sup>1</sup>

Later Mair says, "The first edition (that of 1553) was quite incomplete and was revised and added to (see *Prologue to the Reader*)."<sup>2</sup>

It is true that Saintsbury had earlier expressed in effect the same idea.<sup>3</sup> But it is Mair, undoubtedly, who has actually fathered this error, by virtue of the fact that it stands in the 1909 reprint as his reason for the failure to collate the first edition with the others.

But in the *Prologue* itself, to which Mair refers us, Wilson explicitly refuses to revise, and gives in detail his reasons for this refusal:

And now I am come home, this booke is shewed me, and I desired to look vpon it, to amend it where I thought meet. Amend it, quoth I? Nay, let the booke first amend it selfe, and make mee amendes. For surely I haue no cause to acknowledge it for my booke, because I haue so smarted for it. For where I haue beene euill handled, I haue much a doe to shewe my self friendly. . . . If others neuer get more by bookes than I haue done; it were better be a Carter, then a Scholar, for worldly profite. A burnt child feareth the fire, and a beaten dogge escheweth the whippe. Now therefore, I will none of this booke from henceforth, I will none of him I say; take him that list, and weare him that will. . . . What goodnesse is in this treatise, I cannot without vainglorie report, neither will I meddle with it, either hot or colde. As it was, so it is, and so bee it still hereafter for mee: so that I hear no more of it, and that it be not yet once again cast in my dish.<sup>4</sup>

Wilson apparently anticipated that his renunciation would not be taken seriously, for he adds:

But this I say to others as I am assured they will laugh that reade it; So if the world should turne (as God forbid) they were most like to weepe, that in all pointes would followe it. I would bee loth that any man should hurt himselfe for my doinges. And therefore to auoyde the worst for all parts, the best were neuer once to looke on it: for then I am assured no man shal take harme by it. But I thinke some shal reade it, before whom I doe wash my handes, if any harme should come to them hereafter, and let them not say but that they were warned.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. Mair, 1909, p. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Criticism*, 1902, 1922, II, 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, A. v. recto and verso.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, A. v. verso.

Mair presumably did not take these words seriously; yet there is no reason for doubting their literal meaning. For eight years Wilson had been in exile. During part of the time he had been engaged in legal studies at the Universities of Padua and Ferrara; from the latter institution he had received the doctorate in law. Two years before his return to England he had been apprehended by the Inquisition, had been tortured and almost miraculously released, as he says, by "plain force of the worthie Romans." His offence, according to his own account, was the publication of heretical doctrines in the *Logic* and the *Rhetoric*. Wilson returned to England, not as a scholar, but, in fact, bitterly opposed to that scholarship which had almost cost his life. He returned as an advocate anxious to enter upon a public career. For the revision of the *Rhetoric* he had neither time nor interest—except for the penning of a brief refusal and some slight additions to be mentioned later. He became almost at once Master of the Court of Requests, and crowned a successful career by achieving the position of Secretary of State. It was ten years before he returned to any form of scholarly work. The translation of Demosthenes was done mainly for political and patriotic reasons; *A Discourse uppon Usurye* was brought out as a result of his interest in the economic problems involved; his scholarly activity may, therefore, be said to have ended with the publication of the *Rhetoric* in 1553.<sup>6</sup>

If one believes that Wilson was not in earnest in his refusal to revise the book, one has only to look at the editions of 1553 and 1560 themselves. The brief *Prologue* is of course an addition. Besides this, two Latin poems, one by Nicholas Udall and one by a "Robertus Hilermius" are omitted. This may be the work of the printer since the poems omitted seem to be superior to the two which remain in the second edition. Seven anecdotes are inserted in the edition of 1560<sup>7</sup>—an addition of about four pages. One story told in a sentence in the earlier edition, is expanded into a paragraph in the later one.<sup>8</sup> Italy is the scene of five of the anecdotes; all had

<sup>6</sup> The best accounts of Wilson's life are A. F. Pollard's article on Wilson in the *DNB.*, and Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigiensis*, 1858, I, 434-7. Wood, *Fasti Oronienses*, 1721, p. 98, and Strype, *Life of Sir John Cheke*, 1821, p. 96, also record significant events not found elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 140, lines 9-22; 140, 37 to 141, 26; 142, 4-18; 144, 4-30; 148, 37 to 149, 8; 150, 1-40; 154, 15 to 155, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140, lines 23-36.

probably been picked up by Wilson during his exile. They are not needed to elucidate the text, but are merely added by way of illustration; all appear within the compass of a few pages. It is easy to believe that Wilson simply handed them to the printer along with the *Prologue* and that the printer inserted them in what he thought to be the proper places, expanding for some reason one of the previously published stories.

This constitutes the "complete revision" of the edition of 1560. One looks in vain for any change in substance, in point of view, or in terminology. Wilson, had he greatly revised his second edition, would certainly have brought his allusions up to date. Yet the dedication to Lord John Dudley, who had died soon after the accession of Mary, reads as it did in 1553. And of Latimer's martyrdom, in 1555, in that cause for which Wilson had "felt some smart," he takes no notice; the passages referring to Latimer remain exactly as in the earlier edition. In no case can the hand of the reviser be seen with the possible exception of the insertion of the anecdotes.

In fact, not only did Wilson not alter or add to his book to any appreciable extent, but he did not even correct the errors, typographical and syntactical, in the earlier edition. Further, he did not even read the proof of the edition of 1560. As a result many incomprehensible expressions have crept into the second printing, and many have continued throughout all the later editions. Thus, in the edition of 1560, the user of mnemonic devices of places and images is told that

euermore the first place must bee made notable aboue the rest, hauing alwaies some seuerall note from the other, as some Antique, or a hand pointing, or such like, that the rather hauing a great number of places, wee might the better knowe where wee are, by the remembraunce of such notable and strange places.\*

Now this advice is far from clear; to say that the first of a large number of places should be marked is quite valueless as an aid to memory. What Wilson really said is, in the words of the first edition, "the fifte place." That is, every fifth place is to be marked, appropriately enough, by a hand. This is simply an adaptation of the suggestions of the *Auctor ad Herennium*, whose doctrine he is here using.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 213, lines 28-33.

Of the cases in which Mair has used the editions of 1560 and 1567 to correct the text of 1585, there are but two which could not have been supplied him by the edition of 1553. He would there have found support for his proper conjecture of *Iuste* for *Iustice*, p. 38, line 28; and a knowledge of the first edition would have made the reprint of 1909 much more useful to the scholar and general reader.

I have found about one hundred and seventy-five instances where the reading of the earlier edition is more satisfactory than in that of Mair's text. Some of the more important are here listed.

Mair's text	1553
The other kind of necessitie is, when wee perswade men to beare those <i>things paciently, when wee persuade men to beare those</i> <sup>10</sup> crosses patiently, which God doth send vs, considering, will we or nill we, needes must we abide them. (p. 31, lines 1-4)	The other kind of necessitie is, when wee perswade men to beare those crosses patiently, which God doth send vs, considering, will we or nill we, needes must we abide them.
Such alteration hath beene here tofore, that hereafter needes must ensue much <i>alteration</i> . (p. 37, lines 18, 19)	Such alteration hath beene here tofore, that hereafter needes must ensue much <i>altercacion</i> .
This the Thracian, this the Sarmate, . . . or if there be any that dwell beyond them? (p. 48, lines 11-14)	This the Thracian, this the Sarmate, . . . or if there be any that dwell beyond them <i>have euer counted to be most holy. And why so?</i>
Confessing of the fault is when the <i>excuseth</i> persone graunteth his crime. . . The first is when one <i>accuseth</i> himselfe . . . (p. 98, lines 18-20)	Confessing of the fault is when the <i>accused</i> persone graunteth his crime . . . The first is when one <i>excuseth</i> himselfe. . . .
Description of <i>courage</i> , after a bat-taille. (p. 178, line 18, gloss)	Description of <i>outrage</i> after a bat-taille.
Reade the Oration against Piso, such as <i>he</i> learned. (p. 188, lines 1, 2)	Reade the Oration against Piso, such as <i>be</i> learned.
<i>Amplification</i> or preuention. (p. 188, line 17)	<i>Anticipation</i> or preuention.

<sup>10</sup> Italics mine in all cases.

For when it shalbe reported that  
thei which had no knowledge of  
God, liued in a brotherly loue one  
towards another, detested adoutry,  
. . . exempted *bribes* from bearing  
rule in the commonweale. . . . (p.  
190, line 38—p. 191, line 4)

The rebels of Northfolke . . . *shewe*  
nobilitie. (p. 202, lines 30-32)

*Transmutation* what it is. (p. 232,  
Index)

For when it shalbe reported that  
thei which had no knowledge of  
God, liued in a brotherly loue one  
towards another, detested adoutry,  
. . . exempted *Brybers* from bearing  
rule in the commonweale. . . .

The rebels of Northfolke . . . *slew*  
nobilitie.

*Transumption* what it is.

It is unfortunate that Mair should have assumed the earlier edition to be so incomplete as not to repay textual comparison. As we have seen, if any is to be considered the basic text, it must be that of 1553. And certainly, if the correct text is to be established, this text will be of much more value than all those compared by Mair.

One may suspect that Mair was not at great pains to understand his author. Otherwise, he would have incorporated in his already eclectic text several readings from the editions of 1560 and 1567 which he has merely recorded in his list of variants. Thus the puzzling sentence, "*Facite quantum in vobis est*,"<sup>11</sup> could have been cleared up without reference to the edition of 1553. This quotation, ascribed in the gloss to 1 Peter 5, is not to be found in the source given; and it makes very little sense when read with the context. In the first edition we read "*Pascite quantum in vobis est*," which does indeed resemble the language of the Vulgate, "*Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei*"; this is intelligible when read with the context; to account for its variation from the Vulgate we have only to consider that Wilson usually quotes from memory or paraphrases intentionally, especially when giving passages from the Bible. But the reading "*Pascite*" is found also in the editions of 1560 and 1567, as Mair's collation shows. One can only say that if Mair had thought better of the edition of 1553, he might have been put on his guard by the reading there, and have improved his text here as well as elsewhere. And for some ten or twelve other passages the edition of 1560, as well as 1553, supplies the correct reading; as:

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137, line 5.

## Mair's text

1560 (and 1553)

Yea, and what one thing doth  
*soone* mitigate the immoderate pas-  
 sions of our nature, then the perfect  
 knowledge of right & wrong, & the  
 iust execution appointed by law for  
 asswaging the wilfull? (p. 35, lines  
 16-20)

Yea, and what one thing doth  
*sooner* mitigate the immoderate pas-  
 sions of our nature, then the per-  
 fect knowledge of right & wrong, &  
 the iust execution appointed by law  
 for asswaging the wilfull?

As for example, we may by one  
 worde, both praise a faithfull  
 seruant, and if he be naught, we  
 may also iest of him and *praise* him.  
 (p. 139, lines 10-12)

As for example, we may by one  
 worde praise a faithfull seruant,  
 and if he be naught, we may also  
 iest of him and *dispraise* him.

And in prouing of our matters we  
 had neede euermore, rather to weye  
 our reasons, then to number them,  
 and thinke not that then we shall  
 doe beste when we haue the strong-  
 est. (p. 158, lines 31-34)

And in prouing of our matters  
 we had neede euermore, rather to  
 weye our reasons, then to number  
 them, and think not that then we  
 shall doe best *when we haue the  
 most but then looke to doe best*  
 when haue the strongest.

There is also a general uncertainty concerning the number of the various editions and their dates. Some years ago Pollard was in doubt as to whether or not the first edition appeared in 1551 or 1553, and also said that "a second edition appeared in 1562 (London 4to; prologue dated 7 Dec., 1560) and subsequent editions in 1567, 1580, 1584 and 1585, all in quarto."<sup>12</sup> Saintsbury also says of the second edition that "it does not seem to have been published till 1563."<sup>13</sup> Lowndes speaks of two editions published in 1560.<sup>14</sup> Conley mentions an edition of 1561.<sup>15</sup>

In the *Short Title Catalogue* Pollard and Redgrave give the dates of the editions as 1553, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1567, 1580, 1584, and 1585. These are without doubt authentically dated and separate editions.

But at least one other edition exists. This is a foliated copy,

<sup>12</sup> *DNB.*, article on "Thomas Wilson."

<sup>13</sup> *History of Criticism*, 1902, 1922, II, 149.

<sup>14</sup> *Bibliographers Manual of English Literature*, ed. by Bohn, 1864, IV, 2946.

<sup>15</sup> *First English Translators of the Classics*, 1927, p. 95, note 48, and p. 139. (Conley, in a recent letter to me, declares this date to be an error.)

with the Prologue, recently added to the Cornell University Library. Title page and date are lacking. A comparison with photostated pages of other foliated editions shows that it is like none of them. Its orthography and format most resemble the edition of 1560, and the date may be conjectured as 1561. There are thus at least nine editions of the *Rhetoric* extant.

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### AN EMENDATION OF *AS YOU LIKE IT*, II. vii, 73

Though the text of *As You Like It* is one of the purest in the First Folio, it is not free from cruxes which have thus far baffled the ingenuity of interpreters and emendators. One of these occurs in Jaques' wise and not illogical retort to the Duke's censorious and not wholly justifiable attack on his melancholy associate in the seventh Scene of the second Act. The difficult line is the second one in the following quotation:

Doth it [pride] not flow as hugely as the Sea,  
Till that the *wearie verie meanes* do ebbe.

It is generally agreed that the period at the close of the second of these verses should be an interrogation mark and that the corruption, if there be one, is in one of the three words which I have italicised. But there is a great diversity of opinion as to the poet's meaning and consequently as to how the disputed line ought to be read. Pope, the first one to emend the line, proposed to read "very very" for "wearie verie." Most of the other suggested emendations are recorded in the Furness *Variorum*.

Notwithstanding all the ingenuity that has been expended in the attempt to vindicate the original text, there is no doubt in my mind that the Folio reading is corrupt. The adjective "weary" does not mean "exhausted," the meaning which the commentators (Caldecott, Halliwell, etc.) have been compelled to assign to it. And even though it is true that Shakspeare sometimes (or even often) transposes adjectives, he never placed the adverb "very" after the adjective it modified ("same" only excepted—in *Richard III!*). Nor is the word "weary" ever applied to anything which



cannot cause a sense of weariness. What has been "wasted" or "exhausted" cannot logically be said to "ebb." It is no wonder, then, that Singer's alteration ("The wearer's very means"), the only one of the emendations which is free from these objections, has found most adherents. But even this is not considered "quite satisfactory" (Dyce, Furness); "wearie" is not a likely misreading of or misprint for "wearer's," and the transition from "pride" to "wearer's" is too abrupt. Besides, nothing had yet been said about clothes; and "pride," as employed by Jaques, does not apply to clothes only. The wearer's "very means" is inappropriate because it is illogical, inasmuch as the "pride" must be paid for from his "means."

Taking all these facts into consideration, we are compelled, I think, to seek for a new reading, one which is free from the above objections and which can be explained by reference to the manuscript "copy" from which we must imagine the compositor to have set up the received text.

The reading I offer for the consideration of Shaksperian scholars is the following:

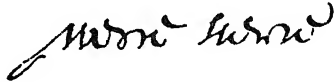
Till that the necessary means do ebb?

Jacques means to "cleanse the foul body of th' infected world" by making mankind conscious of its follies, its foibles. He begins with extravagance, ostentation ("pride"), not merely "sumptuousness in apparel" (Cotgrave), and says, in effect: "Who that satirizes humanity's stupidity in indulging in extravagant and ostentatious display can be charged with attacking some particular individual? Is it not an easily observable fact that 'pride' is manifested all about us with as little restraint as the flowing of the tides, to such an extent that those who are herein guilty destroy the means of satisfying their very necessities?"

In justification of the above interpretation, it may be pointed out that Jaques' observation is as logical as it is true, and that the words "pride" and "ebb" are used in Elizabethan senses. The proleptic construction in "necessary means" ("the means of purchasing their necessities") is thoroughly Shaksperian and is paralleled in this very play in the locutions "thrifty hire" (the savings of thrift, II, iii, 39), "youthful wages" (wages earned in your youth, II, iii, 67) and "weak evils" (misfortunes causing weakness, II, vii, 131). In the secretary hand in which dramatic

manuscripts were almost invariably written in the Elizabethan period "necesserie" could very easily be misread "werie verie."

Minuscular *n* and *w* were often indistinguishable (as is shown by such errors in Shakspeare's text as "nowe" for "none," "wight" for "night," and "blunt" for "blowt"); small *c*'s could easily be mistaken for *r* and *i* (hence "ran" for "can," "art" for "act," and "coniects" for "conceits");



"necesserie" as Shakspeare might have written it.

a small figure-of-8 *s*, made with blind loops could easily be mistaken for a *c*, a *t*, or a *u*-minim; and two such *s*'s coming together looked like *tt*, *n* or *u* (*v*). From a study of Shakspeare's extant autographs and of the textual errors in the Quartos and the First Folio we are warranted in thinking that in his handwriting the word "necesserie," especially if there was a break (pen-lift) between the second *e* and the first *s*, might have been misread "werie verie." We must remember that Shakespeare seems never to have dotted his *i*'s. There would have been nothing unusual or remarkable in the compositor's setting up "wearie" for "werie." What the compositor thought the line meant it were useless to conjecture.

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### TAMBURLAINE: THE CHOLERIC MAN

Elizabethan popular philosophy is based upon a fatalistic doctrine. Man is what he is by the grace of God. This accounts for the general belief in the sciences of astrology and physiognomy. In the same way the predominance of any one humour in an individual accounts for the whole make-up of his body, as well as the ruling passion of his mind. Tamburlaine realizes this when he thus explains the motivation for his ambition and boldness:

Nature that fram'd vs of foure Elements,

Warring within our breasts for regiment,  
Doth teach vs all to haue aspyring minds: <sup>1</sup>

Doctors of physick were cognizant of the facility with which a man's principal humour could be recognized. As Thomas Vicary tells us, "the Cheekes doo not only shewe the diuersities of complexions, but also the affection and wil of the hart." <sup>2</sup>

We, too, may read the riddle of Tamburlaine in the lucid delineation of him as Menaphon describes the "Scythian Shepheard." <sup>3</sup> Here it is important to note that he is tall and straight, strong, of pale complexion, wrought with passion, thirsting with love of arms; that his hair is red, his arms and fingers long and sinewy; and that his frown denotes death. This depiction is in accord with the best medical authorities. John Davies of Herford well describes the choleric man:

The *Chollericke* is hasty, and inclinde  
To *Envie*, *pride*, and *prodigalitie*;  
As *Hercles*-hardy, though with anger blinde; <sup>4</sup>

Robert Burton adds to this:

If it arise from choler adust, they are bold and impudent, and of a more harebrain disposition, apt to quarrel and think of such things, battles, combats, and their manhood; furious, impatient in discourse, stiff, irrefragable, and prodigious in their tenents; and, if they be moved, most violent, outrageous, ready to disgrace, provoke any, to kill themselves & others; . . . *Cardan*, . . . holds these men of all others fit to be assassinated, bold, hardy, fierce, and adventurous, to undertake anything by reason of their choler adust. *This humour*, saith he, *prepares them to endure death itself, and all manner of torments, with invincible courage, and 'tis a wonder to see with what alacrity they will undergo such tortures*, . . . <sup>5</sup>

And Doctor Thomas Vicary avers: "if they be browne in colour, or

<sup>1</sup> *Tamburlaine*, part I, ll. 869-871. All quotations from *Tamburlaine* are made from *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, EETS., ex. ser. LIII, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Part I, ll. 455-482.

<sup>4</sup> John Davies of Herford, *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, Edinburgh, 1878. "Micricosmosus" in I, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. A. R. Shilleto, London, 1896, I, 461-462.

cytrin, yelow, redde, and thin, and leane in substaunce, betokeneth great drying and heate, that is cholerike."<sup>6</sup>

All through the play we may perceive this unanimity between the character of Tamburlaine and the character of a choleric man as described by the learned doctors. Burton says choleric people "think of such things, battles, combats, and their manhood," and Tamburlaine tells us:

Then when the Sky shal waxe as red as blood,  
It shall be said, I made it red my selfe,  
To make me think of naught but blood and war.<sup>7</sup>

Agydas asks Zenocrate how she could possibly love Tamburlaine who is

Onelie disposed to martiall Stratagems?  
Who when he shall embrace you in his armes,  
Will tell how many thousand men he slew, . . .<sup>8</sup>

And Tamburlaine tells Calyphas that if he wishes his father's love, he must, "loue the warres."<sup>9</sup>

The choleric man is a "grete wastour" and "inclinde to . . . prodigalitie." Tamburlaine declares:

Cookes shall haue pensions to prouide vs cates,  
And glut us with the dainties of the world.<sup>10</sup>

Tamburlaine's prodigality is also shown by his use of the greatest superlatives in describing Zenocrate. When she dies he says the stars have ceased to shine on earth for they must light her way to heaven.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41. There is nothing new in this conception of the choleric man, for Bartholomeus Anglicus (quoted *NED.* from Trevisa) states, "Colerik men been generally wrathful, in ye body longe & sk(1)endre & lene." The Harleian ms. 2251, 23b (Cf. notes to Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, *EETS.*, ex ser., LXVI, 104) has this anent the choleric man:

The coleryke man sotyl / and disceyvable  
Sklendre lene / and cytryne of coloure  
Wrothe sodainly / and hastily vengeable. . . .

Also see *Secreta Secretorum*, *EETS.*, ex. ser., LXXIV, 220.

<sup>7</sup> Part I, ll. 1497-1499.

<sup>8</sup> Part I, ll. 1026-1028.

<sup>9</sup> Part II, l. 2616.

<sup>10</sup> Part II, ll. 2788-2789.

<sup>11</sup> Part I, ll. 280-300, 1916-1940, 2288-2316; part II, l. 2986 ff.

Cardan avers that this humour prepares men to endure all manner of torments; Tamburlaine cuts his arm with a sword to show his sons that blood and wounds should not be feared.<sup>12</sup>

"The Chollericke is hasty," and "hastily vengeable." Tamburlaine will not permit his enemy to live an instant longer:

No, though *Asphaltis* lake were liquid gold,  
And offer'd me as ransome for thy life, . . .<sup>13</sup>

This humour makes one "with anger blinde." Callepine has incurred Tamburlaine's anger and is told,

. . . rip thy bowels, and rend out thy heart,  
T'appease my wrath, or els Ile torture thee,  
Searing thy hatefull flesh with burning yrons, . . .<sup>14</sup>

Choleric men "if they be moved" are "most violent, outrageous." Many instances of this occur in both parts of *Tamburlaine*. Tamburlaine, "the scourge of God," gives orders that the captive king be quickly disposed of:

Hang him vp in chaines vpon the citie walles,  
And let my souldiers shoot the slaue to death.<sup>15</sup>

Because the city of Babylon had offered some resistance to his army, Tamburlaine will permit none of the inhabitants to live:

*Techelles*, drowne them all, man, woman, and child,  
Leaue not a Babylonian in the towne.<sup>16</sup>

In part one, Tamburlaine has Bajazeth drawn around in a cage in order that he may use him for a foot-stool each time he mounts on the throne. Another illustration is found when Tamburlaine starves Bajazeth and Zabina while the royal party banquet in their presence, saying "How now *Zenocrate*, dooth not the Turke and his wife make a goodly shoue at a banquet?"<sup>17</sup>

Tamburlaine's fury is portrayed when he kills his cowardly son, Calyphas,<sup>18</sup> and when he forces the allied kings to draw his chariot:

Wel, bark ye dogs. Ile bridle al your tongues . . .  
And with the paines my rigour shall inflict,

<sup>12</sup> Part II, ll. 4266-4267.

<sup>13</sup> Part II, ll. 4266-4267.

<sup>14</sup> Part II, ll. 3623-3625.

<sup>15</sup> Part II, ll. 4220-4221.

<sup>16</sup> Part II, ll. 4281-4282.

<sup>17</sup> Part I, ll. 1696-1697.

<sup>18</sup> Part II, ll. 3765-3770.

He make ye roare, that earth may eccho forth,  
The far resounding torments ye sustaine.<sup>19</sup>

Cardan tells us that men of this complexion are prepared to endure death "with invincible courage." Tamburlaine evinces this characteristic while on his death-bed when he says he is the master of death:

See where my slaue, the vglie monster death  
Shaking and quiuering, pale and wan for feare,  
Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart. . . .<sup>20</sup>

All through his life Tamburlaine has exhibited this bold and adventurous spirit. When he is first gathering together his conquering horde, he fears that some of his tentative allies will prove treacherous:

But if they offer word or violence,  
Weele fight fūe hundred men at armes to one,  
Before we part with our possession.<sup>21</sup>

After he has won one of his first victories, he says he will wear his crown "Though *Mars* himselfe . . . conspire To dispossesse me."<sup>22</sup>

Tamburlaine's friends and enemies alike recognize him as a creature governed by his passions. Amyras, his son, says of him, "I would not bide the furie of my father."<sup>23</sup> Cosroe calls him "Barbarous and bloody *Tamburlaine*."<sup>24</sup> And Almeda, one of his followers, speaks of him as "he whose wrath is death."<sup>25</sup>

The "sotyl and disceyvable" qualities in Tamburlaine are especially illustrated by his treatment of the Damascan Virgins,<sup>26</sup> and of the Babylonian Burghers whom he has bound hand and foot and cast into the lake.<sup>27</sup>

Exemplifications of Tamburlaine's pride are legion. He calls himself "the Scourge and Wrath of God,"<sup>28</sup> and says he will burn city after city,

. . . til by vision, or by speach I heare  
Immortall *Ioue* say, Cease my *Tamburlaine*, . . .<sup>29</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Part II, ll. 3856-3861.

<sup>20</sup> Part II, ll. 4459-4461.

<sup>21</sup> Part I, ll. 338-340.

<sup>22</sup> Part I, ll. 909-911.

<sup>23</sup> Part II, l. 3718.

<sup>24</sup> Part I, l. 852.

<sup>25</sup> Part II, l. 2497.

<sup>26</sup> Part I, l. 1901 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Part II, ll. 4272-4273.

<sup>28</sup> Part I, l. 1142.

<sup>29</sup> Part II, ll. 3873-3875.

During his rise in the first part of the play, he feels he is above all law, saying

I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines,  
And with my hand turne Fortunes wheel about, . . . <sup>30</sup>

When he has ravished one of the conquered towns, he erects a pillar and has the following inscription placed on it:

*This towne being burnt by Tamburlaine the great,  
Forbids the world to build it vp againe.*<sup>31</sup>

There has been no attempt made to show that Marlowe had any particular book in his hand when he conceived the character which we have before us; that was unnecessary. The type of the choleric man was well known to all classes of people, and this is the type which Marlowe chose for his first powerful drama. Tamburlaine is an admirable portrait of a man in his own humour, and Marlowe has done full justice to the physiological and psychological authorities in his depiction of him.<sup>32</sup>

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### SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF GOLDING IN *VENUS* *AND ADONIS*

Of Shakespeare's later use of Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* there can be no doubt,<sup>1</sup> but there is sharp divergence of opinion concerning his indebtedness in *Venus and Adonis*.<sup>2</sup> The most systematic attempt to settle the question is that of Max Dürnhöfer in his *Shakespeares "Venus and Adonis" im Verhältnis zu Ovids Metamorphosen und Constables Schäfergesang*, cited as recently as in M. Feuillerat's (Yale) edition of the *Poems*. In

<sup>30</sup> Part I, ll. 369-372.

<sup>31</sup> Part II, ll. 3207-3208.

<sup>32</sup> The case of Hamlet is in an entirely different category from that of Tamburlaine. Hamlet is not a character which may be so summarily disposed of as to put him in a pigeon-hole labeled "melancholic." In *Tamburlaine*, however, the Elizabethan drama was still in an embryonic stage.

<sup>1</sup> See H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> George Wyndham, for instance ("Poems of Shakespeare," *Essays in Romantic Literature*, pp. 316, 317), is positive against Golding.

support of his theory that Shakespeare used the Latin original rather than the translation, Dürnhöfer gives five citations, none of which seems to me at all valid. His apparently strongest piece of evidence is based on a textual blunder. Since this mistake is doubtless responsible for the adoption of his views by other scholars, it seems worth while to offer a correction.

In *Met.*, x, 538, Ovid's Venus includes *lepores* among the animals she hunts with Adonis. This hint was picked up by Shakespeare and expanded into the vivid hare hunt which in *V. and A.* is the chief feature of the goddess's warning against the boar. Dürnhöfer gives Golding's translation as *harts*, and concludes that the absence of *hares* in Golding proves that Shakespeare made direct use of the Latin. Dürnhöfer states that he is quoting from the edition of 1593. I have examined the British Museum copy of that edition, as well as copies of eds. 1567 (the first ed., p. 131, *verso*) and 1603 (p. 127, *verso*). All read *Hares*, not *harts*. The following line of Dürnhöfer's quotation (p. 37) contains a more obvious error: "she cheerd the hounds with hallowing like a hunt, Pursuing game of hurtlesse sort, as harts made low before, Or stags with loftie *hands* or bucks." *Harts* for *hares* is an easy misprint, but stags with *hands* ought to have made the critic suspect his text (or his transcription) at once. All the copies I have seen read "heades."

Dürnhöfer's other citations are no more convincing. Three reduce themselves to questions of the translation of single words.

Ovid	facies	aduncis	inguine
Golding	countnance	hooked	codds
Shakespeare	face	crooked	groine

If we admit the influence of metrical and rhyming exigencies, there is no evidence for either side of the controversy here.

There remains the description of the boar. Dürnhöfer cites it against Golding, while Anders rightly takes the contrary view.

*Met.*, viii, 284-286:

Sanguine & igne micant oculi, riget horrida cervix:  
(Et setae densis similes hastilibus horrent)  
Stantque velut vallum, velut alta hastilia setae.

Golding, ed. 1567, p. 100, *verso*:

*His eies* did glister blud and fire: right dreadfull was to see  
*His braoned necke*, right dredful was his *haire* which grew as *thicke*



With pricking *points* as one of them could well by other stickes.  
 And like a front of *armed Pikes set* close in *battell* ray  
 The sturdie *bristles* on his *back* stodee staring vp alway.

V. and A., ll. 619-621, 625-627:

On his bow-*backe* he hath a *battell set*,  
 Of *brisly pikes*, that euer threat his foes,  
*His eyes*, like glow-wormes shine, when he doth fret. . . .  
 His *braunie sides*, with *hairie bristles armed*,  
 Are better prooffe than thy speares *point* can enter,  
 His short *thick necke* cannot be easily harmed.

There are too many verbal identities between Shakespeare and Golding to make it possible to accept Dürnhöfer's theory of the relation between the two poems. If not actually on his desk, Golding's translation must have been definitely in Shakespeare's mind when he composed his description of the boar. I am bound, however, to add that a reasonably careful search of both the Latin and the translation has found only relatively scanty sources for Shakespeare's imagery, which seems to be largely original and non-literary in this poem.

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## THE TAINÉ CENTENNIAL: COMMENT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Taine, as critic and as phrase-maker, continues to score. The Centennial celebrants, or detractors, have not forgotten the energetic statement that vice and virtue are products like vitriol and sugar, nor do they fail to quote the picturesquely pessimistic remark that man is a descendant only slightly modified of some gorilla fierce and lascivious (a blasphemy, says one, not only against universal suffrage but against Rousseau), nor do they tire of the *race, milieu, moment* formula. No doubt it was the disastrous success of his generalizations that made the critic express a wish that he had written for the understanding few in Latin. Yet to judge by the appreciation of certain of his doctrines, on the occasion of the Centennial, by writers whose classical training one may suppose to have been adequate, Latinity is not a guarantee of discrimination. The critic, it is clear, may still be quoted out of context in a manner at once authentic and misleading. It is also clear that the doc-

trines themselves continue to provoke, on the part of the ablest, lively and pertinent comment.

The Centennial was celebrated officially, in the presence of the President of the Republic, at the Sorbonne,<sup>1</sup> where the most notable addresses were given by Paul Hazard of the Collège de France and by Edouard Herriot, then Minister of Public Instruction, and where the only notable absence was that of a speaker for the French Academy. A second celebration took place at the birthplace of Taine, Vouziers, where the principal address was indeed delivered by an Academician, the nephew of the critic, M. Chevrillon. The *Journal des Débats*, with which the writer was so long associated, offered the tribute of a special issue. *Le Figaro* published an extensive supplement. Periodical criticism has been abundant.<sup>2</sup>

Whoever examines this material will realize anew the vitality of Taine's doctrine of determinism. Many of the estimates seem completely the product of the circumstances of the writers. Furthermore, a faith in the importance of *milieu* is at the basis of all the new attempts to interpret the critic by accumulating more *petits faits significatifs* about the person. And finally it is manifest again that one of the chief weaknesses of Taine may easily be put in terms of his own doctrine; he failed when he did not himself respect the importance of *milieu*.

Paul Bourget's new articles on Taine are a confirmation of his own state of mind. For him the critic remains an illustration of "cette grande loi de l'Étape"; for him *les Origines* represent the sentiments of all good Frenchmen in 1928; for him psychology is no more to be combined with physiology than physiology with chemistry. His attitude at this last point is analogous to that of Brunetière and the classicists; he is still for *la séparation des genres*; far be it from him to put man into nature. He finds Taine struck with admiration before the miracle of the Church, and he suggests with a gentle and quite unconscious tilting of the

<sup>1</sup> Under the auspices of the *Société des Amis de l'École Normale*.

<sup>2</sup> There have also appeared in France during the Centennial year three books on the critic (cf. Bibliography). The present writer reviews Giraud, *Taine, Études et Documents*, in *MLN*, April, 1929. Gibaudun offers a convenient enumeration of the *Idées Sociales de Taine*. Rosca's thesis on the influence of Hegel on Taine, published entirely without reference to the Centennial, is an illuminating study of the metaphysics of the two writers.

evidence that in the letter written to him about *le Disciple* Taine almost turned to orthodoxy.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. Saint-René Taillandier makes use of the critic to drive home a remark about church and state. M. Ballaguy in the *Revue Universelle* begins by asserting that Taine, as one of the glories of French scholarship and letters, may be attached to no group, but he devotes his article in part to an encomium of two churchmen whose connection with the author of *Graindorge* is that they were of the same class at the Ecole Normale, and in part to an attack upon the Revolutionary Spirit. Victor Giraud, in the *Correspondant*, is persuaded like Bourget that Taine advanced almost to the threshold of the temple. If one prefers to take *temple* in a strictly Protestant sense it is only necessary to read, in a periodical of different color, *la Vie Nouvelle*, of Taine's great sympathy for the Reformation and of the significance of his having entrusted the religious education of his children to a *pasteur*.<sup>4</sup>

In the *Revue de Paris* in an article by Thibaudet (which incidentally is one of the best of those on the Centennial) we leave theology for philosophy and are informed that Taine's weakness as a thinker is that he failed to realize the significance of intuition. In short, Taine is not of the school of Bergson. Similarly in *Candida* M. Lecomte's appraisal of the critic is affected by his conviction that in the last few years the real truth has been rediscovered; with Boutroux and Bergson modern philosophy has placed the spiritual life exactly where it belongs. A Schopenhauer specialist (Baillot) finds the works of Taine saturated with a philosophy with which, analysis of the records shows, the critic could not have had a long and intimate acquaintance. A journalist (Edouard Conte) quotes Renan on intellectual hospitality in order to add that Taine recognizes only one truth, his own, and in order to insist that the author of *les Origines* is in fact a charlatan; there is no such thing as an impartial man, says this writer at the beginning of his article, and proves his point.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bourget continues to misquote Shakespeare; he refers to the admonition from Polonius to Laertes in this wise: "le mot profond de Shakespeare: *The first of all, with yourself be true.*" (*Rddm.*, 15 mars 1928, p. 256.)

<sup>4</sup> Taine really represents the Huguenot tradition says Faber in *la Vie Nouvelle*, 4 mai 1928.

It is conceivable that Taine, who would have enjoyed studying the setting of all these partialities, would have read with some distress, in the *Revue de France*, an article which is meant to represent *les jeunes*. The author, M. Isay, generalizing indeed in the best Taine tradition, sees involved in the Centennial two different conceptions of the universe. Taine is related to two great tendencies of French thought. Particularly since the end of the eighteenth century there have been two main currents, one of them relativistic, positivistic, naturalistic, the other inclined towards metaphysical and religious dogmatism. For forty years Taine, inheriting the first of these traditions, seemed to be devoting himself to the noble endeavor to put man into nature. But he somehow failed; he lacked psychological finesse; his conception of the inner life is superficial (since Bergson is right). Isay's thesis amounts to this: Taine asked the right questions but did not have quite the wisdom nor quite the courage to give the right answers, he has not been altogether true to the intellectual trust, he is *le clerc qui a trahi*.<sup>5</sup> Not only Isay's generalizations are reminiscent of Taine, but also his conviction of being correct, which last is piquant since, concluding with a parallel of Taine and Renan, he pays tribute to the less convinced and far less downright of the great contemporaries:

Si l'on songe au rôle que Rome a joué dans l'histoire de la civilisation, si l'on se dit que les Romains n'ont guère été que les commis voyageurs de l'hellénisme et du christianisme, on comprend mieux la faiblesse foncière de Taine: entre son œuvre et celle de Renan il y a quelque chose de la distance qui sépare Racine ou Tite-Live de Platon, Moïse ou Jésus.

The Centennial shows how *milieu* affects commentators and it also shows, as has been suggested, how the continuing demand for immediate and revealing circumstances (Taine's *petits faits significatifs*) makes one still seek details about Taine, the person. Yet the fresh material is not copious. Picturesque and significant facts are provided by M. Saint-René Taillandier and by M. Chevrillon, members of the family; there is an intimate article concerning Taine's boyhood (Deschamps); there are a few new letters; several important juvenile papers are now first published.<sup>6</sup> But

<sup>5</sup> An allusion to the recent book by Julien Benda, *la Trahison des Clercs* (1927), the Treason of the Intellectuals.

<sup>6</sup> Chiefly by Giraud in *Etudes et Documents*.

Taine the man continues to be elusive, and voices are raised to regret (it seems not possible to know on what authority) that important letters are still kept from the public.

At this point M. Bourget, faithful to the expressed desires of Taine himself and of his family, but less faithful perhaps to the Taine doctrine of criticism, argues that one should not insist. We have already, says he, the information Taine wants us to have (in the *Vie et Correspondance*); we must not be indiscreet; we must not subject the reticent gentleman to that Anglo-Saxon horror, "une interview, si brutale et si peu conforme à la vieille courtoisie française." M. Bourget surprises us by proceeding to state that according to Taine the real nature of a writer is revealed in his books and the testimony of the printed page is enough. He has forgotten how explicitly the critic insisted that to study the document in insolation is to slip into "une illusion de bibliothèque," and how definitely Taine wished the man back of the document to become "distinct et complet comme celui que tout à l'heure nous avons quitté dans la rue."<sup>7</sup> M. Bourget and the family of Taine are unwilling that we should have a sidewalk acquaintance with the critic, and with this attitude which so clearly represents Taine's own wishes we can in a sense have no quarrel. But it is none the less true that the critic did not consider the *témoignage des livres*, in the case of others, enough. If he will not apply to himself his own doctrine we can only be interested in the refusal as an evidence of the man. With all respect for Taine's shyness we return to Isay's idea that the writer stood at the parting of the ways and refused to take an entirely definite course. It may be that his own reputation will suffer from this inconsistency and this reticence. Such is the suggestion to M. Thibaudet; since the biographical details have in so many cases been refused, the man loses reality.

M. Thibaudet may be right in a deeper sense. If Taine leaves us a little cold it is perhaps not only that we have been denied opportunity to come into direct contact with the vitality of the man, but that we suspect that he in turn sometimes lacked direct contact

<sup>7</sup> *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, p. v. Much more correct than M. Bourget is M. Lévy-Bruhl, who remarks at the Sorbonne celebration that Taine "veut qu'on se représente l'homme avec sa physiologie, sa taille, la couleur de ses yeux et de ses cheveux, ses vêtements, ses gestes accoutumés, ses singularités physiques et morales, ses croyances, en un mot tout ce qui constitue sa personne visible et invisible."

with the vitality of the civilization he wished to appraise. He once objected that Sixte, in Bourget's *Disciple*, is no true scientist since he never became specific, did not handle materials in a laboratory, did not experience the reality of social relations, remained a recluse. "Il a suivi des cours, et il a lu des livres, rien de plus."<sup>8</sup> It is startling to find that elsewhere Taine himself, disgusted with human relations, cries out: "J'ai besoin d'être avec mes livres qui ne m'ennuient pas."<sup>9</sup> The game of quoting authors against themselves may easily become puerile. But we have too much evidence that Taine is sure his books do not lie, that he fancied he could find not only peace but the truth in isolation. The Centennial articles emphasize what Taine himself spoke of as his tendency to *faire l'ours*. We are reminded that at the Ecole Normale he put cotton into his ears and a green shade over his eyes to separate himself from the outside world, we are told again that he scorned human evidence, that he was a pure intellectual. In *Graindorge* "il a retracé de bonne foi le tableau d'un monde qui était dans son propre esprit . . . un monde un peu ingénu, tel que pouvait l'inventer un demiurge à l'âme pure."<sup>10</sup> Herriot echoes this sentiment in his speech at the Sorbonne: "il a manqué à cette magnifique intelligence, à cet homme de cabinet, l'épreuve de l'action . . . M. Taine ne fut même pas Ministre de l'Instruction Publique." Taine remarked to Saint-René Taillandier in a discussion of universal suffrage:

Vous me dites qu'on ne peut pas y toucher sous peine de jeter le pays en des convulsions. Peut-être avez-vous raison; mais c'est votre affaire et non la mienne.

In a letter recently published he wrote:

Je suis un reclus, une espèce de castor intellectuel de l'île Saint-Louis, habitué et contraint à la vie solitaire et sédentaire.<sup>11</sup>

Was he sufficiently aware in fact of all the vital circumstances which to him in theory were of prime importance? It remains a tribute if Taine's limitations are so evident to the present generation because it is persuaded of the excellence of his own doctrine.

<sup>8</sup> *Vie et Correspondance*, iv, 290.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, iv, 66.

<sup>10</sup> M. Bidou in *Débats*, 21 avril 1928.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *le Figaro*, 21 avril 1928, *Quelques Lettres Retrouvées*. This particular letter has as a matter of fact already been published by Loliée in *La Païva*, Paris, 1920.

What is the final estimate in 1928? A thousand reservations as to his ideas, says Lasserre, who at the same time insists, as do many others, upon the "royal honesty" of the man. The *RLC* suggests that his principles of literary criticism are out of date. M. Thibaudet would agree,<sup>12</sup> but he considers certain of his books likely to keep their place of honor: *les Essais de Critique*, *les Carnets de Voyage*, *la Correspondance*, *Graindorge*, *les Origines*. Paul Souday reads *l'Ancien Régime* with rapture; M. Gaxotte considers it the weakest volume. And so the balance swings. There is an interest of actuality in the testimony of André Maurois as to the continued authenticity of Taine's observations about England.

In so far as one may speak of a consensus of opinion, it is this (in the sober language of M. Lévy-Bruhl: "Son œuvre a pu être dépassée; mais l'impulsion qu'il a donnée se fait encore sentir, la voie qu'il a indiquée était la bonne."<sup>13</sup> And as to the repercussions of the Taine doctrine, M. Lombard remarks in one of the most unbiased and keen of the Centennial articles:

Son influence est partout. Nous la retrouvons . . . dans nos méthodes de travail, dans nos idées générales, mais aussi dans nos imaginations; elle est dans la façon dont s'ordonne pour nous l'ensemble des faits humains, dans la vision colorée et mouvante où nous invoquons la série indéfinie des siècles et les aspects changeants de notre terre.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Revue de Paris*, 15 avril 1928, p. 763.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Temps*, 25 mai 1928.

<sup>14</sup> Even in the United States the *impulsion donnée* may be noted today. Wittingly or not, Mr. Lewis Mumford and the Beards and even Mr. Mencken write of American civilization in accordance with the Taine principles. In the *Saturday Review* (Sept. 18, 1926) Mr. Canby writes with enthusiasm of a doctrine of criticism which he credits to Spengler, although it may well be either pure Taine or Taine inspired by Hegel.

<sup>15</sup> All of the works mentioned appeared in 1928. Unimportant newspaper articles have been omitted.

<sup>16</sup> Articles by Bourget, Lods, "Lancelot," Giraud, Marsan, Patin, Vaudoyer, Gaxotte, Dupouy, Levaillant, Gibaudun, Monda.

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<sup>17</sup> The full text of all the speeches (François-Poncet, Bouglé, Lévy-Bruhl, Hazard, Herriot).

<sup>18</sup> Also published by Giraud in *Etudes et Documents*.

<sup>19</sup> A republication with slight revisions of the two articles which appeared in *Le Lien*.

<sup>20</sup> Articles by de Quirielle, Bellessort, Giraud, Bidou, Aynard, Rocheblave, Narsy and an unedited letter from Taine to Nefftzer. Published also in the form of a pamphlet by *Débats*.

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### THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF *CANDIDE*, AND VOLTAIRE'S CORRECTIONS

Preserved in the Voltaire collection in the public library at Leningrad is a MS. entitled:

Notes et remarques de Wagnière avec les corrections et additions faites par M. de Voltaire, pour être mises dans ses oeuvres, et qui ne se trouvent dans aucune des collections, en attendant la suite. *N.B.* On s'est servi de l'édition de Kehl par Beaumarchais, et d'un exemplaire qui a échappé au feu.<sup>1</sup>

Many of Wagnière's notes and remarks contain valuable bibliographical information, while many of Voltaire's corrections have not yet found their place in his printed works. Wagnière wrote these notes at the instigation of Catherine II in copies of the Kehl edition which were passed on to him immediately upon publication by Baron Grimm.<sup>2</sup> The latter explained to him that the expense and trouble of sending the annotated volumes to Catherine

<sup>22</sup> M. Van Tieghem has indicated this article to me as in press, but not yet published (January, 1929). Notes on the Centennial have appeared in *Mercure de France*, 15 mai; *Chroniques des Lettres françaises*, mai-juin; *RHL.*, avril-juin, juillet-sept.; *RLC.*, juillet-sept.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque de Voltaire, Armoire 4, no. 247. This MS. appears to have escaped the notice of F. Caussy in his *Inventaire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Voltaire* (Paris, 1913).

<sup>2</sup> See Paul Bonnefon, "Une correspondance inédite de Grimm avec Wagnière," *RHL.*, III (1896), 528, 529.

would be too great; whereupon Wagnière set down the notes and corrections with volume, page, and line references in the MS. described above, and sent them through Grimm to his benefactress.<sup>3</sup>

The notes for "Tome 42. Romans."<sup>4</sup> contain the following information concerning *Candide*:

Page 223. *Candide fut imprimé en 1759, composé en 1758. La première copie que j'en fis fut en juillet 1758, à Schweitzingen pour S. A. E. Mgr. l'Electeur Palatin.*

Page 252, ligné 7. *du Pape urbain 10* (note de l'auteur même): Voiez l'extrême discrétion de l'auteur! Il n'y eut, jusqu'à présent, aucun Pape nommé urbain dix. Il craint de donner une batarde à un pape connu. O la circonspection! ô la délicatesse de conscience!

Page 327, ligne 23. *ce simple particulier qui est en état de donner cent fois autant que chacun de nous, et qui le donne?* Corrigez ainsi: cet homme qui est en état de donner cent fois autant que chacun de nous, et qui le donne?—Etes-vous roi aussi, monsieur?—Non, messieurs, et n'en ai nulle envie.

Page 328, ligne 24. *C'est une bagatelle qui ne mérite pas notre attention.* Corrigez: C'est une chose qui ne mérite pas notre attention. Qu'importe avec qui l'on soupe pourvu qu'on fasse bonne chère?

Professor Morize, in his critical edition of *Candide*, weighing carefully the evidence from anecdote and correspondence, set the date of composition between the month of July and the first days of December, 1758, while leaning toward the earlier date.<sup>5</sup> This date Wagnière's note here definitely establishes. Formey appears therefore to have been right in stating that Voltaire, at Schwetzingen, "mit tout son art à se rendre agréable à l'électeur, et, entre autres choses, il commença la composition de *Candide*, dont il lisait les chapitres à ce prince à mesure qu'ils étaient faits," but entirely wrong in adding that Voltaire left the court unceremoniously before the completion of the work.<sup>6</sup> It would seem again

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 530.

<sup>4</sup> The volume numbering of the first issue was incorrect; read "Tome 44." See Bengesco, *Voltaire: Bibliographie de ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1882-1890), IV, 130, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> A. Morize, *Candide* (Paris, 1913), pp. viii-x. Professor Morize is mistaken, however, in inferring that Desnoiresterres did not believe the work to have been begun at Schwetzingen. The latter writes: "Quant à *Candide*, nous ne nous opposons point à ce qu'il ait été commencé à Schwetzingen" (*Voltaire aux Délices*, p. 293).

<sup>6</sup> Formey, *Souvenirs d'un citoyen* (Berlin, 1789), II, 230-1; cited by Morize (*loc. cit.*) and at length by Desnoiresterres (*op. cit.*, pp. 291-2).

that we must abandon the anecdote which relates that *Candide* was composed in three days spent by Voltaire in absolute seclusion and that the intruding Mme Denis received the manuscript in the face with the words: "Tenez, curieuse, voilà pour vous." For Voltaire, when he went to pay court to Prince Charles Theodore, left his nieces behind him to amuse themselves "aux Délices."<sup>7</sup> It is enough for those who have pointed out the easy, spontaneous, unlabored composition of *Candide* that Voltaire wrote it away from his books and during a brief visit of about two weeks at Schwetzingen.

The note on Pope Urban X came to Beuchot through Decroix, literary director of the Kehl edition, and has since been included in Voltaire's collected works. The two corrections are also found very generally in editions that have followed Beuchot's text, from the Armand-Aubrée edition, begun in 1829, to the Moland edition,<sup>8</sup> and must have come through the same channel. Since they did not appear in Kehl or in any of the preceding editions, Professor Morize naturally did not consider them in the preparation of his critical text. They are distinct improvements on the original text, however, and we have Wagnière's word that they were made by Voltaire himself.<sup>9</sup>

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## L'IMAGE DU NAVIRE CHEZ BAUDELAIRE

Tout lecteur des *Fleurs du Mal* et des *Poèmes en Prose* a dû être frappé par le retour obstiné d'une image qui semble avoir hanté l'esprit du poète: l'image d'un navire qui dans le port faible-

<sup>7</sup> Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> 1829 edition, xxxvi, 189(a), 251, 252; Moland edition, xxi, 157(1), 208, 209.

<sup>9</sup> Wagnière was disappointed that his collaboration on the Kehl edition was disdained. He was in touch, however, with Decroix. (Paul Bonnefon, *op. cit.*, III, 523, 531). The information he gave to Decroix was incomplete, as corrections in *Micromégas* and other works were not thus passed on. Beuchot states that he was able to track down the leads given him by Decroix, with one exception (Bengesco, *op. cit.*, IV, 180). It seems probable that the one exception was this manuscript by Wagnière.

ment se balance, ou qui s'éloigne et glisse lentement, fuyante vision de voiles et de mâts, accompagnée par le chant des matelots.<sup>1</sup> Nous voudrions ici, en rassemblant certains textes, jeter quelque lumière sur ce thème qui a inspiré à Baudelaire plusieurs de ses plus beaux vers.

La source première de cette image a pu être le spectacle d'un navire aperçu au cours du célèbre voyage de jeunesse de Baudelaire, ou plus probablement encore, la contemplation d'un tableau français du xvii<sup>e</sup> ou du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'un Cl. Lorrain ou d'un Watteau, où l'on voit ces vaisseaux à la voilure compliquée attendant au port l'heure de l'embarquement. Mais l'image, en séjournant dans l'esprit du poète, et comme caressée amoureusement par ses rêves, s'est très vite éloignée de toute réalité, et est devenue pour Baudelaire le symbole de tout ce qui lui était cher.

Nous trouvons d'abord cette vision, le plus souvent à peine suggérée, dans plusieurs des pièces inspirées par Jeanne Duval. La longue chevelure crépue de sa maîtresse apparaît à Baudelaire comme un vaste océan, dont le parfum suscite en lui sa vision favorite :

Tu contiens, mer d'ébène, un éblouissant rêve  
De voiles, de rameurs, de flammes et de mâts.<sup>2</sup>

Puis c'est la démarche de la négresse, et bientôt même la démarche de la femme en général, que va symboliser pour lui ce navire de ses rêves. A plusieurs reprises,<sup>3</sup> le poète a trouvé les vers les plus grandioses pour évoquer cette allure rythmée et balancée de la femme, et surtout dans la strophe célèbre qui est le joyau du *Beau Navire* :

Quand tu vas balayant l'air de ta jupe large,  
Tu fais l'effet d'un beau vaisseau qui prend le large,  
Chargée de toile, et va roulant  
Suivant un rythme doux, et paresseux, et lent.

On peut saisir ici la mystérieuse analogie que Baudelaire a perçue entre la femme qui s'avance et le navire qui glisse sur les eaux.

<sup>1</sup> Par exemple dans *Parfum Érotique* et *La Chevelure*. (*Les Fleurs du Mal*, éd. Conard, xxii et xxiii) et *Un Hémisphère dans une Chevelure* (*Poèmes en Prose*, xvii).

<sup>2</sup> *La Chevelure* (*Fleurs du Mal*, xxiii).

<sup>3</sup> Par exemple dans *Un Serpent qui Danse*, strophe 7 (*Fleurs de Mal*, xxviii).

Le balancement dandiné de la femme qui passe, droite et fière, semblant mépriser tout ce qui l'entoure, lui rappelait la fuite de ces grands vaisseaux surmontés de mâts et de vergues. Les voiles du navire, le poète les retrouve même dans les jupes longues et majestueuses que ses contemporaines soulevaient en marchant, accentuant ainsi le rythme de leur allure.<sup>4</sup> Enfin, dans le glissement rythmé et doux du navire comme de la femme, Baudelaire goûtait cette harmonie qui gouverne tout un vaste ensemble, un mouvement savant, sûr et maître de lui, qu'il aimait à retrouver dans tout ce qui le charmait, et dans lequel nous voudrions voir le symbole même de l'art baudelairien.

Un aussi lucide analyste que Baudelaire n'était d'ailleurs pas homme à rêver à cette image sans s'efforcer de lui trouver un sens profond. Il a livré le résultat de ses réflexions ça et là dans les *Poèmes en Prose*,<sup>5</sup> et surtout dans un très curieux fragment des *Fusées*, où l'on croirait lire un géomètre résolvant un problème :<sup>6</sup>

Je crois que le charme infini et mystérieux qui gît dans la contemplation d'un navire, et surtout d'un navire en mouvement, tient, dans le premier cas à la régularité et à la symétrie, qui sont un des besoins primordiaux de l'esprit humain, au même degré que la complication et l'harmonie; et dans le second cas, à la multiplication successive et à la génération de toutes les courbes et figures imaginaires opérées dans l'espace par les éléments réels de l'objet. . . .

"Ce navire, c'est la poésie de Baudelaire," a déjà dit G. de Reynold;<sup>7</sup> et en effet cette image a sans cesse hanté l'imagination de Baudelaire, parce qu'il y a trouvé, par une série d'analogies intuitivement perçues, puis analysées par sa perçante réflexion, le symbole de la femme selon ses rêves, et son idéal artistique. Baudelaire a souvent insisté sur l'importance de la régularité et de la symétrie dans l'oeuvre d'art, et voilà d'abord ce qui le frappe dans un navire où tout est calculé en vue d'un mystérieux équilibre. Mais cette régularité et cette symétrie sont obtenues malgré, ou par, la complication infinie des diverses parties, en particulier

<sup>4</sup> *A une Passante*. (*Fleurs du Mal*, ciii).

Une femme passa, d'une main fastueuse  
Soulevant, balançant le feston et l'ourlet.

<sup>5</sup> *Un Hémisphère dans une Chevelure*, xvii, et *Le Port*, xli.

<sup>6</sup> *Oeuvres Posthumes*, éd. E. Crepet, Quartin, 1887, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> G. de Reynold, *Ch. Baudelaire*. (Crès, 1920), p. 352.

de la mâturation et de la voilure; les lignes même de ces mâts et de ces voiles évoquent les courbes qu'elles vont décrire dans l'espace; c'est là l'élément de surprise, de condensation suggestive, que Baudelaire a toujours eu soin d'ajouter à celui de régularité et qui devait ensuite, avec les symbolistes, connaître une si brillante fortune. Et, saisissant pour ainsi dire sur le fait le développement de l'image en symbole, nous voyons la marche rythmée et savamment gouvernée de ce navire devenir la courbe même de la poésie baudelairienne; dans la magnifique ouverture du sonnet xxxix, la même vision revient pour évoquer cette fois la gloire de son livre voguant sur l'océan des âges futurs:

Je te donne ces vers afin que si mon nom  
 Aborde heureusement aux époques lointaines,  
 Et fait rêver un soir les cervelles humaines,  
*Vaisseau favorisé par un grand aiglon. . . .*<sup>8</sup>

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#### WHO WROTE THE *EPITAPHE DE CROMWELL*?

A rather striking example of the attribution of a poem to several authors,<sup>1</sup> is furnished by the *Épithaphe de Cromwell*, which because of its republican tendencies, enjoyed a vogue in the eighteenth century, and is frequently found in the commonplace books of that period:

<sup>8</sup> Il resterait à indiquer la fortune de cette image du navire après Baudelaire. On le retrouvera, pour ne mentionner que les deux successeurs les plus directs de notre poète, chez Mallarmé (*Brise Marine*), non plus voilier, mais steamer, balançant encore sa mâturation et retentissant du "chant des matelots"; et il est dans *L'Euphémisme* de P. Valéry (p. 109-110) une admirable page sur les ports, "ces nobles établissements à deminaturels," avec "la présence de l'horizon pur, la naissance et l'effacement d'une voile, l'émotion du détachement de la terre, le commencement des périls, le seuil étincelant des contrées inconnues," dont les historiens littéraires de l'avenir n'auront sans doute point de peine à retrouver la source dans notre thème baudelairien.

<sup>1</sup> For other examples, see my article, "Poems erroneously attributed to Chapelain, Corneille, J. B. Rousseau, La Fontaine, etc.," *Neo-Philologist*, November, 1925.

Ci-git le destructeur d'un pouvoir légitime,  
 Jusques au dernier jour favorisé des cieux,  
     Dont les vertus méritoient mieux  
 Que le trône acquis par le crime.  
 Par quel destin faut-il, par quelle loi,  
 Qu'à tous ceux qui sont nés pour porter la couronne,  
     Ce soit l'usurpateur qui donne  
 L'exemple des vertus que doit avoir un Roi?

The date of this epitaph is 1658, the year of Cromwell's death. The epigram was ascribed to Pavillon in the *Porte-feuille d'un homme de goût ou l'esprit de nos meilleurs poètes* (edition of 1770, I, 90), but this is no proof that it is by him, since even the best edition of E. Pavillon (Amsterdam, 1750, 2 vol.), issued by Le Fèvre de Saint-Marc, contains poems by several other authors.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is found, unsigned, in Voltaire's *Sottisier* and in several eighteenth century manuscripts. It appears unchanged, but with the title of the *Épitaphe du Prince d'Orange* (William III, died 1702), in the *Œuvres* of the Abbé Regnier-Desmarais (1707, p. 82), and with his signature in Sautereau de Marsy's collection, *Le nouveau Siècle de Louis XIV* (edition of 1804, III, 90).

But it is also found among the poems of the Marquis de La Fare, in MS. 15029 F. F. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and it is explicitly attributed to this friend of de Chaulieu by a manuscript, *Recueil de plusieurs Piesse* [*sic*], of about 1734, in my possession (p. 452).

The authorship of this epigram, which appeared under two different titles is, therefore, uncertain, and it is safe to classify it among the imposing number of doubtful ascriptions of seventeenth and eighteenth century poetry.

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## HEINE AND WIELAND

It is surprising that the literary historian can entirely ignore the possible influence of Wieland on Heine. Max J. Wolff in the last full biography of Heine makes absolutely no reference to the

<sup>2</sup> See Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des Recueils Collectifs*, III, 468, and IV, 165.

possibility of any such influence.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the literary historian has been too conscious of Heine's technical excellence to connect him with a predecessor of Wieland's technical deficiencies. Also, it appears likely that the emphasis laid on the connection between Byron and Heine has obscured an equally existent connection between Wieland and Heine. It is the object of this paper to suggest that there are sufficient grounds to warrant an investigation of the whole subject.

If the customary value be placed upon literary parallels, surely it cannot be denied that *Atta Troll*, Kaput III, owes something to *Oberon*? Here are Wieland's opening lines:

Noch einmal sattelt mir den Hippogryphen, ihr Musen  
Zum Ritt ins alte, romantische Land!  
Wie lieblich um meinen entfesselten Busen  
Der holde Wahnsinn spielt! Wer schlang das magische Band  
Um meine Stirn? Wer treibt von meinen Augen den Nebel,  
Der auf der Vorwelt Wundern liegt?

And this is Heine:

Traum der Sommernacht! Phantastisch  
Zwecklos ist mein Lied. Ja, zwecklos  
Wie die Liebe, wie das Leben,  
Wie der Schöpfer samt der Schöpfung!

Nur der eignen Lust gehorchend,  
Galoppierend oder fliegend,  
Tummelt sich im Fabelreiche  
Mein geliebter Pegasus.

Jede Blindheit weicht! Mein Blick  
Dringt bis in die tiefste Steinkluft,  
In die Höhle Atta Trolls—  
Ich verstehe seine Reden!

Both poets are attracted and re-attracted by tales of magic and by the magic of the old tales, but their use of the magical can be understood only from a sophisticated standpoint. Both present a mingling of the romantic and the sceptic, picturing wonders to their own and their readers' delight, but with their tongues in their cheeks. Can this similarity of attitude and approach to the subject matter be quite fortuitous? Is there not sufficient in it to make one feel that Heine had not merely read and enjoyed Wieland's verse

<sup>1</sup> Max J. Wolff, *Heinrich Heine*, 1922.



romances, but had learnt from them also? Perhaps admirers of Heine have been so engaged in laying stress on his development of suppleness, lightness and pointedness in the German language, that they have overlooked the work done by Wieland at his best exactly in this direction. Perhaps the orthodox view that Wieland had no literary descendants of note makes this oversight more intelligible. Yet among the tales in verse which lead up to *Oberon* there is one, *Das Sommermärchen*, the tone of which must have made a real appeal to Heine. If, again, Heine talks in the *Vorrede* to *Atta Troll* of "die Parodie eines freiligrathschen Gedichtes," Wieland's treatment of the tales of chivalry is certainly not respectful.

The reader finds in *Das Sommermärchen* something characteristic of Heine, the use of foreign words, often in rime, to mark the banter and irony in which both poets delight. The anthologies eschew Wieland. Were it not so, something of what appears to many as a revelation in Heine might achieve a truer perspective. A few examples are adduced.

1. 288 ff.      Er war im Fliehn,  
Da kamen grosse Haufen  
Von Löwen gegen ihn  
Mit offnem Schlund gelaufen.  
Der arme Herr  
Testiert *mentaliter*.
1. 488 ff.      Doch, übern Themsefluss  
Auf einem Draht  
Zu traben,  
Und das—*pardonnez-moi*,  
Um einen Kuss,  
Das sollte sich  
Der grosse Mithridat,  
*Ma foi*,  
Verbeten haben  
So gut als ich.
1. 1033 ff.      Dem Ritter rät nach solcher Motion  
Sein leerer Magen,  
Die Invitation  
Nicht auszuschlagen.

Not only *Oberon*, not only *Das Sommermärchen* could give Heine examples of the conscious imitation of medieval naïveté which, too, he could appreciate. This conscious imitation is itself,

and very intelligibly, responsible for some of the charges of offending against good taste, which have been brought against both poets. Both enjoy introducing into their work scraps of information culled from many fields, a characteristic itself suggestive of that mental activity and quickness they cannot be denied. Both lack power to sustain a satiric approach.

One might well doubt if Heine read much of *Aristipp*, not to say of *Agathon*; but it can hardly be mere fancy to find in his writings something of the spirit of *Die Abderiten*.<sup>2</sup> Certainly Heine writes disparagingly of Wieland, ostensibly putting him in the same category as Iffland and August Lafontaine. "Wieland war der damalige grosse Dichter, mit dem es etwa nur Herr Odendichter Ramler zu Berlin in der Poesie aufnehmen konnte. Abgöttisch wurde Wieland verehrt, mehr als jemals Goethe."<sup>3</sup> No student of Heine, however, will believe that this necessarily reveals his true attitude. Much rather one might recall the fact, which other views of him have forced definitely into the background, that Wieland, in common with Heine, liked to consider himself a social and political critic and herald. The mocking tone is largely due to the lack of any ultimate personal conviction. If Wieland has genuine roots in a comfortable hedonism, Heine can lay claim at times to a greater honesty of opinion, for it comes from a greater depth of feeling. Neither on the one side, nor on the other, however, is there anything to prevent the conclusion that both writers are more characterised by wit, than by moral principle, or yet moral indignation. This recognition of an affinity in the spirit can be held to emphasise the call for an examination of the literary relationship.

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*uf gakunpai* (Luc. III, 23)

Nach Streitberg<sup>1</sup> überträgt die Wortgruppe *uf gakunpai* (Luc. III, 23) das Griechische ἀρχόμενος "unklarer Weise." Dieses ἀρχόμενος wird aber in der Anmerkung zur Lucas-Stelle nach Bern-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sarcastic reference to "die abderitische Partei in Deutschland," *Vorrede zur Vorrede, Französische Zustände*.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Romantische Schule, Erstes Buch*.

<sup>1</sup> *Got. Bibel* <sup>2</sup> (1928), S. 44.

hardt als Passiv von ἀρχω aufgefasst und mit "unter Gehorsam" übersetzt. Der gr. Text ist doch jedem unbefangenen Leser taghell. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος: Und Jesus selber war gleichsam beim Beginn der dreissiger Jahre, oder "Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta," wie es in der Vulgata heisst.

Wenn also *uf gakunþai* etwa den Sinn "beim Beginn," oder "am Anfang" haben soll, so müsste die Form *gakunþs\** ein Verbalabstraktum mit dem *-ti* Suffix sein und sich auf ein Verbum beziehen, welches eine Bedeutung wie "beginnen" oder "anfangen" in sich enthält. Ein passendes Verbum lässt sich aber im Gotischen nicht nachweisen. Phonetisch genaue Entsprechungen des got. *gakunþs\** finden sich aber in dem ahd. *kikunt* = *natura*, und in dem ae. *gecynd* = *Natur, Art*. Die ältere Bedeutung des lat. *natura* ist wohl "Geburt": das ae. Adjektiv *gecynde* (*Beow.* 2197, 2696) bedeutet "angeboren." Deshalb wäre es möglich, für das got. *gakunþs\** die ursprüngliche Bedeutung "Geburt" vorzusetzen. Da aber das Gotische auch schon *gabaurþs* kennt, wird man dem Worte *gakunþs\** diese Bedeutung wohl absprechen müssen. Man wird aber das got. *gakunþs\** auf die idg. Wurzel *ǵen*: *ǵn̥* zurückführen und für das got. Abstraktum eine Bedeutung wie "Zustand des Werdens" (gr. γίγνομαι) vorschlagen dürfen. Auf Naturerscheinungen bezogen würde diese Bedeutung leicht in die von "Eintreten" übergehen. Got. *uf* übersetzt das griechische ἐνός, welches räumlich oft den Sinn *vor, an* hat und welches, auf die Zeit übertragen, die Bedeutung *gegen* hat. *uf gakunþai* würde demgemäss also "gegen Eintreten," d. h. "am Anfang" heissen, und das ist doch die Bedeutung, welche die Lucas-Stelle fordert.

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## BYCORNE-BYGORNE, HUSBAND OF CHICHEVACHE

In the prefatory remarks to her edition of Lydgate's 'Bycorne and Chichevache,'<sup>1</sup> Miss Hammond says of Bycorne, 'The two names were originally Bigorne and Chi(n)chefache; and their coupling and contrast is a late medieval arrangement. The for-

<sup>1</sup> *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Duke University Press, 1927), pp. 113-8.

mer word has not yet been explained etymologically, and is rare' . . . 'For Bicorné or Bigorne there is much less to be said. Perhaps the change of *g* to *c*, giving the word the apparent meaning of "two-horned," followed the transmutation of Chichevache into a cow and the connection of the two beasts . . . The true French word *bigorne* meant either an iron-shod staff, or "argot," according to Godefroy; the transference to signify a beast of folk-lore is not yet explained.'

If it be not ungracious to single out an error in so admirable a volume and so welcome an edition of Lydgate's poem, I should like to note, first that the etymological relationship is just the reverse of that given by Miss Hammond, *bigorne* being derived from Latin *bicornis*; and secondly, that the meaning of 'fantastic animal' for *bigorne* is so well attested in modern French dialects that there can be hardly any doubt of its antiquity.

The etymological dictionaries of the Romance languages agree in deriving French *bigorne*, and the related words in other Romance tongues (Ital. *bigornia*, Prov. *bigorno*, Span. *bigornia*) from Latin *bicornis* or a derivative *bicornia*.<sup>2</sup> The only reason for Miss Hammond's statement that the name Bicorné was originally Bigorne, seems to be the fact that in similar French poems (of the sixteenth century, however) the name is Bigorne. Though for the most part Vulgar Latin intervocal *c* disappears in Old French, the voicing to *g* has many parallels (cf. *dragon* < *dracōnem*, *aigu* < *acutum* and Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, 145 Anm.). *Bicorné*, however, persisted as a learned form beside *bigorne*, and forms with *c* and *g* are found side by side in a great variety of meanings in modern French dialects: 'iron instrument with two teeth,' 'branching top of a tree,' 'a kind of turbot,' 'an insect,' etc., all deriving from the original

<sup>2</sup> Körting, *Lateinische-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, 3d ed., 1369; Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1084 (cf. Jud in Herrig's *Archiv* 127. 428); Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922—), pp. 352-3; Hatzfeld-Darmsteter, s. v. *bigorne*. These authorities assume (because of the retention of the medial guttural) that the Northern French form is borrowed from some other Romance dialect. Since Miss Hammond mentions the curious meaning 'argot' for *bigorne*, it may be worth noting that this is explained in Sainéan, *Les Sources de l'Argot Ancien* (Paris, 1912), ii, 288, and Wartburg, p. 353.

meaning 'two-horned.'<sup>3</sup> Even in Latin *bicornis* was applied figuratively to 'a two-pronged instrument for cutting weeds.'<sup>4</sup>

Various dialects of Poitou and Saintonge have *bigorne* or *bigourne* meaning 'fantastic animal,' or 'two-horned loup-garou.' Lalanne cites *bigourne*, 'animal fantastique que l'on suppose se rendre au sabbat,' as common in Vienne, arrondissements of Châtelleraud and Poitiers.<sup>5</sup> Favre defines *bigourne* as 'Loup-garou, dont la tête porte deux cornes,' and cites a sentence in Poitevin: 'I ai gron pau (j'ai grand peur) do bigourgn,' do gali-pot' ai de la chasgalri.'<sup>6</sup> Finally, Réveillaud, in an article on the *bigornes* or *bigournes*, discusses these two-horned monsters into which sorcerers transform themselves at the time of the new moon: 'courir la bigourne' is to take part in the 'Witches' Sabbath.'

It is plain that the proper name Bygorne of Lydgate's poem derives from this meaning of the common noun ('animal fantastique') prevalent in modern dialects, and presumably current in Old French, despite the lack of early instances of the word in this meaning. Hence *bigorne* and *bicorne* are etymologically identical, and there can be little doubt that a mediaeval writer with a knowledge of Latin might have easily recognized this identity from the various meanings of the words that preserve the idea of something with two horns. Etymology does not, of course, wholly solve the problem. It is still not easy to say whether the comic, bovine Bicorne of Nigel Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum* (mentioned by Miss Hammond) and Lydgate's poem, is the ancestor or descendant of the more terrifying animal that frightens the French peasant. It is possible that the comic aspect of the animal may be the result of the natural attitude of sophisticated writers toward a creature that peasant superstition viewed more seriously. If Bicorne, husband of Chichevache, is the descendant of the monster, he has gone through exactly the same transformation from monster to cow that was suffered by Chichevache herself.

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<sup>3</sup> Wartburg, pp. 352-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>5</sup> *Glossaire du Patois Poitevin*, p. 45: in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 22 (1867).

<sup>6</sup> *Glossaire du Poitou, de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* (Niort, 1867), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Réveillaud's article, *Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis* 22. 33, which I have not seen, is summarized by Urtel, Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht* 11. 1. 228-9.

“CAR LE GÉANT EST PRIS . . .” *HERNANI*, 1911.

In the last act of *Hernani* the former bandit exclaims to his bride:

Mon âme

Brûle. Eh! dis au volcan qu'il étouffe sa flamme,  
Le volcan fermera ses gouffres entr'ouverts,  
Et n'aura sur ses flancs que fleurs et gazons verts.  
Car le géant est pris, le Vésuve est esclave!  
Et que t'importe à toi son cœur rongé de lave?  
Tu veux des fleurs? c'est bien! Il faut que de son mieux  
Le volcan tout brûlé s'épanouisse aux yeux! <sup>1</sup>

We have here an excellent example of the way Hugo's imagination worked. The words *mon âme brûle* are clearly the point of departure. They suggest an intense internal fire. For one of Hugo's temperament it is then a fairly evident step to the idea of a volcano. And with Hugo, as Mme Du Deffand said of the legend of Saint-Denis, "il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte"; thereafter, the original object or person gives way entirely to the metaphorical expression. In this case *Hernani* becomes a volcano, which turns out to be Vesuvius, and the volcano is simultaneously personified.

The metaphor is carried through ruthlessly and boldly. One detail, however, stands out as being illogical. The first part of line 1911, "Car le géant est pris . . .", introduces an incongruous element. We can understand the process by which *Hernani* is transformed into Vesuvius; we can perceive how the latter can be commanded to put out its flame and produce blossoms; we do not see how the idea of a giant is logically introduced. There is, to be sure, Enceladus; but he belongs to Etna, not Vesuvius. Of course, it might be maintained that, if the Sicilian volcano enclosed a giant the Neapolitan one probably enclosed a giant too. This would involve a certain anachronism, as Vesuvius was inactive in classical antiquity. Not perhaps an insuperable obstacle in the eyes of the great poet! Happily, another and far better explanation is at hand.

The closing stanzas of *Lui* contain a well-known comparison be-

<sup>1</sup> These last four lines were not included in the original edition of 1830. They are, however, in the manuscript. They were printed in the edition of 1836 and all subsequent editions, including of course the definitive edition published in 1912 by the Imprimerie Nationale (q. v., p. 695).

tween Napoleon and Mount Vesuvius. Napoleon dominates the horizon of history as Vesuvius dominates the horizon surrounding Naples. The passage closes with the line:

Toujours le noir géant qui fume à l'horizon.

Originally Hugo had written one stanza instead of three. First composed in 1827, the poem concluded in the compressed form still indicated by the manuscript, and the last line then read:

Toujours le noir volcan qui fume à l'horizon.<sup>2</sup>

At that time Hugo had probably not discovered<sup>3</sup> the epigraph which he was to insert at the beginning of the poem: "J'étais géant alors, et haut de cent coudées." This appears in the published volume of 1829. We think that this epigraph accounts for the changed reading of the last line. To say *le noir géant* instead of *le noir volcan* was much more forceful and meaningful in view of this introductory quotation. The reconstructed poem was dated December, 1828. The book (*Les Orientales*) appeared a month later.

In the late summer of 1829 Hugo was at work on *Hernani*; he finished it in September of that year. We are convinced that the introduction of the *géant* in l. 1911 of *Hernani* is the result of a reminiscence, conscious or not, of the changes that the poet had made in the concluding stanzas and more particularly the concluding line of *Lui*. Thus do we account for the presence of this incongruous element in an otherwise logical if bold metaphor.

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## GALDÓS'S APPRENTICESHIP IN THE DRAMA

Critics of Galdós in his own day and later students of his work have attributed his initial reverses and uneven progress in the drama partly to his overpowering novelistic bent and partly to his general dramatic inexperience.<sup>1</sup> How far his qualities as a novelist

<sup>2</sup> This information is easily accessible. See *Œuvres complètes de Victor Hugo. Poésie I. Odes et ballades. Les Orientales* (Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), p. 778.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 775.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hurtado and Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid,

hampered him in the drama is still a debatable point, though the interference has probably been much exaggerated. The tradition regarding his meager training in the drama, however, should in justice be discarded, for it is in direct conflict with numerous facts that have thus far not been properly stressed.

It is well known that Galdós's first attempts at winning literary recognition soon after his arrival in Madrid were made through the drama. As he observed to his authorized biographers, the theater was then "una de mis grandes ilusiones."<sup>2</sup> One play, *La expulsión de los moriscos*, called by Cotarelo "la primera obra dramática de Pérez Galdós," was seriously considered by Manuel Catalina, the director of the Teatro Español, but was never produced.<sup>3</sup> Another, *El hombre fuerte*, written also during Galdós's early residence in Madrid, was practically unknown until published in part in *Nuestro Tiempo* for 1902 by Eduardo Lustonó under the caption "el primer drama de Galdós." A third, *Quien mal hace, bien no espere*, to which I have referred elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> thus far not mentioned in the biographies of Galdós, has been termed by Don Ismael Sánchez Estevan "el primer ensayo escénico de Galdós adolescente,"<sup>5</sup> was very likely his first written drama, and deserves the recognition that attaches to the beginnings made by noteworthy authors. From Galdós's statement to Olmet and García Carraffa we gather that these were not the only plays that he had composed or tried to compose before he managed to establish himself solidly as a writer.<sup>6</sup>

In this early period of Galdós's dramatic enthusiasm and activity he was, we may suppose, thoroughly familiar with what was going

1921, pp. 1017-18, Leopoldo Alas, *Obras completas*, I, *Galdós*, Madrid, 1912, p. 232, Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, VIII, Madrid, 1918, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Olmet and García Carraffa, *Galdós*, Madrid, 1912, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Cotarelo, in the "Catálogo sincrónico de las obras de D. Benito Pérez Galdós," appended to the *Necrología de D. Benito Pérez Galdós* by Don Antonio Maura, Madrid, 1920, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> In "Errors in Biographies of Galdós," *Hispania*, Dec., 1928, pp. 491-2.

<sup>5</sup> The discussion of the play is given on p. 44 of the volume *Necrología de B. Pérez Galdós*, kept at Galdós's villa "San Quintín."

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-9: "Algunos años transcurrieron en una labor permanente, intensa. Ensayos de drama y de novela ocuparon mi imaginación, pero nada publiqué entonces."



on in the theater,<sup>7</sup> though remaining outside the charmed circle of successful playwrights. His inability to secure a foothold in the theater may have been due to immaturity, to an unfortunate tendency to imitate the popular romantic style so foreign to his genius, or to the constraint resulting from the verse form in which he wrote. Certainly it was not caused by abstinence from the theater nor by lack of earnest practice in dramatic composition.

From about 1870 to 1885 the drama seemingly had no place in Galdós's thoughts. The novel appears to have monopolized his attention. According to his own confession, "Del arte escénico no me ocupaba poco ni mucho. No frecuentaba yo los teatros."<sup>8</sup> This declaration, nevertheless, is not to be taken too literally. Galdós did not entirely lose contact with the drama in his self-imposed "isolation," as he calls it. Between 1870 and 1871 he published in the *Revista de España* his striking essay on one of his literary favorites, Ramón de la Cruz,<sup>9</sup> the study of whose dramaturgy undoubtedly influenced his novel-writing more profoundly than some of the foreign authors usually cited as his models. Though he did not for years see performances of Echegaray's plays, he read him and "sentía el rumor entusiasta" of his extraordinary vogue. Far from neglecting the drama, at least of the near past, he paid special attention to it in the novels that he was putting forth with such amazing regularity and studded his *Episodios* with enlivening passages about playwrights, plays, actors, actresses, and audiences. Many of his novels, moreover, were done with such dramatic power that neither he himself nor others found it difficult to convert them into actable plays.<sup>10</sup> Significant, likewise, is the

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Roberto Castrovido, *Benito Pérez Galdós* (undated, but written shortly after Galdós's death), p. 33: "Túvole siempre afición al espectáculo escénico, y no sólo gustó de ver funciones, sino de escribirlas." Castrovido speaks of himself as Galdós's "correligionario, su compañero en comicios y juntas políticos y de escaño en el Congreso de los Diputados, . . . su casi lazarillo en correrías por el Madrid que tanto amaba . . ."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cejador y Frauca, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

<sup>9</sup> Don Armando Donoso rightly calls attention to Galdós's affection for Ramón de la Cruz in *Dostoevski, Renán, Pérez Galdós*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 232-3.

<sup>10</sup> The following list of novels written before the performance of *Realidad* and dramatized by Galdós himself and others may prove interesting: *El audaz*, *Gerona*, *El equipaje del rey José*, *Doña Perfecta*, *Marianela*, *La*

fact that in *La desheredada* (1881) Galdós began to adopt in his novels the dramatic form which served as a prelude to his return to the writing of plays as such.

The ten years preceding *Los condenados* (1894), Galdós's first serious failure on the stage<sup>11</sup> and the one that wounded his feelings most, teem with dramatic activity. *Realidad*, the dialogued novel and the drama, *La loca de la casa* in both these forms, the drama *Gerona* and *La de San Quintín* appeared between 1889 and 1894. Despite "Clarín's" assertions that "Galdós no había vuelto a ver un estreno desde que asistió al de *Venganza Catalana*, hace unos treinta años; el estreno que vió inmediatamente fué el de su primer drama: *Realidad*"<sup>12</sup> and that Galdós "ni era espectador en ejercicio," there is fairly satisfactory evidence that Galdós saw Moratín's *El café* and Rivas's *Don Álvaro* in the theatre in 1886, the Hanlon-Lees in their vaudeville-comedy at the Zarzuela in the same year, and the opera *Los amantes de Teruel* in 1889. That he saw other plays it seems reasonable to believe. It is likely, for instance, that in the course of the ten years mentioned he attended performances of Echegaray's plays, of which he said later, "Pasaron años antes que yo viera sobre las tablas las obras del gran maestro."<sup>13</sup> Finally, all or nearly all the articles included in *Nuestro teatro* belong to this period, and in them we find a goodly number of valuable facts about the history and development of the Spanish theater, dramatists and actors, contemporary and older works, and, above all, a clear exposition of Galdós's views on the ills of the theater, the baneful effects of the *estreno* as then practiced, the influence of the desire for applause and *éxito* on the artistry of the drama, and the by no means happy consequences involved in the growing

*familia de León Roch*. It is curious to note that Unamuno regretted in 1896 that Galdós had not prepared *León Roch*, *Doña Perfecta*, and *Gloria* for the stage (in *Ensayos*, II, chapter on "La regeneración del teatro español," Madrid, 1916, p. 89). Several other novels of the period under discussion—e. g., *Juan Martín el Empeinado* and *Un voluntario realista*—could, it would seem, readily be made into regular dramas.

<sup>11</sup> *Gerona*, too, was a failure on the stage, but, as Professor S. G. Morley observes, "To a reader the play does not appear so bad as the event indicated. The first act is conceded to be a model," etc. (Introduction to *Mariucha*, Heath, 1921, p. xxx).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Alas, *op cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cejador y Frauca, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

supremacy of the bourgeois theater-going public. The most cogent chapters on the state of the drama entitled "Viejos y nuevos moldes" and "Arte interpretativo" are without date—though apparently written before 1894—but their essence is contained in the chapter "El derrumbe" and in a similar article, "Transformación de los gustos del público,"<sup>14</sup> both penned in 1886, that is, six years before the presentation of *Realidad* and eight before *Los condenados*. As a matter of fact, in *Nuestro teatro* Galdós anticipates most of the arguments offered in the "Prólogo" to *Los condenados* and is in close agreement with Unamuno's strictures on the Spanish theater of the times in "La regeneración del teatro español" (1896) and with the conclusions of other thoughtful observers of the Spanish drama in the '80's and '90's.

It is evident from the foregoing that Galdós kept in touch with the drama in one way or another from the beginning of his literary career down to the performance of *Realidad*, and that his dramatic apprenticeship, both before and after that play, was long and painstaking. After *Realidad*, when a large proportion of his time was taken up by the writing and production of plays, his connection with the theater was necessarily intimate. It may be worth noting, as an indication of his enduring interest in the drama, that his first three literary works and his last three (or four, if we include the unfinished *Los bandidos*, later renamed (*Antón Caballero*) were plays.

Galdós's reputation as a dramatist is higher at present than during his lifetime. His failures, early or late, can not truthfully be ascribed to dramatic inexperience, for an analysis of his entire dramatic output demonstrates that the dramatic principles and technique employed in his theatrical reverses are identical with those exhibited in his greatest successes on the stage. The causes of his failures lie deeper than lack of training and are in reality a credit to Galdós. This the recent more favorable appreciation of Galdós as a dramatist appears to acknowledge.

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<sup>14</sup> *Arte y crítica*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 93-9.

A NOTE ON HERNANDO DE ACUÑA'S SONNET  
ON ENDYMION

In the edition of Acuña's verse, published from the autograph manuscript in 1591 by his widow, eleven years after the poet's death, appears the following sonnet:

En una selua al parecer del dia  
Se estaua Endimion, triste y lloroso,  
Buelto al rayo del sol, que pressuroso  
De la cumbre de un monte decendia:  
Mirando el turbador de su alegria,  
Contrario de su bien y su reposo,  
Tras un graue sospiro doloroso,  
Tales palabras contra el sol dezia:  
Luz clara, para mi triste y oscura,  
Que con furioso curso apressurado  
Mi sol con tu tiniebla escureciste:  
Si te pueden mouer en tanta altura  
Las quexas de un pastor apassionado,  
No tardes en boluer donde saliste.<sup>1</sup>

This sonnet was found attributed to Camoens in one manuscript by Faria e Sousa, and on the basis of his authority was accepted as the work of the Portuguese poet by Portuguese critics, one of whom even found in it certain autobiographical elements. Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos<sup>2</sup> rejected entirely Camoens' authorship, but called attention to certain difficulties in its interpretation:

Quanto ao sentido, a concepção do Poeta não é perfeitamente clara . . . . Os estrangeiros, que o traduziram, não compreenderam a situação. Von Arentschildt (no 165) pensa num ocaso do sol, apesar de o verso inicial falar do *despuntar*, *assomar*,<sup>3</sup> *parecer* do dia. Storek imagina que Endimião (ou o Poeta) se dirige á Lua (Selene), chamando-a "o seu Sol" no

<sup>1</sup> *Varias poesías*, f. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Investigações sobre sonetos e sonetistas portugueses e castelhanos*, *Revue Hispanique*, xxii, 525-527. It is also published in the 1785 edition of the *Obras de Francisco de Figueroa*, but appeared in the 1626 edition preceded by the word *ageno*, followed by Figueroa's gloss in fourteen *liras*, and was not included in the first edition, 1625. It has also been attributed to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. See *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza* by R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, xxxii, 33-34.

<sup>3</sup> Variants found in other manuscripts.

momento de ela desaparecer atrás de um monte. Creio que a palavra *descendia* perturbou a ambos. É certo que Endimião trata a Lua de *mi sol*, no verso 11º, mas é impossível que lhe dirigisse as suas queixas contra o perturbador do seu deleite. Entendo que em paisagem montanhosa. *Sol* surge no cume da serra, de onde a luz se espalha, descendendo pela sua falda, e extinguindo o pálido facho de Selene.

The correctness of his latter interpretation becomes clear when we compare Acuña's sonnet with its Italian original, which is found in Lodovico Paterno's *Le Nuove Fiamme*.<sup>4</sup>

Da sassi Latmij un giorno Endimione,  
 Mentre co' raggi il gran pianetta apriua  
 Ogni piu chiusa valle, ogni erma riuua,  
 Et le fere allegraua, et le persone,  
 Veggendosi turbar l'hore piu buone;  
 E'l piacer, che con l'Alba indi fuggiua;  
 Et ch'era alhor pur desto, et non dormiua;  
 Sciolse la mesta lingua in tal sermone:  
 Luce à gli altri benigna, à me si fiera,  
 Che spuntando m'appanni il mio bel sole,  
 Scouri miei furti, et tutte cose scorgi;  
 Se ti mosse altra mai rozza prehiera;  
 Se mai di duol d'altrui ti dolse, o dole,  
 Corcati presto, e tardo à noi risorgi.

It is evident that these compositions closely resemble one another and there is every reason to believe that Acuña translated the Italian sonnet. It is true that, so far as we can date it, most of Acuña's verse was composed before 1561, the date of the first edition of *Le Nuove Fiamme*, and that Paterno showed an interest in Spanish poetry by translating from Garcilaso de la Vega. On the other hand, we know that Acuña translated a number of compositions from Italian, and that his verse was not published until 1591. Furthermore, mythological subjects were frequently treated by Paterno in his sonnets, and rarely occur in the sonnets of Acuña.

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<sup>4</sup> Lyone, 1568, p. 28.

## REVIEWS

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*Kotzebue*: A survey of his progress in France and England, preceded by a consideration of the critical attitude to him in Germany. By L. F. THOMPSON, M. A., LL. B., Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1928.

The reputation which Kotzebue enjoyed as a playwright at the beginning of the last century, the unprecedented though short-lived success of his plays in all the leading theatres of Europe, and his almost complete eclipse ever since is one of the most interesting phenomena in modern literary history. It is only recently, however, that it has begun to interest students of comparative literature, and Mr. Thompson's book is only the second contribution to the study of the question. Walter Sellier made a rough outline of Kotzebue's success in England, in 1901, but no impartial survey of his place in German literature nor of his influence on the drama of the rest of Europe had appeared before the work under review.

Mr. Thompson has attempted to give us in a hundred and sixty-nine pages an account of Kotzebue's fortunes in Germany, England and France. The subject is far too vast to be treated successfully in so small a space and Mr. Thompson's work bears the inevitable traces of his too ambitious project. The first section of the book, which deals with the critical attitude to Kotzebue in Germany, is the best. It is a definite attempt at rehabilitation and was very much needed. Mr. Thompson has succeeded in tracing to their sources the jibes which it has been fashionable to repeat about Kotzebue for the last hundred years, and has shown them to be largely attributable in the first place to professional jealousies and personal spite. Particularly useful is his examination of the play *Menschenhass und Reue* which has earned for Kotzebue the reputation of being an immoral writer. He explains that the contemporary hostility to him on this score was nothing more than the hostility which every pioneer writer must expect to arouse when he breaks new ground in social ethics; he points out, quite rightly, that Kotzebue would not nowadays be regarded as immoral and he demands that we therefore abandon this silly and out-of-date sport of Kotzebue-baiting. Mr. Thompson seems to us however to have overshot the mark in his eagerness to rehabilitate Kotzebue the man. It is difficult to admit intellectual honesty in a man who "was nearly always a faithful reflection of the prevailing opinions of his day" (p. 16), or emotional sincerity in

one who "mistook sentiment for the genuine article" (p. 21) in spite of Mr. Thompson's somewhat specious apologia.

The other two sections—England and France—are spoiled by weak method and insufficient research. Instead of describing, as he does, the translations one after another in chronological order, then mentioning the various imitations and adaptations, and lastly the attitude of the critics, Mr. Thompson would have been better able to indicate the literary significance of the facts described, had the plays been grouped into their dramatic genres and each group dealt with in a separate chapter. Further, as regards the second section, Mr. Thompson has added little to what we knew already from Sellier, except for the translations which were not staged, and here, his information is often superficial. All he has to say, for instance, about the *Corsicans*, apart from describing the plot, is that it is "a poor piece with a hackneyed romantic plot—the piece is innocuous but of no merit and was never staged." But the fact that Goethe admired the original (Auch seine *Corsen* sind mit grossem Geschicke gearbeitet und die Handlung ist wie aus einem Guss. Sie sind beim Publicum beliebt und das mit völligen Rechte<sup>1</sup>, suggests that a more detailed comparison between the translation and the original would have been worth while.

But it is particularly in the last section, which deals with Kotzebue's progress in France that one regrets that Mr. Thompson has not been able to treat the subject with the detail that it required. The research involved would have cleared up several points which must still remain obscure. We should, for instance, like to have heard what Mr. Thompson thinks of Ginisty's theory that the introduction of the comic element into the French melodrama is partly due to Kotzebue's influence<sup>2</sup> and what evidence he has for agreeing as he does (in three lines on page 48) with the statement in the Encyclopaedia that Sardou may be included among Kotzebue's literary descendants. We can forgive the author for not knowing Gérard de Nerval's excellent translation of *Menschenhass und Reue* which is still in MS. in the archives of the Comédie Française (though that is surely the first place to go when one is studying the history of the French theatre) and for not having seen Madame de Mauluz's translation of *Die Stricknadeln* which is in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, but the *Droit de Naufrage* is easily to be found in the *Collection du Théâtre des Variétés Etrangères*, and anything like a careful reading of Kotzebue's plays (without which it is presumptuous to write books about him) would have disclosed *Der verbannte Amor* as the source of *C'était moi*. We can forgive him a host of minor omis-

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Falk: *Gothe aus persönlichem Umgange dargestellt*, 1836, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Ginisty: *Le Mélodrame*, 1910, p. 24.

sions of this order, but in the case of one play, *Das Kind der Liebe*, his research has been so superficial as to be almost valueless. This is one of Kotzebue's most important plays, at least as far as its fortunes in France are concerned, and yet Mr. Thompson knows nothing of the version performed at the Odéon on the 3rd fructidor an III (the first performance of any of Kotzebue's plays in France), nothing of the translation printed at the Hague in 1795 and worst of all, nothing of the performance on the 23rd thermidor an VII which raised an interesting literary controversy on the "drame germanique" of which all the papers of the time are full. And as for his surmise (p. 151) that Caigniez's version of 1813 "could hardly have been a success at the Ambigu-Comique," the *Mémorial Dramatique* (1814, p. 197), says that "le succès que cet ouvrage a obtenu est bien flatteur pour son auteur," and the *Journal . . . de la littérature* asserts that "le succès sera durable." Mr. Thompson even goes so far as to give us a sixteen line description of *Le Vieux Général* by Desvergets et Warin, a play which is a literal translation of Schröder's *Der Fährdrich*. There is likewise not a shred of evidence for Duval's having borrowed his *Beniowski* from Kotzebue (p. 132). The *Mémoires* of Beniowsky, as a reading of the press reviews of Duval's play would have revealed, were published in 1792, and there is every probability that both Kotzebue and Duval used the same source.

In a word "Qui trop embrasse, mal étireint." The English section would have made at most the subject of a short monograph, and the French part will have to be done again. If comparative literature is ever going to render the service to literary history which it can do, it must never be forgotten that much fruitless research is involved and that negative results based on accurate research over a small area are far more valuable than vague suggestions for further research over a wide one.

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*Wieland's Neuer Amadis*. By EDITH M. HARN. Baltimore (Göttingen): The Johns Hopkins Press (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1928. Pp. 122.

This study, which appears as Number 17 in the series *Hesperia*, is fittingly dedicated to Professor Kurrelmeyer.

Viewed through the vista of the years, the *New Amadis* impresses one as a rather diffuse and frigid performance (even in its veiled improprieties): a grouping of fragments laboriously gathered from light writers—the cleverest of its predecessors being Anstey's *New Bath-Guide*, a sprightly feat, too generally forgotten, but perhaps to be taken into account as a forerunner of the brilliant foolings of



Byron and Oliver Wendell Holmes. The possible influence of Pope has not been taken into account.

Miss Harn's work is a valuable study in literary rhetoric; it leads us directly into the workshop of a most conscientious and gifted craftsman. Wieland's revision, after a quarter of a century, reveals the untiring labor by which he made himself master of a charming style. The author's confessed aim in regard to his "new work" was that it should be

... durch diese Umarbeitung nicht nur von einer Menge Fehler und Flecken gereinigt, sondern vielleicht auch der positiven Vollkommenheit, deren ein Gedicht dieser Art fähig ist, um ein merkliches näher gebracht werden.

The importance of such a study was pointed out by Goethe in his diatribe in the *Horen* (its title was actually "*Litterarischer Sanscülottismus*," by the way):

dass ein verständiger, fleissiger Literator, durch Vergleichung der sämtlichen Ausgaben unseres Wielands, eines Mannes, dessen wir uns trotz dem Knurren, aller Smelfungen mit stolzer Freunde rühmen dürfen, allein aus den stufenweisen Korrekturen dieses unermüdet zum Besseren arbeitenden Schriftstellers, die ganze Lehre des Geschmacks würde entwickeln können.

The revised poem affords, likewise, a mirror of general literary tendencies between 1771 and 1794.

The author is to be congratulated for her straightforward, agreeable style. She has kept herself free from that Great White Plague of German scholarship (the malady to which even a Scherer fell victim): the deducing from given materials a vast amount more than they ever contained; she happily avoids the all-too-familiar Serlo-complex: "ihm Endzweck und Pläne unterzuschieben, an die er nicht gedacht hat." Significant changes are nicely weighed on the balance of a sound, discriminating judgment. Exact, comprehensive knowledge of a wide literary field is shown—without being paraded. The general finding is that Wieland attained "a greater degree of vigor and impressiveness through simplifying or amplifying certain expressions."

Subjects of immediate interest to Wieland varied not a little during the time that he wrote *Amadis*. His earlier enthusiasm for French fairy-tales had considerably lapsed. He shows a greater economy in the line of literary allusions—especially as some of their subjects had proved ephemeral, and not particularly pertinent. He was led to reduce his copious explanatory notes, as well as the materials calling for such elucidation. There is less didacticism; what was indefinite is made clearer; a new precision enhances the humorous tone which runs through the whole work; foreign words are replaced by native ones; *dass*-clauses, which complicated the sentence-structure, are avoided; the archaic declension of *zwei* is omitted; the uninflected neuter adjective is given its final *-es*; words of general, rather colorless meaning, or those tending to be frequently repeated in the story (such as *Sache*, *Ding*, *schön*, *Mädchen*,

*Ritter, Held, Herz, sehr, geben*), are replaced by more sprightly variants—to mention only a few of the many points developed.

Some of the poet's stylistic features were much complicated by the change from a freer metrical form into very flexible ten-line stanzas, and by the plan of making the lines more equal in length; the introduction of new adjectives plays a large part here. The development of verse-form runs definitely in the direction of the Oberon-meter.

The little book is carefully and beautifully gotten up. The only error discovered is "dos" for "des" on page 36. It contains no index.

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*Die Moringer Mundart. Ein Beitrag zur nordfriesischen Dialektforschung.* Von ERIKA BAUER. Heidelberg: Carl Winters' Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925 (Germanische Bibliothek).

The last few years have seen an intensified interest in the Frisian dialects and none too soon. They are being displaced by German, Dutch and Danish with such rapidity that in another generation a Frisian-speaking family will be almost a curiosity. At the time when Miss Bauer made her study less than 30% of the population of the township Niebüll spoke Frisian, and that this percentage is on the decrease is indicated by the tables on page 4, from which it appears that only 302 children of 404 parents in the same township spoke the native dialect.

The dialect which provides the material for the present study is of especial interest because of its history and peculiarities. It forms a small, well-defined enclave between the North Frisian dialects of the Wiedingharde and the Karrharde. This region was originally an island which was not joined to the mainland by diking operations before the middle of the fifteenth century, that is to say, at a time when the present dialect boundaries in Germany had become firmly established. Within this small region there is a further distinction between the dialects of the Ostermoor and the Westermoor. Miss Bauer, like Bende Bendsen in his now antiquated grammar of 1860, based her investigations on the Ostermoor dialect because of its greater purity.

The circumstance that purer Frisian is spoken in the Ostermoor is of interest as a further illustration of the rôle played by towns and lines of communication in the erosion of dialects. The Ostermoor borders directly on the German and Danish dialects, whereas the Westermoor is completely surrounded by Frisian-speaking communities. But the administrative center is in the Westermoor

and it is also traversed by the railroad. Consequently the admixture with German and Danish has gone farther here than in the rural Ostermoor.

Miss Bauer's grammar is both descriptive and historical in the traditional manner. However, she has devoted much care to the description of articulatory habits responsible for the phonetic peculiarities of the dialect. The phonetic system she has used for the transcription of sounds is an adaptation of the system of the International Phonetic Association, an adaptation made necessary by the inadequacy of this and other systems for the description of the Frisian sounds. It has often been found regrettable that this or that grammarian has seen fit to use symbols not adopted by the International Association, but it seems to the reviewer that a judicious adaptation of this system will always be necessary in particular cases. In the present grammar, for instance,  $\bar{e}$  represents a long open sound less open than  $e$  in *Bär* and less close than  $e$  in *fehlen*. No universal system could, without being unwieldy, provide for every conceivable sound.

In an appendix the author has collected a few specimens of the Moringer dialect in phonetic transcriptions and provided them with translations. We wish these might have been more numerous. However, other collections are easily accessible. It was of prime importance that we should have a thoroughly scientific treatment of this vanishing dialect, and this Miss Bauer has given us.

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*Les Impressions Sensorielles chez La Fontaine.* Par FÉLIX BOILLOR. Paris, 1926.

About all that the reviewer would have to say about this work, this *catalogue analytique* (p. v) of La Fontaine's Sensorial Impressions, has been said by the author himself in the introduction and in the conclusion of his book. "Notre dessein a été simplement d'offrir aux étudiants un instrument de travail qui n'existait pas encore"; it is to be: "l'étude générale et méthodique des impressions sensorielles et de leur transformation formelle chez un écrivain" (p. vi). This study: "impliquait en effet, l'analyse de toute son 'imagerie' qui embrasse les transpositions de sensations entre elles, les sensations exprimées au moyen de métaphores, les métaphores tirées des sensations, la traduction des sentiments par les sensations et inversement" (p. 344).

In other words the author tries to demonstrate by a liberal use of citations how each of La Fontaine's five senses responded to

external stimuli, how and to what extent his reactions affected his "imagerie." The rigor with which this method of analysis-citation-synthesis is followed makes the reading of the book at times somewhat tedious. However this tedium is compensated by many intimate and illuminating glimpses into the poet's method of composition and into his general attitude toward his work. It sharpens one's perception of the dramatic and realistic qualities of his talent, it fits him a little more securely into the frame imposed upon him by the contemporary conventional attitudes towards "nature" and the classic tendency to use the concrete to express or at least suggest, the abstract. These by-products are probably the most interesting and valuable features of the book for the reader as they were no doubt for the author.

The relative importance of the parts played by the different senses in La Fontaine's poetizing is roughly suggested by the divisions into which the treatment falls. *La Fontaine était surtout un visuel*. All of the first part of the book (livre I), ten chapters, almost two-thirds of the total number of pages, is devoted to the sense of sight. The other four senses receive a chapter each. These four chapters, plus one dealing with *Association et substitution d'impressions et de sentiments*, and a brief summary-conclusion complete the volume. Teachers and prospective editors of La Fontaine texts will find this a stimulating and useful book.

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*Les Sources occultes du Romantisme, Illuminisme-Théosophie, 1770-1820.* Par AUGUSTE VIATTE. I. *Le Préromantisme*; II. *La Génération de l'Empire*. Paris: Champion, 1928, in-8. Pp. 331 + 332. (Bib. de la R. L. C.)

Voici un ouvrage qui désire s'accrocher, semble-t-il, au centenaire du Romantisme en ajoutant à ses éléments constitutifs "L'influence des exaltés qui, sous le vocable d'*illuminés* ou de *théosophes*, ambitionnèrent de créer une religion inédite" (p. 7). Et nous ne pouvons d'ailleurs que rendre hommage à la modestie de M. Viatte, quand, à la fin de son étude il constate ainsi le caractère limité de cette influence:

Déformée de mille façons, adaptée aux aspirations de l'heure, l'œuvre des théosophes, longtemps souterraine, n'en sourdra pas moins au grand jour; les multiples filets dérivés de cette rivière viendront alimenter et nuancer le vaste fleuve romantique; Victor Hugo, dans *Notre Dame de Paris*, Lamartine, dans les *Visions*, George Sand, dans *Consuelo*, Balzac,

dans *Séraphita*, y puiseront chacun à sa manière; en cessant d'être eux-mêmes, les illuminés entreront dans la grande littérature" (II, 268).

Et (p. 269) on reconnaît qu'un peu de "couleur" est tout ce que l'illuminisme et la théosophie ont apporté, tandis que le fond du romantisme n'est guère touché. C'est quelque chose que cette "couleur"; mais si c'est là tout, il y a un manque de proportion entre ce léger apport (et la nature de cet apport) et ces deux gros volumes où l'on nous écrase un peu sous des exposés de doctrines dont le vague ou l'absurde est terriblement ennuyeux et indigeste dans sa monotonie.

On sent chez l'auteur même comme un persistant malaise à l'idée que le lecteur pourrait s'apercevoir de cet écart, et un besoin constant d'affirmer qu'il existe vraiment entre les illuminés et le romantisme un rapport assez intime pour justifier ces deux lourds volumes. M. Viatte avait dit dans sa Préface qu'il voulait se garder "de tirer à lui" ce qui n'appartenait pas à son sujet, et il tombe justement dans ce défaut. Ici c'est Rousseau, le père attitré du romantisme, qu'on cherche à attirer à soi: "Adorons Dieu dans notre coeur et non dans les églises de pierre. Et Chais de Sourcesol, dont cette phrase évoquerait le souvenir de Rousseau, vitupère contre la messe . . ." (II, 40) (Eh, mon Dieu, il n'était pas nécessaire d'être Rousseau, ni même Chais de Sourcesol, pour émettre un vœu si banal!). Là, c'est Chateaubriand qu'on veut apparenter avec Boehme: "L'interprétation de la chute originelle, dans le *Génie du Christianisme*, concorderait avec celle de Boehme" (II, 136). Là encore c'est Victor Hugo qu'on essaie d'appréhender (II, 35). Plus loin, c'est Hugo et Nodier: "Et combien se doutent que les Rosses-Croix, je dis ceux du dix-septième siècle, fournissent l'essentiel de leur 'couleur locale' aux contes de Nodier comme aux ballades de V. Hugo?" (II, 133). En effet, on ne s'en doutait pas; et comme l'auteur arrête son examen à 1820, il peut se dispenser d'en donner la preuve. M. Viatte est obligé aussi de se donner beaucoup de mal pour retenir dans son rayon d'études des auteurs qui s'en défendent—la plupart du temps avec raison. Tel est le cas particulièrement pour Joseph de Maistre (II, 64 ss.). Certes celui-ci parle beaucoup des illuminés, mais il est trop évident que c'est pour se débarrasser d'eux. Et alors que l'auteur concède que le jugement final de de Maistre a été négatif, il s'en tire en disant que ce dernier n'a pas dit sa vraie pensée; avec cette manière de raisonner, on peut tout établir. Il y a loin entre étudier une doctrine et l'adopter, et si pour avoir été consciencieux dans sa réfutation, un auteur doit en conséquence demeurer associé avec ce qu'il rejette, il faudrait alors se garder d'être consciencieux. Il en va de même du traitement d'écrivains plus voisins du romantisme que de Maistre, Mme de Staël, p. ex. (II, 103 ss.) Acceptons le mot de M. Viatte, que Mme de Staël, sollicitée par des amis "se plonge dans l'étude de l'illuminisme"; mais que faut-il con-

clure du fait que Mme de Krudener lui écrit: "Vous êtes faites, Madame, pour appartenir à ce Dieu qui vous réclame . . ." ? Parce qu'on est sollicité, est-ce à dire que l'on cède par là même? Et parce qu'ensuite des illuminés accueillent le livre De l'Allemagne, faut-il conclure que le livre est "illuminé"? On doit se demander jusqu'à quel point il convient de confondre le fameux "enthousiasme" de Mme de Staël avec des tendances illuministes ou mystiques. Ballanche, probablement plus que tout autre des écrivains importants étudiés, serait du ressort de l'ouvrage de M. Viatte; cependant là même, on sent l'effort pour associer l'auteur de la *Palingénésie sociale* avec la théosophie réelle (II, 214 ss). Et les quelques doctrines énumérées nous paraissent, contrairement à M. Viatte, pouvoir venir fort bien d'ailleurs.

Le second volume de l'ouvrage est naturellement celui qui nous intéresse davantage puisque là l'auteur cherche à établir la relation de l'illuminisme avec le romantisme, et c'est pourquoi nous en avons parlé surtout. Le premier volume donne un tableau des principales doctrines théosophiques et illuministes: Chap. I, *Aux sources de l'Illuminisme*; ch. II, *Le premier Martinisme*; ch. III, *Les Swedenborgiens*; ch. IV, *Les sociétés mystiques*; ch. V, *L'illuminisme des salons* [Lavater], et des carrefours [Cagliostro] . . . Ch. VII, *Saint-Martin théosophe et théocrate*. Nous disons à dessein 'un tableau,' car il faudrait plus d'un volume à l'auteur pour une étude un peu complète des systèmes et doctrines à considérer, toujours complexes, gauches, remplis des notions les plus hétérogènes et les plus hétéroclites. M. Viatte aurait pu cependant, nous semble-t-il, sans faire plus long, offrir des contours plus arrêtés en exposant ces doctrines et systèmes; on a trop l'impression d'une promenade philosophique dans le jardin de l'illuminisme au lieu d'un exposé systématique; un illuminisme ne se distingue pas assez de l'autre. Et on ne voit pas qu'on ait gagné beaucoup en précision sur ces lignes citées par M. Viatte lui-même, de l'*Essai sur Saint-Martin* par Caro:

A l'origine de toutes choses, l'unité . . . (Puis) l'émanation commence; elle ne s'arrêtera plus. Alors naissent ces myriades de natures intelligentes . . . irradiation de la vie divine . . . L'homme est un de ces êtres émanés . . . La préexistence des âmes dans cet homme-verbe, sa séparation de l'unité; sa corporisation, son exil, son retour à l'unité . . .; sa transformation en Dieu . . . Le symbolisme et la théorie des nombres, la théurgie et la possession du monde invisible par la magie ou par l'amour, complètent cet ensemble de dogmes invariables . . . Le panthéisme est au terme de tous ces systèmes (Cité I, p. 37).

C'est dommage; car certes l'auteur a une connaissance très réelle de son sujet, et c'est de ce point de vue érudition que l'ouvrage pensons-nous rendra les plus grands services. Encore, un index serait-il ici bien précieux—et il manque.

*Mélanges de Linguistique et de Littérature, offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy, par ses élèves et ses amis.* Paris, Editions E. Droz, 1928. xvi + 679 pp.

Honorary volumes have appeared in unusual number during the last four years. So frequent have they been that certain "skeptics" have voiced disapproval on bibliographical and economic grounds. The new trend, already begun, will be to dedicate special issues of the learned journals in recognition of service and distinction. Fortunately the new policy has not deprived us of this admirable and authoritative volume offered to one of France's most sympathetic scholars. There are few teachers in foreign universities who hold the esteem of their American pupils to such a degree as M. Jeanroy.

The American contributors are Armstrong, Blondheim, J. D. M. Ford, Grandgent, G. L. Hamilton, Holbrook, Jenkins, C. H. Livingston, Nitze, and W. P. Shepard. Professor Armstrong discusses the meanings "breastpin" and "necklace" for O. Fr. *noche*. He shows that Ms. L of the *Roman d'Alexandre* used *Florence de Rome*. Of the nine etymologies offered by D. S. Blondheim we are particularly attracted by that of the Jewish name *Abravanel* from the Spanish *Abrafan* (< *Abraham*) with the Catalan suffix *-el*. Professor Ford discusses the use of extraneous tales and episodes in the *Don Quixote*, Part One—found there after the Italian manner, and which was abandoned in Part Two, under criticism. Grandgent, in an essay that it is a delight to read, indicates the way in which doublets in phonological development are due to differences in social strata. This is particularly true for the loss and retention of the interior unaccented vowels. Professor Hamilton proves that the *Divisiones Mundi* of Pérot are a plagiarism from Pierre de Beauvais' *Mappemonde*. T. A. Jenkins discusses a word which Skeat once characterized as the greatest crux in Chaucer, the word *vitremyte*, "a woman's headdress." He derives it very satisfactorily from *vitta* + *mitra*. We are looking forward to the collective edition of all Professor Jenkins' forty odd etymologies which will appear in the Modern Philology Monograph Series. Livingston publishes two tales of Philippe de Vigneulles. Five expressions from the *Pathelin* are commentaried by Professor Holbrook. W. A. Nitze illustrates how two Virgilian passages (Aen. IV, 569; IV, 173), on the fickleness of woman and the constant presence of rumor, circulated through the early French romances. Professor Shepard publishes an O. Fr. *débat* of the 14th century from the Ms. B. N. fr. 146.

There are sixty-three contributors in all which allows us but little space for the remainder. Ferdinand Lot explains the origin of the term *Provençal* for Southern French. Citizens of the later Roman Empire were addressed in official decrees as *Provinciales*. The Frankish kings retained the term for their subjects in Aquitaine

still under Roman Law. For Salverda De Grave the doublets *poi* and *pou* are explained by the series *paucu* > \**paaw* > \**poè* > *poi*.  
> *pou*

The form *pou* represents the history before a consonant. J. Morawski discusses the stylistic effects of the letter *r*. He does not know Grandgent's essay on the canine letter (*Old and New*, Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1920, pp. 31-56). Foulet shows how O. Fr. *trouver à dire* gave way to *manquer*. Professor Gustave Cohen believes, contrary to Faral, that the Latin comedies of the twelfth century were played, and were not mere *fabliaux*. Faral assures us that the names of the fairy *Morgen* and the island of *Avallo* were coinings of Geoffroi of Monmouth. The description of the island is a retelling from Solinus, Pomponius Mela, and the Voyage of St. Brandan. Senator Pio Rajna denies Vossler's thesis that Guillaume de Poitou innovated the Provençal lyric. Miss M. K. Pope asserts that the *Chanson de Roland* was composed in a dialect to the immediate southwest of Paris. She bases this upon the contraction *ai* to *e* and the levelling of *ie*. For Emile Roy *Ogier de Danemarque* was written between 1192 and 1200. Hoepffner believes the *chansons de geste* influenced no romances from *Erec* on. Professor Vising reiterates after forty-two years his theory that the ending *-ons* is to be derived from *-amus*, with labialization from both *u* and *m*.

There are two Dante articles. Very fittingly fifteen others are devoted to the publication of lyric verse, including Portuguese-Galician. There are three Spanish studies and two Catalan. Mlle Droz is an excellent editor and publisher, as well as an expert on the fifteenth century. She has allowed one serious error: the article of J. M. Torrents (pp. 403-410) is omitted from the Index. The book is prefaced by a portrait of M. Jeanroy and a list of two hundred and sixty-two subscribers. A complete bibliography of the recipient emphasizes particularly his critical interest during the past thirty-eight years.

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*Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia.* Collected by W. ROY  
MACKENZIE. Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. 421.

Ballad collectors are a strange order of men. For more than a century members of the craft have again and again assured the world that the game is up, that the lingering remnants of folk-poetry are finally being gathered into baskets, that the last singers and reciters are about to go to their reward, that if any shreds and patches of their art still survive, a decade or two at most will



spell the very end. Time after time some new collector has come impudently forward to give the lie to such forebodings. The greatest of living ballad men, Mr. Evald Tang Kristensen in Jutland, full of years and honors, still keeps adding to the amazing tally of his discoveries.<sup>1</sup> Not long ago the late Gavin Greig, following the traces of Peter Buchan, brought to book several hundreds of lurking versions of Scottish ballads. Followers of Professor Child in our own country have persisted in raking the embers of smoldering tradition, to good effect. And now Professor Mackenzie, with almost jovial effrontery, has put into our hands a thick volume that once more contradicts the lugubrious prophecies of those elder generations whose errors we take delight in noting.

Most of the items in the collection have parallels elsewhere. There are no less than sixteen titles, often with more than one version, belonging to the Child canon. Four other numbers are rated as close relatives of standard popular ballads. Some fifty pieces are classified as typical romantic broadsides. The remaining half of the volume contains shanties, other sea songs, miscellaneous narratives, and a few lyrics. The whole count of poems comes to 162; of accompanying folk-tunes, to forty-two. By way of rebuke let it be said that while the editor in his head-notes gives most useful information as to other printed forms of his verses, he does not do a similar service for the tunes. It would be of interest to many readers to learn, for example, that Mr. Mackenzie's air to *Barbary Ellen* is substantially the same as the melody recorded for this ballad in Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations* to Percy's *Reliques*, and quite different from Mrs. Harris's tune as preserved by Child. The editor's general introduction, on the other hand, gives a valuable account of the ritual of singing shanties, with much good matter besides.

Ballad editors have sometimes been twitted with an exaggerated respect for versions. The reproach, if justifiable at all, does not strike this collection with much force. Most of the materials are not easily available in other readings. The geographical background and the special historical circumstances under which so many of these poems have passed from the keeping of British immigrants into the charge of their French neighbors would alone provide reasons for making a permanent record. It is only by recourse to numerous versions that the modes and effects of tradition can be properly examined. Each fresh accumulation of popular or nearly popular poetry contributes to the data upon which any sound study of the general laws of tradition must be undertaken. If we can learn how popular verse has been composed, modified, and transmitted within the memory of man, within the past century, we shall have a firm foundation from which we may hope to pursue retrogressively the investigation of older phenomena.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kristensen has died since this was written.

New versions, whether of Child ballads or of known broadsides that have become current among the people, are in this respect so far from being negligible that they are, much more, vital to scholarly inquiry into the entire subject of ballad origins and that successive composition of which the proofs are spread before us on every page of Child's thesaurus. The part of wisdom, therefore, would be to repine less over the evidence lost to us in the remote past and to address our attention more effectively to the evidence within our reach. In the present stage of affairs, ballad research would no doubt profit much from creeping a cautious backward pace through the centuries.

From this point of view Professor Mackenzie's documents are of first-rate importance. He is quite right in advising us to read with this book his earlier *Quest of the Ballad* (1919), in which the geographical, historical, and human equations surrounding the discovery and the recording of his pieces are presented in lively narrative. Trustworthy testimony as to the immediate environment of vagabond verse, the name, the social station, the personal and ancestral story of singers and reciters,—all this is of such capital significance that every ballad-hunter should hereafter be held strictly accountable for the correct and full notation of details of this sort, just as collectors have long been held responsible for the conscientious transcribing of the words and airs delivered over to them by tradition.

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*South Carolina Ballads*, collected and edited by REED SMITH.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xii + 174.  
\$3.00.

*American Negro Folk-Songs*, by NEWMAN I. WHITE. Cambridge:  
Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xii + 501. \$5.00.

It may be said at once, and without mitigation of voice, that these are two of the most valuable studies of American folk-song among the many that have been issued in the last decade or so. Both Professor Smith and Professor White are excellently qualified, by reason of an affectionate and intimate relationship not only to the bookish department of their subject but also to the humble process of actual folk-singing, to write with authority. The books in which they, severally, record their findings and state their conclusions should, in the main, be considered separately, for an obvious reason: one of them deals with the general subject of ballad composition, and introduces, almost incidentally, a group of fourteen South Carolina ballads with variants; the other confines itself to

the American Negro and his singing and presents a series of discussions to introduce the thirteen groups which, taken together, comprise over six hundred bits and wholes of songs which this down-trodden but irrepressible Negro has composed or transmuted. But Professor Smith, in his chapter on Communal Composition, devotes a section to the Negroes and their observed methods of group composing, and this section is corroborative of Professor White's discussion of the same vexed issue in his introductory comments on the group entitled Religious Songs.

The importance of the American Negro in any consideration of the origin of folk-song is manifesting itself steadily and insistently as fresh books about him and his singing ways are issued by the American press. In England or Scotland there is no group, no section of society, which can now be fused together in the act of song creation as can any collection of Negroes under the influence of an emotion partly religious and partly, and more vaguely, concurrent with a certain stage of awakening culture—an emotion expressing itself in new songs which proceed, in the truest sense, from the whole group and which are compounded of fragments of older songs, of modified parts of older songs, and of the expression of new experiences. It is not many years since Cecil Sharp, who wrote himself down as "a stout upholder of the communal theory of origin," nevertheless defined his conception of the communal process thus: "first of all one man sings a song, then others sing it after him changing what they do not like." That he would enlarge his definition now to include a suggestion, at least, based on the observations of James Weldon Johnson, Howard W. Odum, and Dorothy Scarborough (to mention a few names where many could be cited) seems likely enough. Both Professor Smith and Professor White, it must be said, are too cautious to commit themselves to any theory which would depend chiefly on the occasional habits of Negro groups. Professor Smith sums up his view of the case thus: "there is strong presumptive evidence of communal composition in the case of a few of the simpler and earlier ballads; but the great majority of the traditional ballads are best accounted for on the theory of individual authorship in origin, plus a remolding and making-over through the objectifying and impersonalizing process of communal composition." Professor White impartially presents evidence of both individual origins and of communal authority, and, refraining from theorizing, is content to record.

In the eight chapters of discussion which precede his collection of South Carolina ballads Professor Smith discourses, with admirable clarity and conciseness, upon the main aspects of the character and history of the traditional ballad. Much of his material is exposition and references which must appear in any treatment of the subject, but it appears in this book with a mellow difference that is due to the author's own experiences with people whose unconscious teachings should always supplement those of the theorist, namely,

the singing folk themselves. It is such experiences that lie back of his insistence upon the ballad as a thing to be sung, not read, and that lend variety and picturesqueness to the illustrations in his mournful chapter on *The Road Downhill*. In this chapter he might with safety, or even with advantage, have gone much further with a very important distinction which he merely suggests, namely, that between illiteracy among the ballad-singers of to-day and illiteracy as the term must be understood when it is applied to singers, inglorious but not mute, of that older time when, as he succinctly states it, "oral tradition not only impersonalized, but also improved, that which was committed to it." But here and elsewhere Professor Smith is to be praised for judicial fairness and good temper, and his book is to be commended to anyone who is in search of a handbook or compendium of a hard subject.

Professor White would have deserved the gratitude of scholars and of laymen alike if he had merely recorded the rich findings of Negro songs which his volume contains, but for the student of folk-song his book becomes absolutely necessary by virtue of its scholarly annotations and its exhaustive study of the genesis and history of these songs. The scholar and the layman alike will be concerned with Professor White's careful analyses leading to such cautious proposals as the one regarding the distinctive music of the Negro—"it seems reasonable to conclude that the Negro brought African music with him to America, and that it is a considerable element in the songs he sings to-day"—or to his downright conclusion with regard to the spiritual—"the Negro spiritual is simply a continuation and development of the white spiritual." One may regret that printer's paper is too inflammable a material to convey the many songs of a non-religious turn which the editor has suppressed; but enough remains, not only in the songs themselves, but also in the enlightening and pleasantly written commentaries, to make one forget everything but gratification that such a book, on so important a subject, should have been compiled.

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*Thomas Heywood. A Study in the Elizabethan Drama of Everyday Life.* By OTELIA CROMWELL. *Yale Studies in English*, LXXVIII, Yale University Press, 1928. Pp. 234. \$2.50.

Among all the Elizabethan dramatists, Thomas Heywood is preeminently the spokesman of the mercantile classes rapidly rising in power and social ambition. Dekker, except in *The Shoemakers Holiday*, is usually content to choose his realistic London material from low life. Middleton and Jonson heap ridicule on bourgeois

aspirations and meannesses. Shakespeare and Fletcher are aristocratically aloof. But Heywood devotes his pen to a continued glorification of those prudential virtues which are associated with the middle-class. Hence in his plays we find reflected the ideas, and in a measure, pictures of middle-class life of the more prosperous type, only paralleled by Deloney in his prose tales. The subtitle of the study under discussion leads one to hope for a fresh treatment of Heywood's relation to the literature and life of his age. Certainly he does mirror for us better than most of his contemporaries certain types and situations peculiar to what Miss Cromwell calls "everyday life" but which may be more definitely described as middle-class life. Unhappily, Miss Cromwell's study presents neither new facts nor fresh ideas. The first chapter on Heywood's dramatic career offers nothing that is not already known. With no new evidence, the writer assumes as certain (p. 8) that Heywood had a formal university training, and by p. 42 she is able to allude to his "having been a member of the select circle of Cambridge University."

Chapter II, "The Plays of Everyday Life," is a synthesis of well-known facts about seven plays. The unfortunate phraseology of the chapter heading is apparent when one is asked to classify *The Four Prentices of London* and *The Fair Maid of the West* as plays of everyday life. In defense of the author, however, it is evident that she is concerned with certain details of London life to be gleaned from these wild stage romances. In Chapter III, "Heywood's Realism," Miss Cromwell decides that "Heywood is distinctive for the genuine kindness of his attitude, a tendency falling often into the error of idealizing unto exaggeration the virtues of a class." Again she observes that "If Heywood's pictures are distorted, the slant leans in the direction of virtue, his idealizations turning his realism into sentimentalism." Although not always relevant in the discussion of realism, some of Miss Cromwell's observations show that she is on the trail of Heywood's significance, as for example when she mentions the playwright's class consciousness (p. 104), his exaltation of trade (p. 94), and his condemnation of prodigality (p. 100). Miss Cromwell is rather misleading in her frequent references to Heywood's "lofty ideals" (e. g., pp. 150 and 191). He was a constructive propagandist for bourgeois prudential virtues. His ideals were of precisely the same altitude as those of Poor Richard.

Chapter IV, "Heywood's Technique," shows some painstaking labor to arrive at the obvious conclusion that the plays of Heywood "are characterized by a superficial and loose connection between the main and subordinate actions," a convention of Elizabethan drama, one should add. Chapter V, "Problems of Authorship," summarizes without new evidence opinion as to the authorship of six doubtful plays. There is no bibliography.

A looseness of expression causes the writer occasionally to say

what she probably does not mean. Heywood is not protesting in the prologue to *The English Traveller* against any "elaborate stage setting" (p. 66), but against the tyranny of the appetite for vaudeville. One can hardly describe *The Pleasant Conceits of Old Hobson the Merry Londoner* as "an Elizabethan story" (p. 50). Threads of fatalism, exuberant patriotism, loosely constructed plots, etc., are not "distinctively characteristic" of Heywood but are Elizabethan conventions. Parallels of commonplaces such as those on p. 149 are worthless.

The author of this study could have contributed a clearer discussion of Heywood's plays if she had been more familiar with his non-dramatic work, his plays other than those directly treated, some of the other Elizabethan literature of similar tone, and the Heywood bibliography. A dissertation in recent years on the dramatist's bourgeois plays,<sup>1</sup> even though it is by no means a definitive study, and Mr. Clark's bibliography<sup>2</sup> might have been suggestive.

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*Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads.* By LOWRY CHARLES WIMBERLY. The University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xiii + 466.

*The Types of the Folk-Tale: A Classification and Bibliography.* Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, translated and enlarged by STITH THOMPSON. Folklore Fellows Communications, 74, Helsingfors, 1928. Pp. 279.

The publication of this volume encourages the hope that ballad study in America has at last passed beyond the period of vain strife about origins, communal or otherwise. In the present substantial work, origins receive no attention, all of the author's energy being concentrated on the subject-matter of the ballads themselves. Painstaking reading and analysis of the ballads in Child's standard work have resulted in systematic lists of the popular lore embedded in the ballad texts. These lists are arranged under four main heads: 1) *The Pagan Otherworld*, 2) *Pagan Otherworld Beings*, 3) *The Otherworld Spell*, 4) *The Christian Otherworld*. In so far as the ballads themselves are concerned, this work resolves itself into a *catalogue raisonné* of the learning in Child's introductions to

<sup>1</sup> F. Mowbray Velte, *The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood*, Princeton dissertation, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Clark, "A Bibliography of Thomas Heywood," Oxford Bibliographical Society, *Proceedings and Papers*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (1925).

the various ballads. Thus, a person interested in ballad representations of other-world journeys will find a list of them on pp. 108-120.

If we look beyond the re-arrangement of Child's comments, we come to debatable material. In general, Mr. Wimberly regards the ballads as far more primitive than seems to me justifiable. There is slight evidence for assuming that the ballads spring from or bear numerous traces of a state of culture similar to that discussed in the works of Frazer and Tylor, from which Mr. Wimberly draws many parallels to ballad situations. In this spirit, the parrot in *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* "is no doubt the rationalization of the early belief that all birds were able to speak and act like human beings" (p. 44). Is it necessary to believe that rationalization took place here, when the *Çukasaptati* (*Seventy Tales of a Parrot*), in which much the same sort of situation prevails, looms large on the story horizon of Western Europe? Again, on p. 86 we read "if we are to regard Percy and Earl Brand as 'culture brothers' to the Fijian or the Omaha Indian, possibly we should include Child Waters of another ballad in the same fraternity." Many will regard these as strange "culture brothers." One must question such easy *rapprochements* of primitive custom and ballad environment.

There are some bibliographical omissions. Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1913-14, is not mentioned. The *Bibliography*, pp. 431-439, contains the item "*Folklore Fellow* [sic] *Communications*, 1910-," but not a single monograph of this important series is mentioned in the book. In connection with *King John and the Bishop*, Walter Anderson's *Kaiser und Abt* (*FF. Comm.*, 42), a monument of modern scholarship, is not referred to. The section on riddlecraft does not notice the learned work of Jan de Vries, *Die Märchen von klugen Rätsellösern* (*FF. COMM.*, 73). The references in the section on "The Bone Soul" (pp. 68-72), concerned partly with *The Two Sisters*, do not include L. Mackensen, *Der singende Knochen* (*FF. COMM.*, 49). The reference to G. H. Gerould, *The Grateful Dead* (p. 269, n. 1) should be supplemented by S. Liljeblad, *Die Tobiasgeschichte mit anderen Märchen mit toten Helfer* (Lund, 1927). The discussion of elves and dwarfs (pp. 167 ff.), as well as that on the living corpse (pp. 229 ff.), would have been helped by a perusal of C. N. Gould's *They Who Await the Second Death* (*Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, 9, 1927, 167-201). Reference is nowhere made to the standard German ballad collection, L. Erk and F. H. Böhme, *Deutsche Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1883-84). The index would have been more usable if the ballads in the Child collection had been referred to by number. An extremely valuable supplementary index listing the variants collected since 1898 might have been compiled at no great additional labor. Misprints are few and unimportant. Difficult textual matter is capably handled.

Some twenty years ago the Folklore Fellows effected an organization the primary purpose of which was to facilitate research in the popular tale. Since bibliographical conditions were far from satisfactory, Antti Aarne was commissioned to prepare an index of folk-tales with the assistance of the Folklore Fellows. This index appeared in 1910 as *FF. Communications 3*, a work of some sixty pages. Commendable enough as an initial effort, the index became less adequate for the growing needs of investigators as time went on. The Folklore Fellows are to be warmly congratulated for having entrusted the revision to Mr. Thompson, who combines extraordinarily keen powers of analysis with the exact scholarship requisite for such an undertaking. An idea of the changes wrought may be gained from a glance at Type 301, *The Three Stolen Princesses*. Aarne devoted eleven lines to the type, including references to four analogues; Thompson has fifty-seven lines, and thirty-eight analogues. The revision is thorough and workmanlike.

I look in vain for a discussion of what constitutes a "type." Aarne says merely (Thompson's translation, p. 10): "so far as possible a complete narrative has served as a basis for each type." Probably a hard and fast procedure for determining what constitutes a type cannot be reached; but it would be interesting to know the opinion of a scholar of wide experience in the popular tale.

In a work of this sort, personal opinion is likely to be extremely damaging, even when that opinion is held by so trustworthy a compiler as Mr. Thompson. As an admirable check on his opinions, Mr. Thompson gives (pp. 214-252) a list of types not included; that is, he has relegated to this section items which others have designated as types, but which he rejects "because of their lack of general distribution, or because they have not seemed to constitute a true folk-tale type, or for other reasons" (p. 214). One is forced to admire the candor of this procedure, although certain of the rejected types would seem worthy of inclusion in the main index, or at least might be dignified by a reference or two. *The Wandering Jew*, no. 754 \*\*\* (p. 226), for instance, is listed as having only Esthonian, Lappish, and Livonian variants; reference might have been made to Gaston Paris's chapter in his *Légendes du moyen âge*, or to J. Prost's *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden in der neueren deutschen Literatur*. Similarly, *The Homecoming Husband*, no. 974 \* (p. 232) might possibly be a type. In order to find Type 1137 through the index, a person would have to know that Mr. Thompson regards Polyphemus as an ogre. An interesting detail is the inclusion of references to Mr. Thompson's forthcoming book, *The Materials of Folk-Literature: a Classification of Motifs*, a major work the publication of which will be awaited eagerly. *The Types of the Folk-Tale* must be regarded as a standard work, indispensable to every student of the popular tale.

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JOHN W. SPARGO.



*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, herausgegeben im auftrage der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 64. Leipzig, 1928. Pp. 259.

*Die Neun Dichter des Hamlet*. By WILHELM MARSHALL. Heidelberg-Rohrbach, Verlag Guenther Marstrand (Shakespeare-Bausteine), 1928. Pp. 75.

The Shakespeare-Jahrbuch for 1928 offers the usual features, both of practical chronicle and of homage. Performances of Shakespearean plays have steadily diminished in number since the high point of 1923. The *Merchant of Venice* wins first place for the year with 195 performances, nosing out the old favorite, *Twelfth Night*. *Julius Caesar* trails the field with only two performances.

As for the addresses and contributed papers that make up the larger part of the volume, hardly more than a bare enumeration will suffice. Professor Hermann Von Waltershausen sketches the influence of Shakespeare, Wagner apart, on nineteenth-century music. Walter Linden builds up from the plays a life-experience for Shakespeare of the familiar type—hope, disillusion, and reconciliation. Gregory von Glasenapp continues his study of the natural history of prophecy wherein the Witches in *Macbeth* furnish a classic and altogether credible case. An eighteenth century opera based on the *Tempest* is studied by Werner Deetjen. Hugo Daffner discusses Shakespeare's treatment of suicide in the light of the classical tradition to which he seems artistically to have assented. Ernest Gundolf speaks one word more in favor of the authenticity of the Darmstadt death-mask. Professor Elise Richter, following Professor Brandl's article in the Jahrbuch of 1917, considers the "Imogen-Portia" motive and finds fresh material in *El Patrañuelo* of Juan Timoneda. Finally, there is an admirably composed address on Marlowe, pronounced by Professor Schick at Weimar, introducing a performance of *Doctor Faustus*.

In five lectures Wilhelm Marschall seeks to establish the thesis, or rather develops the interesting assumption, that so great a play as *Hamlet* could not have been—was not, indeed—written by a man with a pen in his hand, but was spontaneously improvised by nine actor-playwrights. The author is convinced of the existence in England of a tradition of such extemporizing, similar to that of the *commedia dell'arte* in Italy. Save for the nine Muses and the seven choruses of the Angels, no conjunction quite so splendid has occurred since the morning stars sang together.

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*The Development of the Theatre.* By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. London: George G. Harrap, 1927. Pp. 247.

"Unless we can appreciate the stage of Sophocles and the stage of Shakespeare (not separately, but in their interrelations) we cannot hope to understand their works aright; unless we have a knowledge of past theatrical effort we can barely form an opinion concerning the more recent developments in scenic artistry." Thus Professor Allardyce Nicoll sums up in the preface to his *Development of the Theatre* the necessity of a knowledge of the theatre and conditions of staging to an adequate understanding of the drama of any given period. Happily this necessity is now generally recognized. And happily at last in one volume amply illustrated we have a survey of the theatre's growth in Western Europe from its Grecian origins to the present day. All students of the drama will find this beautifully made book one of immense value. Here we have a lucid exposition supplemented by 271 diagrams, designs, and pictures illustrative of the theatre in its various stages. Many of these designs were hitherto inaccessible or scattered through numerous volumes.

Insofar as Professor Nicoll has a thesis it is the continuity of stage tradition from age to age. He traces the gradual changes in the Greek theatre from the simplest form of stage and auditorium to the relatively elaborate Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman theatres. The Middle Ages came nearer to a break with classical tradition than any period after, but the author finds even here the influence of the earlier staging. With the Renaissance came a renewal of classical influence in theatrical design. Vitruvius inspired Serlio, Palladio, and their successors; they in turn became the inspiration of designers for English stages. Professor Nicoll suggests (p. 123) that Burbage may have tried to reproduce in London in the Theatre and the Globe such forms of the Roman playhouse as then flourished in Italy, particularly the Teatro Olimpico of Palladio at Vicenza. This credits Burbage with a wider acquaintance with architecture than he probably had, but the writer is undoubtedly sound in his insistence on the influence of Italy even this early, though this influence was likely indirect. The direct debt of Inigo Jones and later theatrical designers to Italy is well known.

In the chapters on the Restoration, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century theatres, the essential characteristics are presented with a discussion of the relationships with Continental theatrical development, except in the case of the nineteenth century play-houses, where the growth was parallel. In the final chapter is a discussion of the modern tendencies in the theatre, realistic and symbolic. In modern theatrical symbolism, Professor Nicoll finds little that is essentially new, for, he asks, were not the Greek and even the

medieval stages thus symbolic? The form of the symbols, however, especially of those who seek "an escape in the world of fantasy . . . into the misty regions of psycho-analysis," owes nothing to Grecian example.

In addition to treatments of architectural design and stage decoration, this volume provides a brief consideration in each period of stage costuming. In no period has the author been able to enter into the detailed and frequently debatable problems of theatrical history. Perhaps herein lies one of the chief values of the work. He is forced by the demand for compression to present a connected story of the theatre's development in its typical aspects. A discriminating bibliography is provided for those who wish to make a more minute study.

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## BRIEF MENTION

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*The Assassination of Christopher Marlowe. (A new view).* By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. Privately printed. The Tenny Press, New York, 1928. Pp. 75. Dr. Tannenbaum's new view of the assassination of Marlowe is developed in large part from conclusions at which the author arrived in his recent monograph on "The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore." In that work he argued that the play on *More* was written in 1593, the year of Marlowe's death; that it was definitely associated with the anti-alien agitation of the early part of that year; that Thomas Kyd had a large hand in preparing it; and that Kyd's arrest on suspicion of complicity in the anti-alien propaganda of 1593 was a main reason why the play was not completed. Dr. Tannenbaum now attempts, by an equally clever marshalling of evidence and possibility, to relate the death of Marlowe to these same events.

He begins with the assumption, which there is slight reason to accept, that the official story of Marlowe's death at the hands of Ingram Frizer revealed comparatively little of the real truth. He conjectures, on tempting circumstantial evidence, that Kyd held Marlowe to be responsible for his arrest, and that the subsequent order for Marlowe's arrest, on May 18, was due in turn to Kyd's denunciation. Finally he ventures to infer that the ill-starred *More* play was intended as political propaganda in the interest of Sir Walter Raleigh, and that Marlowe's murder was concocted by Raleigh to safeguard himself. "He knew," says Dr. Tannenbaum of Raleigh,

"none so well as he, that his and all his friends' fortunes were desperate if Marlowe divulged what he knew."

The case against Raleigh is at worst but a dark suspicion, without positive evidence to support it; and the entire theory rests upon the hypothesis that the play of *More* can be dated as early as 1593—a hypothesis which must still be regarded as unproved; but the essay is most subtly and interestingly developed and in it Dr. Tannenbaum has again presented scholars with a very profitable example of the imaginative interpretation of literary history.

TUCKER BROOKE.

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*Twelfth Night.* By William Shakespeare. With an introduction by J. DOVER WILSON. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928. \$2.00. This volume is one of a series which offers at a moderate price excellent photographic facsimiles of separate plays as they appear in the First Folio, with lists of modern readings, and short bibliographical introductions by the editor. A thoroughly commendable undertaking.

H. S.

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*Several of My Lives.* By LOUIS N. PARKER. London, Chapman and Hall, 1928. Pp. 312. 21 s. Students of the nineteenth-century drama, and those interested in modern pageantry, will find this autobiography of Mr. Parker a "source book" of value. Aside from the charm of the author's style, the attractive personality which is reflected in pages modest as well as humorous, and the pictures of Europe before the Franco-Prussian War, vivid and sympathetic, there are glimpses of the stage and the actors in England and this country from the 'eighties on, which have the authority of one writing from personal experience. "The father of modern pageantry" sets forth his ideals of what a pageant should be; the first of our pageant-masters gives much valuable information concerning the production of these spectacles, and the effects which they may be expected to have—have, indeed, actually had, when properly managed; and a distinguished dramatist—who was, incidentally, one of the first Englishmen to appreciate Ibsen—writes illuminatingly of his profession.

ROBERT WITHINGTON.

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# Modern Language Notes

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## VOLTAIRE'S PESSIMISTIC REVISION OF THE CONCLUSION OF HIS *POÈME SUR LE DÉSASTRE DE LISBONNE*

The subject of the *Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*, with the age-old problem of evil and the questions aroused regarding the doctrine of Providence, was ticklish, and from the beginning Voltaire shows himself concerned to express himself in terms which will not too much expose him to danger from the theologians. To Thieriot he writes as early as Jan. 2, 1756: "Je vous prie d'aller chez M. d'Argental avec ce petit billet; il vous communiquera le sermon,<sup>1</sup> et vous verrez ensemble s'il est possible que cela soit communiqué."<sup>2</sup> His doubts about publication are reiterated, but more jocularly, to D'Argental himself on Jan. 8: "Mon sermon sur Lisbonne n'a été fait que pour édifier votre troupeau, et je ne jette point le pain de vie aux chiens."<sup>3</sup> In February he is more specific in seeking counsel from the same trusted friend:

<sup>1</sup> The term *sermon* is employed constantly by Voltaire at this time in referring to his two poems on *La Loi naturelle* and on *Le Désastre de Lisbonne*, which were originally published together in March, 1756. (Cf. Moland, xxxix, 12.) The term was probably used in reaction against the actual sermons in Genevan pulpits dealing with the Lisbon earthquake of November 1, 1755, in much more orthodox fashion than Voltaire's "sermon" was to do. The choice of this word suggests also that the poem on Lisbon was probably composed during the latter half of December, 1755. (Cf. Moland, xxxviii, 522, 541.) Voltaire first mentions the earthquake in his correspondence on November 24. (Cf. Moland, xxxviii, 511.) He sends an incomplete copy of his poem to the duchesse de Saxe-Gotha on January 1, 1756. (Moland, xxxvii, 530.)

<sup>2</sup> Moland, xxxviii, 531.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Si ceci n'est pas une tragédie, ce sont au moins des vers tragiques. Je vous demande en grâce de me mander s'ils sont orthodoxes: je les crois tels; mais j'ai peur d'être un mauvais théologien. . . . Je vous demande en grâce d'éplucher mon prêche.<sup>4</sup>

To Bertrand, pastor at Berne, he shows himself on February 28 particularly concerned about the all-important conclusion of his poem:

Vous me direz que . . . je laisse le lecteur dans la tristesse et dans le doute. Eh bien! il n'y a qu'à ajouter le mot d'espérer à celui d'adorer, et mettre:

Mortels, il faut souffrir,  
Se soumettre, adorer, espérer, et mourir.<sup>5</sup>

It would appear, then, that not until the end of February did Voltaire introduce into the conclusion the important idea of *hope*, in an attempt to mitigate its rather unrelieved pessimism and despair.

Bertrand evidently made suggestions which were adopted by the author, who writes promptly on March 7: "Vous verrez que j'aurai profité de vos sages et judicieuses réflexions,"<sup>6</sup> and encloses a whole new conclusion, some twenty-five lines longer than the earlier version and substantially like the one finally accepted.<sup>7</sup> These must have been approximately the lines sent to Thieriot five days later: "Si vous aimez les vers honnêtes et décents, voici ceux qui termineront le *sermon* sur Lisbonne; lâchez-les pour apaiser les cerbères."<sup>8</sup> The desire to appease the watch-dogs of theology is obviously still paramount.

In fact, now that the poem has been revised to practically its form as we know it at present, Voltaire is afraid he may have gone to the other extreme. "Je n'ai peur que d'être trop orthodoxe, parce que cela ne me sied pas; mais la résignation à l'Être suprême sied toujours bien."<sup>9</sup> This is on March 22, the date when he speaks of the unauthorized appearance at Paris of defective editions,<sup>10</sup> which of course have not profited by the "sages et judicieuses réflexions" of Bertrand and other friends. By April

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 543.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 556. In the earliest editions these two lines, without the emendation *espérer*, were the last two in the poem. Cf. Moland, ix, 480.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxix, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

12, when he has published his own edition at Geneva, he comments on his difficult attempt to steer a middle course between two extremes. "Il a fallu dire ce que je pense, et le dire d'une manière qui ne révoltât ni les esprits trop philosophes ni les esprits trop crédules."<sup>11</sup> Thus trimming his sails to avoid the reefs of the *philosophes* on the one side and of the *dévots* on the other, the author contemplates the result with reasonable satisfaction:

J'ai arrondi ces deux ouvrages autant que j'ai pu; et, quoique j'y aie dit tout ce que je pense, je me flatte pourtant d'avoir trouvé le secret de ne pas offenser beaucoup de gens.<sup>12</sup>

Here then the matter of the conclusion of Voltaire's poem might seem to rest and the chief inference to be drawn from the passages cited is that Voltaire in 1756 was still very hesitant about expressing publicly his frank opinion on important matters of religious doctrine. It is also evident that the conclusion of the poem as we now have it has been considerably modified from earlier drafts in order to express hope in a future life as a relief from the sufferings of this world. Hence, it would be entirely unsafe to quote Voltaire's final lines as representing accurately his real opinion. In fact they appear very clearly as a sop thrown to the orthodox in order that the author's peace might not be too much disturbed.

Indeed, so true is it that Voltaire had made himself appear "trop orthodoxe,"<sup>13</sup> that he actually contemplated still another revision of his concluding lines, a revision, however, which seems never to have appeared in any printed edition. This projected revision is found in an edition of his poem now in the Voltaire library at Leningrad and bearing the following title: "Poemes sur le Desastre de Lisbonne et sur la Loi naturelle, Nouvelle édition. En May 1756, 51 pp." This edition is the second published by Cramer at Geneva under Voltaire's supervision.<sup>14</sup> The copy at Leningrad is bound in a volume of miscellanies labelled *Pot-pourri*<sup>15</sup> and bears the call-number, 9-52. Between pages 16-17

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. Cited above.

<sup>14</sup> Bengesco, *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, I, 166-67.

<sup>15</sup> Some one hundred and fifty volumes of miscellanies thus labelled are to be found in the Voltaire library.

at the end of the poem on Lisbon is a paper bookmark and written on these pages in Voltaire's hand are the following corrections to the text, as though for the guidance of the printer of a new edition.<sup>16</sup>

Lines 118-119 read:

*Un jour tout sera bien, voilà notre espérance;  
Tout est bien aujourd'hui, voilà l'illusion.*<sup>17</sup>

Instead of "voilà notre espérance," Voltaire wrote in the text: "quelle frele [sic] espérance!" The phrase "voilà l'illusion" he changed to: "c'est qu'elle [sic] illusion!"

The concluding lines of the poem as it now stands tell of a caliph who in his final prayer to God used the following words, which are amplified by the author's comment in the last line:

"Je t'apporte, ô seul roi, seul être illimité,  
Tout ce que tu n'as pas dans ton immensité,  
Les défauts, les regrets, les maux, et l'ignorance."  
Mais il pouvait encore ajouter *l'espérance*.

Thus Voltaire concluded his poem and again dwelt upon *hope* as the final and only consolation. In his emendation written in the text he has weakened this conclusion in the same direction of pessimism and scepticism just noted above. This was done by the very simple device of changing the final line into a question and making it read:

Mais pouvait-il encor ajouter *l'espérance*?

In the light of the long series of revisions which had preceded it, this version appears particularly significant as Voltaire's final word on the conclusion of this important poem. Probably it was prudence again, in the end, which triumphed and prevented this very unorthodox version from getting out of the author's own private library at Ferney to the printed page.

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<sup>16</sup> Such was Voltaire's custom when preparing the edition published by Walther in 1752, as with several later editions.

<sup>17</sup> Moland, IX, 478.



Si la nuit du tombeau détruit l'être qui pense.

Un jour tout sera bien ; <sup>quelle fête,</sup> voilà notre espérance ;  
Tout est bien aujourd'hui, <sup>c'est quelle</sup> voilà l'illusion !

Les Sages me trompaient , & DIEU seul a raison.

Humble dans mes soupirs, soumis dans ma souffrance,

Je ne m'élève point contre la Providence.

Sur un ton moins lugubre on me vit autrefois,

Chanter des doux plaisirs les séduisantes loix.

D'autres tems d'autres mœurs : instruit par la vieillesse ,

Des humains égarés partageant la faiblesse ,

Dans une épaisse nuit cherchant à m'éclairer ,

Je ne fai que souffrir, & non pas murmurer.

Un Calife autrefois à son heure dernière

Au DIEU qu'il adorait dit pour toute prière :

*Je t'apporte, ô seul Roi, seul être illimité,*

*Tout ce que tu n'as point dans ton immensité ;*

*Les défauts, les regrets, les maux & l'ignorance.*

Mais ~~il~~ pouvait encor ajouter L'ESPERANCE. <sup>d</sup>

*d* Voyez les notes à la fin du Poëme.



## THE MANCIPLE'S PROLOGUE

The Manciple's Prologue, with its dramatic by-play of the drunken Cook, is definitely located for us in—

a litel toun,  
Which that ycleped is Bobbe-up-and-down,  
Under the Blee, in Caunterbury weye.

Why Chaucer should have called this little town by the curious appellation of "Bobbe-up-and-down" is one of the minor puzzles of Chaucerian scholarship; but it is reasonably certain that the place he had in mind is Harbledown, about a mile to the west of Canterbury. Harbledown precisely conforms to the specifications: it is "in Caunterbury weye," i. e. on the highway from London to Canterbury; and it is directly "under the Blee." Blean Wood, or The Blean, is a region of hilly woodland to the west and north of Canterbury. The highest elevation given on the Ordnance Survey map is 402 feet above sea-level.<sup>1</sup> The highway from London to Canterbury crosses it at an elevation of 390 feet, after climbing the steep Boughton Hill from the village of "Boghton under Blee," mentioned in the Prologue of the Canon's Yeoman (G 556). To the eastward the road descends more gently to Harbledown (3 miles), whose village street "bobs up and down" at elevations ranging from 100 to 150 feet, and commands a fine view of the city of Canterbury, lying below it at an elevation of less than 50 feet.

In 1868 J. M. Cowper in a letter to the *Athenæum*, which is reprinted in the Chaucer Society volume, *Some Notes on the Road from London to Canterbury* (pp. 36-38), proposed that Chaucer's "Bobbe-up-and-down" should be identified with a certain Up-and-Down Field near Thannington Church, about a mile to the south east of Canterbury on the south side of the River Stour. This identification seems to me far from probable. Up-and-Down Field

<sup>1</sup> The earliest known map of Kent is Lambarde's "Carde of this Shyre," which probably dates from about 1570. It is reproduced in *Archæologia Cantiana*, xxxviii, p. 89 (1926). In vol. xxxix of the same journal (p. 141) is reproduced a copy of the third issue of this map, dating from about 1720-30, in which the roads, not shown in the earlier issues, are indicated. On this map of 1570 the elevated land of Blean Wood is shown by a group of hillocks; and "Harbaldowne" is shown directly "under" the easternmost hillock.

could not be called a "litel toun"; for Chaucer uses the word *town* in our modern sense, and never with the earlier meaning of "enclosed farmstead." It is not "under the Blee"; for the valley of the Stour lies between it and the uplands of Blean Wood. It is not "in Caunterbury weye"; for to reach it the pilgrims must have left the London-Canterbury road at Boughton and skirted the Blean plateau to the south (as the railway does). Had they made this detour, as Mr. Cowper thought they did,<sup>2</sup> they would presumably have approached Canterbury by the old Pilgrim's Way from Winchester; and this road joined the London road just east of Harbledown. Up-and-Down Field has in its favor nothing but its name.

No other identification of "Bobbe-up-and-down" has been proposed; and a diligent search of the maps reveals no other possibilities. To the west of Blean Wood the only "litel toun" which lies "in Caunterbury weye" is the "Boghton-under-Blee" mentioned in the third line of the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue.

From the church of Harbledown to the Westgate of Canterbury, on the more northerly branch of the Stour, the distance is just over a mile. From Thannington church, the site of Mr. Cowper's Up-and-Down Field, the distance to the Castle Gate of Canterbury is almost exactly the same. If pilgrims bound for Canterbury have reached "Bobbe-up-and-down"—whether it be Harbledown or Thannington—they are all but at the end of their way. A quarter of an hour of easy riding will bring them to their journey's end. From the top of Harbledown hill they would see spread before them the goal of their pilgrimage. It seems most unlikely that Chaucer, with his keen sense of actuality and his certain familiarity with the road that leads through Canterbury to Dover, should have thought of his pilgrim company as beginning a new tale with the destination already in sight. It is quite inconceivable that he should have thought that between "Bobbe-up-and-down" and Canterbury there was time both for the Manciple's Tale and the long discourse of the Parson.

<sup>2</sup> The pilgrims of Lydgate's tale of the *Siege of Thebes* travel a road which cannot have varied much from the present course of Watling Street. At the end of Part I the company is descending Blean hill; and Part II begins when they have passed the thorp of "Bowton on the ble." (Three MSS. read "under þe ble.")

Though all the manuscripts link the Parson's Tale with the Manciple's, it has long been obvious to students of the poem that the two tales are not in close sequence. The Manciple's prologue is "by the morwe" and the Parson's at four in the afternoon.<sup>3</sup> It seems clear that the word "Manciple" in the first line of the Parson's prologue was written in by the scribal editor, or literary executor, who sought to put together as best he could the fragmentary materials which Chaucer left behind him at his death. Professor Manly in his recent edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (p. 655) has suggested the possibility that the Parson's Tale "was intended to close up the journey back to Southwark." Any one who will reread the Parson's head-link with this suggestion in mind will find much to recommend it. Lines 19, 47, and 63—

Almoost fulfild is al myn ordinaunce.

To knytte up al this feeste and make an ende

To enden in som vertuous sentence—

have about them the ring of finality.

If the Parson's Tale "was intended to close up the journey back to Southwark," I believe that when Chaucer wrote the Manciple's Prologue, he thought of it as introducing the first tale of the homeward journey, that when at "Bobbe-up-and-down" Harry Bailly gan for to jape and play, his company was not at its journey's end but had just started out on the road back to the Tabard Inn.<sup>4</sup> If it is unlikely that a new tale should be called for within a mile of the journey's goal, it is in every way appropriate that the Pilgrims should not begin the homeward series of tales until they had begun to settle down to their journey. At the beginning of the outward journey, it is at St. Thomas-a-Watering, about a mile and a half

<sup>3</sup> There is a further discrepancy. The Parson's head-link is located "as we were entryng at a thropes ende" (I, 12). As Mr. Manly has remarked in his note on the passage, there was no village between Harbledown—or Thannington—and Canterbury.

<sup>4</sup> The same suggestion was made years ago by ten Brink: "We cannot exactly make out whether the poet originally wrote this piece for the out-journey, or for the beginning of the journey home: the latter seems to us the more probable." (*Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, i, 182.) Ten Brink has only this to say; and later students have ignored his suggestion.

from the Tabard Inn, that the Host calls upon the company to begin the story-telling agreed to the night before.

The time of day is "by the morwe" (H 16). If the reader will consult the Chaucer Concordance *s. v.* Morrow, he will find sixteen instances of the phrase "by the morwe," and will note that in all but two of these instances the context makes plain that it refers to very early morning. That that is the meaning here seems to be implied by the lines (17-19) in which the Host explains the drunken stupor of the Cook.<sup>5</sup> Even if the Pilgrims on the way to Canterbury spent a night at Ospringe, as seems to be implied by the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue, they could not have ridden ten miles and arrived at Harbledown while it was still early morning. If they are but just started on their way from Canterbury, all is simple; the drunken Cook can blame the ale of Canterbury, as the drunken Miller, early on the first day of the expedition, blames his condition on the ale of Southwark.

If the Manciple's Tale was intended for the beginning, and the Parson's for the conclusion of the homeward journey, one may venture the guess that this fact explains their juxtaposition in all the manuscripts. The scribal editor who first tried after Chaucer's death to put into presentable form the unfinished materials of the *Canterbury Tales* may well have found these two homeward tales tied up together in a single bundle by themselves.

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### CHAUCER'S MAN OF LAW AT THE PARVIS

In his recent edition of selections from the *Canterbury Tales*,<sup>1</sup> Professor Manly gives the following note on the phrase "at the parvys" which occurs in the description of the Man of Law in the *Prologue*:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In the *Tale of Beryn* the pilgrims returning from Canterbury reach "þe townys ende" (line 676) just at sun-up, and the host at once begins to arrange for the telling of a tale. He will not draw lots, lest the lot fall on some one who is "semybousy ovyr eve" (line 706).

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1928, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Editors have always explained this as a reference to the porch of St. Paul's, where lawyers were accustomed in the sixteenth century to meet

A Sergeant of the Lawe, war and wys,  
 That often hadde been at the parvys,  
 Ther was also, ful riche of excellence (309-11).

It seems to me that Professor Manly's first conjecture is unacceptable altogether, and his second unacceptable in his interpretation. I shall discuss his suggestions, and then attempt to demonstrate that the traditional explanation of the passage is, with some modifications, still the most satisfactory.

In trying to attach the *parvis* to the court of the Exchequer at Westminster Professor Manly is led into error by considering *paradisus* and *parvis* as equivalents. Authorities are indeed agreed in regarding *paradisus* as the etymon of both the French and the English form of *parvis*, but the equivalent of *parvis* is rather the Vulgar Latin *paravisus*, *paravisius*, etc., and in fact *pervisum* is the form used by Fortescue,<sup>3</sup> who is one of the nearest to Chaucer in point of date of those using the term. Furthermore, those very passages in Rymer to which Professor Manly refers demonstrate that the apartment in Westminster Palace known as Paradise had

their clients for consultation. But this explanation seems doubtful. In the first place, it is not certain that St. Paul's was so used in the fourteenth century. *Paradisus* and its vernacular equivalent *parvys* were in common use, and there was a *paradisus* at Westminster, mentioned in fourteenth century building accounts recorded in Rymer's *Foedera* (see Syllabus, Index, under *Westminster*). According to a document of May 17, 1550, it was then used for the court of the Exchequer (Rymer, O, xv, 233 or H. VI, pt. iii, 190). There is, however, still another explanation that demands consideration. The great lawyer John Selden, in a note on Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (ed. 1737, p. 120), after quoting this passage from Chaucer, says: 'It signifies an Afternoon Exercise or Moot, to the Instruction of young Students, bearing the same name originally (I guess) with *Parvisiae* in Oxford, as they call their Sitting Generals in the Schools in the Afternoon.' He quotes Wake, *Musae Regnantes* for this usage: 'Has, quia iis inferiores, *Parvas*, jam etiam corrupto nomine, *Parvisias* dicere consuevimus.' See also the quotations in *OED* (*Parvis*, 2) under 1530, 1706, and 1886, with the concluding remarks.

As the emphasis is on the Man of Law's wisdom, either of the two last explanations would seem preferable to the first: that is, either 'he had often sat in the court of the Exchequer,' or 'he had often presided at the moots of the students in the inns of court.' I think the last the more probable.

<sup>3</sup> *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (London, 1616, ch. 51, p. 124), "Sed placentes tunc se devertunt ad pervisum, et alibi consulentes cum servientibus ad legem et aliis consiliariis suis."

formerly been a perquisite of courtiers rather than a court-room. Not until 1550 was it converted to the use of the Exchequer and the former occupant indemnified for the loss of it.<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no evidence, then, that the word *parvis* had any association with the apartment called Paradise or the court of the Exchequer at Westminster.

Professor Manly's second suggestion, that the reference is to the moots of the students in the inns of court, is nearer to plausibility, supported as it is by the prestige of Selden; and Walcott<sup>5</sup> has proposed a figurative meaning of the word as used in the Townley Mysteries:

*Froward.* Why, it is true that I told,

Fayn prove I wold.

*Secundus Tortor.* Thou shalbe call'd to *pervyce*;

of which he says the true meaning is, You shall be put in the Logic School and prove it true. Such a meaning would be possible in the passage in Chaucer: that the Man of Law had often been tried and tested. Nevertheless, in spite of Selden, the sentence in Fortescue<sup>6</sup> hardly supports the idea that the Sergeants were presiding over students' exercises, but rather suggests that the *pervisum* was a place where they might be consulted on professional business. This was the idea of Somner,<sup>7</sup> who considered that the *parvis* might be the Palace Yard at Westminster, "quem in locum diver-

<sup>4</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera*, London, 1713, xv, 233 f. (May 17, 1550): "Cum Nos . . . dederimus et concesserimus Dilecto et Servienti nostro *Andreae Dudley* Militi uni Generosorum privatae Camerae nostrae, omnia et singula Tenementa Mesuagia Domos Mansiones vocata *Paradyse* et *Hell* infra Aulam nostram Westm. . . . Habenda tenenda possidenda et gaudenda . . . pro termino Vitae suae . . . Quae quidem Domus sive Mesuagia occupantur utuntur et convertuntur ad Usus deponendi et conservandi Recorda et Rotula Curiae Scaccarii nostri, . . . De Gratia nostra speciali . . . in plenam Satisfactionem et Contentationem omnium et singulorum Domorum sive Mesuagiorum . . . dedimus et concessimus, ac per Praesentes damus et concedimus eidem *Andreae Dudley* Militi, quandam Annuitatem sive annualem Redditum *duodecim Librarum tresdecim Solidorum et octo Denariorum* bonae et legalis Monetae nostrae Angliae."

<sup>5</sup> Walcott, M. E. C., "Keeping School in the Parvise" in *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., I (1880), 437 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Glossarium* to Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, London, 1652, s. v. *Triforium*.



soriis plenum, hodieque diebus juridicis clientes cum causidicis (quoties opus fuerit) consulturi, forum et aulam strepitu repletam exeuntes, solent se conferre. Et quod ita etiam se res habuerit tempore Fortescuti, verba ejus satis arguunt." He then cites the passage in Fortescue referred to above, and goes on to say very justly, "Quae de loco eo nomine noto, non autem de quovis exercitio sic dicto (ni fallor) intelligenda."

Further evidence to support this view may be found if, instead of being too greatly impressed by the fact that *parvis* was derived from *paradisus*, we investigate its meaning in the fifteenth century. That meaning is given us in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*<sup>8</sup> as *parlatorium*. Now according to Carpentier's addition to Du Cange *parlatorium* may mean not only *parloir*, but also *locus ubi iudices litigantes audiunt*. It seems to me a justifiable assumption that the meaning of this word was later developed into the signification of a place where lawyers heard their clients, and that that meaning is the one that was attached to the equivalent word *parvis*.<sup>9</sup>

Besides Oxford (in relation to which the word has the academic meaning indicated by Selden, *e. g.* in the *Workes* of Sir Thomas More, London, 1557, p. 841) the only place mentioned in connection with a *parvis* is St. Paul's Cathedral. Professor Manly in *Some New Light on Chaucer*<sup>10</sup> has very properly emphasized the fact that Chaucer's Man of Law was not a simple lawyer, but a Sergeant of the Law—a personage of considerable rank and dignity. When we consider that the Sergeants had a close association with St. Paul's I believe we are near a correct interpretation of the passage under discussion. Machyn's *Diary*<sup>11</sup> and Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*<sup>12</sup> give us interesting accounts in greater or less detail of various investitures of Sergeants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially of certain ceremonies which took place at St. Paul's. The fullest account of these last is that of Dugdale describing a ceremony of 1577-8 (p. 124):

<sup>8</sup> Ed. A. L. Mayhew (E. E. T. S.), London, 1908, col. 329.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar development of the French *parloir* as applied to a court in the term *Parloir aux Bourgeois*. (Du Breul, J., *Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris*, Paris, 1640, pp. 673 f.).

<sup>10</sup> New York, 1926, pp. 131-157.

<sup>11</sup> London, 1848, pp. 26 f., 95, 195.

<sup>12</sup> 2nd ed., London, 1671, pp. 113-140.

And then the newe Serjaunts . . . come downe on the West side of Cheapside to *Powles*; and ther at the Steppes in the Chauncell, they kneele and praye and give Almise: And then they go downe to the bodye of the Church; and ther everie two of the olde Serjaunts in ther Auncientye bringe them to ther Pillers; videlicet the auneyent newe Serjaunt to the uppermost Piller in the Northe Isle, on the right hand thereof ther: And the secound newe Serjaunt at the other pillar ther, over ageinst the other in the Ile; and so the other newe Serjaunts at the next other Pillers downewarde in that Ile: And they stande A *Pater noster* wheyle ther, and then they come all in order to ther Chambers ageyne. . . . [The meaning of this "auneyente custome" (p. 119) Dugdale gives us later (p. 142) when he speaks of] S. Pauls Church, where each Lawyer and Serjeant, at his Pillar heard his Client's Cause, and took notes thereof upon his knee; as they do in *Guild Hall* at this day: And, that, after the Serjeants feast ended, they do still go to *Pauls* in their Habits, and there choose their Pillar, whereat to hear their Clyents cause (if any come) in memory of that old Custome.

In view of the conservative character of legal institutions it seems to me significant that the documents here cited refer to the antiquity of this exercise—which certainly seems an unusually empty form of ceremony if it does not have tradition behind it—so that these references may be considered as a strong argument in reply to Professor Manly's objection that "it is not certain that St. Paul's was so used in the fourteenth century."<sup>13</sup>

But if the pillars along the north aisle of St. Paul's constituted the *parvis* where lawyers met their clients,<sup>14</sup> how are we to reconcile this conception with the idea of the *parvis* as the church porch? Here again, I think, too much etymology has obscured the meaning of the word. Common-sense has made the assumption that the

<sup>13</sup> At least it is certain that St. Paul's was put to far more profane uses in 1385—Cf. the letter of Bishop Braybrooke in Wilkin's *Concilia*, London, 1737, III, 194.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. Spelman, *Glossarium Archæologicum*, 3rd. ed., London, 1687, s. v. *parvae*, p. 453. After citing Selden's note on Fortescue he says: "Sed dici videtur de parte Ecclesie ubi conveniebant neophiti discendi gratia, nam similiter ibi legis periti convenire ut clientibus occurrerent, non ad tyrocinia Juris, quas notas vocant exercenda." Perhaps the clue to the transition in meaning of *parvis* from *locus ubi iudices litigantes audiunt* to "place where lawyers met their clients" is to be found in the fact that the space between the first and third bays of the north aisle of St. Paul's was devoted to the Consistory Court. (Cf. the plan in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 2nd ed., London, 1716).

*parvis* and Paul's Walk were practically synonymous,<sup>15</sup> and, without entering into the question of whether there was any church porch before that built by Inigo Jones, we may safely assume that if the interior of the church was used for all sorts of plebeian occupations the most eminent lawyers in the kingdom below the rank of judge would not have been relegated to outdoors. To reason that because *parvis* had at one time meant church porch and was later to mean church porch, it could therefore have had no other meaning, would be like assuming that any "court" to-day must necessarily be an uncovered exterior enclosure.

There remains, however, one difficulty to be cleared up,—that, I imagine, which caused Professor Manly to become discontented with the old explanation of this passage. Of what significance in impressing us with the "greet reverence" of the Man of Law was it that he had been "often" to the *parvis* if that was the place where he transacted his daily business? Dugdale again provides us with the answer. In his accounts of the investitures of Sergeants he states that the old Sergeants had the duty of introducing the new ones to their respective pillars. Now since Sergeants were few and were selected at comparatively infrequent intervals<sup>16</sup> one who had often been at the *parvis* must have been among the most reverend of that dignified body—and also among the richest, for, says Fortescue (p. 120), "Neither is there any man of Lawe through out the universal world, which, by reason of his office or profession, gaineth so much as one of these Serjeants." Thus by a few innocent words Chaucer was adding ever so little to the delightful pomposity of his Man of Law.

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cunningham, P., *Hand-book of London*, London, 1850, p. 381; Pulling, A., *The Order of the Coif*, Boston, 1897, pp. 3, 70, 71 and n. 1, and 263; and Dugdale, *Origines*, p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> Manly, *Some New Light*, pp. 134 f.

## SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1928

The most important event of 1928, in the linguistic field, was the completion of the *New English Dictionary*. The occasion brought forth many historical sketches of the undertaking, and it would be useless to add another sketch here. I will content myself with emphasizing anew the scientific importance of the *Dictionary*, and the gratitude which all linguists feel toward all that numerous company which labored so many years on the great work.<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to record the fact that the general public as well as the linguists have shown a real appreciation of the value of the "Oxford Dictionary" to Anglo-Saxon civilization. A less imposing but highly valuable enterprise is the *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, which has now reached its tenth volume.<sup>2</sup> Each year the *Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab* publishes a new volume of this dictionary, and the work thus steadily marches on to completion. The latest volume measures up worthily to the high standard set by the Society and by modern lexicography.

The fifth volume of the *English Place-Name Society*, like its predecessors, is a careful, thorough and valuable piece of work.<sup>3</sup> I have noted, however, a few matters of detail which need further attention: (p. xxxii) *Catterick* is here noted with an [ð], but on p. 242 with a [θ]; (p. 16) the phonetic development in *Shipton* is unhappily explained,—the spellings with initial *Yh-* indicate that a palatal spirant developed and eventually became *sh*, doubtless at first only after a genitival *-s* (in the name of the owner of the farm) but later extended to all positions of the name in the sentence; (p. 21) for *Alne* see Ekwall, *English River Names*, pp. 6 f.; (p. 49) the pronunciation of Irish *gh* is described as "aspirated," a term which no Celticist ought to use in such a sense; the *l* of *Ampleforth* (p. 56) and the *n* of *Givendale* (p. 94) are probably due to dissimilation; for *Walton* (p. 66), *Wardle Rigg* (p. 88), *Wapley* (p. 141), *Walden* (p. 265), *Walburn* (p. 270), see R.

<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of the subject, see *American Speech*, III, 485 and IV, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Tiende Bind, Kant-Kongstanke, Copenhagen, 1928, pp. 619 (cols. 1238); for a review of earlier volumes see *MLN.*, XLIII, 349 f.

<sup>3</sup> *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, by A. H. Smith. Cambridge, 1928; pp. xlv + 352.

E. Zachrisson, *Romans, Kelts and Saxons*, pp. 41 ff.; *Stilton* (p. 73) possibly comes by metathesis from the earlier *Tilston*; the nasal forms of *Osgodby* (p. 104) and *Osgoodby* (p. 190) indicate a survival of the old nasal vowel; the *i* of *Rai-* (p. 124) is possibly nothing more than a sign of length; (p. 153) the explanation at the bottom of the page is highly questionable; (p. 154) the "erratic" *al* of *al-felebrigge* may perhaps be a French translation of ME. *atte* 'at the'; (pp. 250 f.) see Ekwall, *English River Names* p. 428; (p. 263) see also *Haskerth* (p. 121) for ON. *au* > *a*; in general, more pronunciations ought to be indicated, e. g., the value of the *s* in *Busby* (p. 169).

Professor Eilert Ekwall has given us a masterpiece in his latest volume,<sup>4</sup> which it would be hard to praise too highly. Celticists will be especially interested in the work, which abounds in Celtic etymologies and throws light on various points of Welsh grammar, as the date of the shift of stress (p. lxiii). Some of us, however, must shake our heads at *Aryan* in the sense 'Indo-European' (*loc. cit.*) and at *lenation* for lenition (p. lxxi and *passim*). The word *lenition* is an excellent formation and is duly recorded in the *NED.*; I cannot make out why a few otherwise respectable scholars reject it in favor of the barbarous *lenation*, which, I am glad to say, is *not* in the *NED.* Mr. Ekwall also once uses the distressing term *Zend* (p. 219). But let me turn to the etymologies. *Bollin* (p. 40) may be connected with *bowl* 'bubble'; for the phonology, compare *Gussage* (p. 187), where syncope or haplology has been at work. *Denebrok* (p. 113) may be compared with the old name for the Eider; see E. Wadstein, *Norden och Väst Europa i Gammal Tid*, p. 156. The same comparison may be made in other names containing the element. The *o* of *Dorn* (p. 129) goes with that of *acorn* and various other words; it is a phonetic development, as I expect to show some day. For the semantic development of OE *fleet* (p. 158) compare *creek* in American usage. The spelling *Gamles* (p. 169) probably means that the earlier *wn* had become a nasalized *w*; it is needless to suppose that *Gamles* "stands for *Gainles*" (p. 170). The OW. \**Glén* is surely the source of both *Glen* Nb and *Glen* Le (p. 177). When this was taken into (prehistoric) English, the palatization of the *n* might be imitated, or it might be given up. Any imitation would have to take the form \**Glennje*,

<sup>4</sup> *English River Names*, Oxford, 1928; pp. xcii + 488.

whence the extant *Glenne* (with regular loss of *j* after a long syllable). If no imitation of the palatal effect were attempted, a simple *Glene* would be used, as apparently in Nñ. The phonetic symbol  $\text{ž}$  (p. 224) is doubtless a mistake for  $\text{ž}$ . The *-e-* of *Merke-dene* (p. 278) seems to be a svarabhakti vowel. For an explanation of *Pont* and *lone* (p. 332) see *Mod. Phil.* xx, 197. The *t* in *Seft* (p. 358) may be a phonetic development parallel to *s* > *st*. The *æ* of OE. *Sæfern* (p. 359) is due rather to phonetic analogy than to *i*-umlaut.

Mr. Ekwall's book is, in form, a dictionary. The dictionary form seems to be increasingly used of late in works where a different arrangement was formerly employed. Thus, Mr. Fowler and Mr. Krapp recently gave us works of reference in which the material was arranged in alphabetical order, and most of Mr. Tucker's volume on American English is devoted to two word-lists.<sup>5</sup> Since I failed to mention Mr. Tucker's book in my survey of last year, I will take this opportunity to say that it is an excellent piece of work in spite of its somewhat old-fashioned point of view. The two word-lists, devoted to spurious and true Americanisms, and the bibliography, will remain useful for a long time to come, and it will be many years before the volume can be set aside as out-of-date. The most recent work of this dictionary type is Professor Weseen's *Dictionary of English Grammar*.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Weseen in his Preface says that his book "deals with the nomenclature of English grammar and with the chief difficulties of grammar and usage." Those who refer to the work will find it often convenient but less often thorough and hardly ever authoritative. Indeed, it is by no means free from really serious errors, and the individual articles in many cases leave much to be desired. I will point out a few of the many weak spots. The article on "aspect" could hardly be worse. The article "borrowed words, miscellaneous" includes an astonishing number of preposterous etymologies. Under "grammar" we are told that "the content of most modern grammars may be summarized under *Parts of speech*, *Inflection*, and *Syntax*." Fortunately

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert M. Tucker, *American English*, New York, 1921, pp. 375. For notices of the works of Mr. Fowler and Mr. Krapp, see *MLN.*, XLII, 201 f. and XLIII, 504 f.

<sup>6</sup> M. H. Weseen, *Crowell's Dictionary of English Grammar and Handbook of American Usage*, New York, 1928; pp. x + 703.

most of our best grammarians of today do not limit themselves to such a content. Under "homonyms" no distinction is made between pairs like *do: dew*, *ant: aunt*, *for: four*, *weather: whether*, which are not homonymous at all in the speech of many people, and pairs like *all: awl*, which are homonymous in the speech of everybody. Moreover, the list of homonyms includes mere variations in spelling, like *gaol: jail*, and even *real: reel*, where the two words are neither spelt nor pronounced alike. "Philology" is defined in a one-sided and misleading fashion, if present usage is to be understood. The author himself uses "philology" once (p. 313) where he ought to have said "etymology," and once (p. 457) where he ought to have said "semantics."<sup>7</sup> Finally, it is hard to see the grounds which determine the inclusion or the exclusion of certain articles; thus, we find a discussion of "bootlegger," but none of "hijacker" or "racketeer." On the whole, I find myself unable to recommend Mr. Weseen's book, although it is undeniably good in spots.

A grammar more conventional in character is that of Professor Long.<sup>8</sup> It is true that Mr. Long lays claim to a good deal of originality: he tells us (p. iii) that "much of the material here presented has never before appeared in an English grammar, and many principles have been stated in new form." I cannot find in the book, however, anything strikingly novel. On the contrary, it is written along traditional lines. Thus, *preposition* is described (p. 4) as "a 'placed before' word," and on p. 181 we read that "good usage calls for the placing of the Preposition in its normal grammatical position (unless emphasis is especially desired), namely before its noun or noun-equivalent." The author begins his book with a definition of grammar which excludes phonology. He continues with a passage of great significance (inasmuch as it reveals his point of view): "in every language there are two standards of usage: the *Conversational* and the *Written*. The latter is, in every instance, the more literary and the more exact of the two. The laws of grammar, as we know them today, are based upon written usage" (p. 1). The author is unhappy in his terminology here.

<sup>7</sup> In the *English Journal* (College Edition), xvii, 311 ff. I have discussed in some detail the meanings properly and improperly given to the term "philology."

<sup>8</sup> Mason Long, *A College Grammar*, New York, 1928; pp. vi + 323.

Accuracy would have been better served had he set up the *Formal* and the *Informal* (whether written or spoken) as the two standards of usage. But his point of view is clear enough none the less. And on p. 55 we find an amusing example of the extremes to which his principles lead him. He tells us, "to refer to a child as *it* is contrary to the best usage: I gave *it* (the child) a toy. Use rather: I gave *him* (indeterminate sex) a gift, or: I gave the *child* a gift, [or:] I gave *him* or *her* (determinate sex) a gift." Again, on p. 80 appears the following note: "Avoid the intensive Colloquialism: He had *such* a wonderful time." Mr. Long's discussion of gender is particularly unsatisfactory. I will mention only a few of his mistakes in matters of detail: (p. 14) the definition of "substantive" is hardly sound; (p. 53) the origin of the royal "we" is incorrectly explained; (p. 291) "fulfil" is not an adjective. Section 6 on p. 53 deserves quotation in full: "The form *em*, as in *take 'em*, is derived from *hem*, meaning *he*; therefore *take him* would be the correct equivalent. Modern usage, however, sanctions only the plural *take them* as an equivalent."

It is a pleasure to turn to Professor Dunn's Portuguese grammar.<sup>9</sup> This admirable work is by far the best thing we have in English on the subject, and one of the best things we have in any language. It is a descriptive, not a historical work, although history is brought in a bit now and then. Mr. Dunn makes phonology a prominent and important part of his grammar. His phonetic descriptions are perhaps not so sharp and scientific as one could wish, and his terminology leaves something to be desired (as "guttural" for the velar articulations), but he gives us a good and full treatment of that formidable subject, Portuguese pronunciation, not neglecting the dialects and noting the peculiarities of the speech of Brazil. Morphology and syntax are also done well by, and the author has added an unusual feature: a list of 300 Portuguese proverbs. American scholarship is to be congratulated upon this volume.

A volume of quite another sort is the *How to Talk* of Messrs Clapp and Kane.<sup>10</sup> The subtitle reads, "Meeting the Situations of Personal and Business Life and of Public Address," and sufficiently

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Dunn, *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language*, Washington, 1928; pp. xi + 669.

<sup>10</sup> J. M. Clapp and E. A. Kane, *How to Talk*, New York, 1928; pp. viii + 647.



indicates the nature of most of the work. The authors give very sensible if rather long-drawn-out advice, but their study would hardly come within the province of this journal at all had they not included a section of more than 100 pages on "The Elements of Speech," unfortunately the weakest part of the book. The authors seem particularly ill at ease in the field of phonetics, and they are shaky on the history of the language; thus, on p. 506 we are told that English is a composite of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French, while on p. 577 the term "sound" is confined to what in orthodox phonetics we call voiced sounds. A book in the same field but much more to the liking of a mere theoretical linguist is *First Principles of Speech Training*, by Miss Avery and others.<sup>11</sup> The work has a much more limited scope than *How to Talk*, it is true; the authors are interested solely and simply in pronunciation. But both books put the emphasis, not on any scientific description of the facts of speech, but on the use of the knowledge gained by a study of these facts. Miss Avery and her fellows put the matter thus: "the purpose of this book is to present the scientific principles of speech training as a basis for their practical application to the improvement of everyday speech." If the student wants to improve his pronunciation, he can learn what to do and can get some idea of how to do it by studying Miss Avery's book. If however he has no other motive than a scientific curiosity about his articulations, Miss Avery's is not quite the book for him. He might turn to Professor Kurath for a sketch of the peculiarities of the American pronunciation of English.<sup>12</sup> And not in vain, for Mr. Kurath is a vigorous and informed exponent of actual usage. At the same time, his guidance is not altogether safe, since he commits himself too easily to doubtful or even false generalizations. Thus, the reduction of the unstressed final vowel in words like *follow* (p. 283) is not a peculiarity of American English, since it is equally common in England. Moreover, the initial sound in words like *white* is regularly voiced by millions of Americans, in spite of Mr. Kurath's flat statement to the contrary (p. 284). On the same page Mr. Kurath says that "the suffix *-ile* has short *i* in nearly all

<sup>11</sup> E. Avery, J. O. Dorsey and V. A. Sickels, *First Principles of Speech Training*, New York, 1928; pp. xxxviii + 518.

<sup>12</sup> H. Kurath, *American Pronunciation*, S. P. E. Tract No. xxx, Oxford, 1928; pp. 279-297.

words." I must confess I have never heard a "short *i*" in this suffix; I hear either an obscure vowel or no vowel at all. On the other hand, I am accustomed to "short *i*" rather than to [ə] in the weak syllable of *bucket*, *darkness*, *houses*, etc., although I have heard the pronunciation with [ə] as well (p. 285). This [ə] is certainly not Southern, as Mr. Kurath states (pp. 289, 294). Curiously enough, Mr. Kurath does not mention the interesting Southern pronunciation of *r* as "short *i*," to be heard, e. g., in *George*, *forge*.

But truly rigorous, scientific instruction in the phonetic field can of course be had only from the instrumentalists. Easily the most important book of the year in this field is Professor Russell's study of the vowel.<sup>13</sup> To the title the author adds, "its physiological mechanism as shown by X-ray." Mr. Russell's 3,000-odd X-ray pictures of vocalic articulations make him the great authority on the X-ray technique as applied to phonetics, and his book shows that this technique is fundamental in any serious study of the articulations of speech. Mr. Russell attacks vigorously the terminology current in phonetic circles. He makes it clear that such terms as "central vowel, high, mid, low, narrow, wide, close, open, tense, lax" are bad terms, since they do not correspond to the realities of articulation. He prefers terms based on one's acoustic reactions, e. g., "sharp, dull, clear, dead, bright, dark, high-pitched, low-pitched." Mr. Russell's arguments are convincing, but one may be allowed to wish that his English style were better, and that his book had been more carefully organized. The volume swarms with repetitions, and the numerous illustrations are badly distributed in relation to the text and to each other. And, to close on a very small point, in an English book Albertus Magnus ought not to be called Albert le Grand (p. 2).

Professors Pillsbury and Meader have given us a handy manual of linguistic psychology, although the publishers in their "blurb" make for the volume the absurdly false claim that it "offers the first comprehensive study of the psychology of language."<sup>14</sup> The authors begin by trying to define the various fields of linguistic study. This laudable attempt unfortunately led them into giving a

<sup>13</sup> G. O. Russell, *The Vowel*, Columbus, Ohio, 1928; pp. xliiv + 353.

<sup>14</sup> W. B. Pillsbury and C. L. Meader, *The Psychology of Language*, New York, 1928; pp. xii + 306.

few definitions highly dubious if not altogether false. Thus, comparative philology includes the comparison of literature, laws, customs and general culture, and is by no means limited to the comparison of languages, either in the theory or in the practice of the scholars active in this field. On the other hand, semantics is not usually considered to include syntax (p. 3). I have found a few other errors of an elementary character. Thus, the authors tell us that a glottal stop is "a brief single explosion caused by . . ." (pp. 57 f.; see also pp. 59 and 222). But a stop is not an explosion; the explosion (if there is any) follows the stop. This simple and obvious point does not seem to be understood by Miss Avery and her fellows either, since they speak of stops *or* "plosives" and make the frequent false distinction between stops and continuants (p. 85). The whole difficulty would be done away with if these writers could only bring themselves to treat the transition from a stop as a transitional sound or shift, and not as a part of the stop itself. The classification of the sounds of speech which Mr. Pillsbury and Mr. Meader give on pp. 60 ff. of their volume is confused and worthless for the student. Their chapter on the origin of language ignores the theories of Jespersen, who is not even mentioned! Various other defects in the volume might be pointed out, but I will content myself with one more instance: "Modern English *here* was in Old English pronounced as two syllables, the first of which sounded about like Modern American *hay* without the *y*; the second, a trilled *r*" (p. 209). Comment is needless. Obviously the work wants revision, if it is to be accepted as thoroughly trustworthy, although much that is good may be found in its pages.

Professor McKnight's book on Modern English is an admirable popular history,<sup>15</sup> delightfully written and full of unobtrusive learning. Mr. McKnight sketches the history of our speech from the fourteenth century to the present, and he sketches it, not so much in terms of sound-shifts and meaning-shifts as in terms of English civilization. Our language has changed with our general culture, and Mr. McKnight has been chiefly concerned to point out in detail this perpetual intimacy of relationship. In particular he has linked our linguistic with our literary fortunes, and has shown how each change in the literary fashions worked a corre-

<sup>15</sup> G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making*, New York, 1928; pp. xiv + 590.

sponding change in the English language. His book, though designed chiefly for the student and the general reader, has much in it of profit for professional Anglicists, however learned. Not that these will always agree with the author. I have made a longish list of things that do not take my fancy. Thus, I dislike the spelling "moveable" (p. 56), and regret that the author does not make more use of phonetic symbols (see p. 76). The wrong fonts for Old and Middle English make many a page hideous. The spelling *auctour* (p. 74) is learned, not popular. The spelling *rhyme*, though bad, inasmuch as the word comes from the French *rime*, belongs rather with *debt* and *doubt* than with *island* (p. 109). The unrounding of short *o* did not take place in "comparatively recent times" but goes back almost to the beginnings of Modern English (p. 451). New York was colonized some years before Plymouth (p. 466), and the chief settlement of the Huguenots was in South Carolina (p. 467). I cannot agree that the Renaissance is well characterized by such phrases as "free spirit of inquiry" and "revolt from authority" (p. 91); cf. the *imitation* of the classics enjoined by Peter Ramus (p. 94). I regret that the author did not pay more attention to newspaper English—especially headlines—in his study of the field. But in spite of these and other objections that might be raised, Mr. McKnight must be complimented on his book, which, I hope, will be read and enjoyed by every serious student of our speech.

Professor Flasdieck, like Professor McKnight, has studied a linguistic question in the light of English civilization as a whole.<sup>16</sup> Since, however, his subject was a limited one, he has been able to treat it exhaustively and to produce a monograph which will long remain the authoritative work on the point. His conclusions are worth quoting: "Sprachakademien sind Geist vom Geist des Klassizismus. . . . Tief im Engländer verwurzelt sind die irrationalen Instinkte. . . . Rationale Bewusstheit liegt nicht im Wesen dieser Kultur. . . . Rationales Denken ist unenglisch. . . . Rationale Bewusstheit ist unenglisch. . . . England . . . das gottbegnadete Land der Freiheit. . . . Freiheit des Ausdrucks aber ist von der Idee der Freiheit nicht zu trennen. Daher widerspricht eine Sprachakademie der Grundidee englischer Kultur. . . . Nicht be-

<sup>16</sup> H. M. Flasdieck, *Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Jena, 1928; pp. x + 246.

hördliche Autorität wird anerkannt, sondern die Autorität der Gesellschaft. . . . Autorität der Gesellschaft ersetzt die fehlende Akademie" (pp. 227 ff.). Thus in true German style Mr. Flasdieck ends with an analysis of the "soul" of English civilization. Whether he is right about the English or not, his monograph remains an admirable piece of research, and a fascinating book to read.

Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith in his little essay on needed words undertook a task which Professor Flasdieck would undoubtedly judge fruitless.<sup>17</sup> And yet he writes so intelligently and so sensibly that it is hard to see how even the most irrational of Englishmen could find fault and fear a loss of his linguistic freedom. I note that Mr. Smith avoids bringing up again old stock examples like the German *geschwister* and *mensch*.

I will conclude this survey by calling attention to another survey, made by Professor Callaway.<sup>18</sup> The author discusses a number of recent books and articles in his usual generous but critical fashion. I may point out that the poem printed on pp. 19 f. has no reference to the International Council.

KEMP MALONE.

## THE ROUND TABLE AGAIN

In an article on "Arthur's Round Table" (*PMLA* xli [1926] 771 ff.) and in another on "The Table of the Last Supper in Religious and Secular Iconography" (*Art Studies* [1927]) the evidence was set forth that from the end of the first century until the twelfth the table of the Last Supper was regularly represented as round, so regularly in fact that no certain example of this scene with the straight table can be found in European art before 1000.<sup>1</sup> The evidence in question was drawn from all the different media of medieval art,—illuminations, frescoes, mosaics, ivories,—and from

<sup>17</sup> L. P. Smith, *Needed Words*, S. P. E. Tract No. xxxi, Oxford, 1928; pp. 313-329.

<sup>18</sup> Morgan Callaway, Jr., *Recent Works in the Field of English Linguistics (1921-1927)*, University of Texas Studies in English, No. 8, 1928; pp. 5-41.

<sup>1</sup> *Art Studies*, p. 82. Philological agreement with the archaeological evidence is afforded by such a study of the European words derived from

practically all parts of Europe. It seemed, therefore, to offer a legitimate basis for the conclusion that this pictured round table of Christ, which differed so conspicuously from the actual straight trestle table of ordinary medieval usage, must have acquired a special significance, a special association with the holiest, to the Christian mind, of human fellowships. In this was found the explanation for its transference to Arthur when the exploitation of Arthur, as the greatest of Christian kings, the rival of Charlemagne, became the business of twelfth-century story-tellers. The attempt to present new evidence and to answer certain queries and objections will, it is hoped, bring about some further elucidation of the problem.

The new evidence is not archaeological in character but comes entirely from historical facts and documents. So far as literature is concerned we need remember only the undeniable facts that in the metrical *Joseph d'Arimathie* the Grail table, and in the prose *Merlin* the Round Table, are definitely associated with the table of the Last Supper.<sup>2</sup> If this was done at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century by the authors of these texts, there is no inherent improbability in supposing that some one else might have made the same association in the early years of the twelfth century. More particularly the assumption will seem probable if it can be established that numerous Bretons in the eleventh century had opportunity to know at first hand the holy relic that in Jerusalem was exhibited as the table of the Last Supper.

Fist Artus la Roonde Table  
Dont Breton dient mainte fable.

In these famous lines Wace for the first time refers to the table of Arthur. Now it should be clear that contemporary Bretons of Wace's own day, no matter how much of pagan Celtic lore they

*mensa* and *discus* as that of R. Meringer, *Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien*, 1901, pp. 73-85. Professor Meyer-Lübke, to whom I am indebted for this reference, believes that *tabula* and its derivatives replaced *mensa* in various Romance languages because it was used with reference to the trestle table with removable top, the "board" of the English, which was the type of table in common use.

<sup>2</sup> Metrical *Joseph*, ed. Nitze (Paris, 1927), v. 2491; Huth *Merlin*, ed. Paris, I, 95; Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, II, 53-54.

had preserved or acquired, were no less Christian than Wace himself and no less concerned, in any glorification of Arthur, in presenting him, as Nennius had done in Wales, as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace himself were doing, as the glorious Christian hero or king. Since the sixth century the Bretons had been, and for that matter still are, among the most devout members of the Catholic Church. They had numerous and richly endowed churches<sup>3</sup> in which, unless these differed from all other European churches, there were frescoes and illuminated Gospels in which one of the most famous episodes of Christian tradition, the institution of the Eucharist, must have been represented.

But the possibility is less interesting than the evidence of the pious interest, the actual journeys of eleventh century Bretons, to Jerusalem and Rome where, as will presently be shown, they could have seen with their own eyes, or have heard numerous accounts of the famous *mensa rotunda Christi*.

In 1008 Duke Geoffroi of Brittany went to Rome to pray at the tomb of the apostles and there is some slight reason to believe he even went on to Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> A few years later Bishop Gautier of Nantes made the Jerusalem journey.<sup>5</sup> Of far greater importance was the departure in 1096 of Alain Fergant and a "notable list of Bretons" on the First Crusade.<sup>6</sup> Going to Italy, stopping at Bari, where it seems probable that, in regaling themselves with stories of Arthur and Guinevere, they gave the clue to the sculptor who carved the Arthurian archivolt of Modena Cathedral,<sup>7</sup> they at last went on to the Holy Land, where they fought for five years. Some of them were certainly present on that day of days when the Crusaders rushed through the blood-stained streets of Jerusalem and, as an eyewitness, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* (ed. B. A. Lees [1924], p. 90, 143) describes it:

<sup>3</sup> Arthur de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, ch. 12; III, p. 14, gifts to Rennes; p. 26, to Cathedral de St. Corentin; p. 32 to Quimperlé, to Rennes; p. 33 to Lohéac, etc.

<sup>4</sup> De la Borderie, III, 5; Le Baud, *Hist.*, Bibl. Nat., Ms. fr. 8266, f. 140, suggests the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> De la Borderie, III, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 32; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (1920), p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> R. S. Loomis, in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (Paris and N. Y., 1927), pp. 209-28; Kingsley Porter and R. S. Loomis, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, Oct. 1928, pp. 109-122.

Venerunt autem omnes nostri gaudentes et prae nimio gaudio plorantes ad nostri Saluatoris Iesu Sepulchrum adorandum.

In the *Historia Hierosolimitana*, written between 1106 and 1107 by Archbishop Baudri of Dol,<sup>8</sup> there are specific references to the sanctity of the place associated with the last Supper. In describing the siege of Jerusalem (ed. Migne, *Patrologia*, v. 166, col. 1139) he wrote: "a meridie obsedit eam comes Sancti Ægidii, videlicet in monte Sion, circa ecclesiam beatissimae Dei genetricis Mariae, ubi Dominus Jesus cum suis coenavit discipulis." In another place (col. 1142) the Crusaders are exhorted to remember they are before that holy city "in hac Christianismus Deus instituit; ex hac Christianitatis sacramentum ad nos usque emanavit." In 1101, when for the most part the Bretons came home, they brought with them not only inspired memories of the Holy Land but also actual memorials, a bit of the true Cross, a fragment of the Holy Sepulchre. On June 29 these relics in the midst of a vast concourse of people were deposited in the new church of Lohéac.<sup>9</sup>

From these historical details concerning the piety of eleventh century Bretons and the first-hand knowledge which some of them possessed of Jerusalem itself and its holy relics, we may turn to the pilgrim literature of the Middle Ages for references to the relic known as the table of the Last Supper. One of the most important of these references was very kindly pointed out to the writer by Professor James Westfall Thompson. It is from the *Itinerary of Bernard the Wise*,<sup>10</sup> a French monk who journeyed to Jerusalem about 870. In describing the Church in the Garden of Gethsemane, he wrote:

In ipso etiam loco est ecclesia in quo Dominus traditus est; habet quatuor mensas rotundas cœnæ ipsius.

In the much earlier account of Arculf,<sup>11</sup> one that dates from about 670, there is a passage which seems to indicate that even

<sup>8</sup> For bibliography concerning the learned Breton and his works see P. Abrahams, *Les Oeuvres de Baudri de Bourgueil* (Paris, 1926), pp. xx-xxiv.

<sup>9</sup> De la Borderie, III, 33; David, *op. cit.*, p. 227, from *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*.

<sup>10</sup> Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 85; also in English translation, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.* (London, 1897), III, 8 (Bernard).

<sup>11</sup> *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Adamnanus), in vol. 39, p. 242, of the



then, in a cave on Mount Olivet near the Church of St. Mary, he viewed the tables which were subsequently shown to Bernard. It reads:

In eadem ergo spelunca quatuor insunt lapideae mensae, quarum una est iuxta introitum speluncae ab intus sita domini Iesu, cui procul dubio mensulae sedes ipsius adhaeret, ubi cum duodenis apostolis simul ad alias mensas ibidem habitas sedentibus et ipse conuiua aliquando recumbere saepe solitus erat.

Arculf was from France. On his return home he was carried by a storm to Scotland and ultimately, at Iona, told the tale of his wanderings to the holy Adamnan, who wrote down the precious narrative. This was the account known to and used by Bede.<sup>12</sup> In other words, as early as seventh century we have a Frenchman, an Irishman, and an Englishman interested in the tables associated with Christ and the apostles. Bernard's account proves that these same tables, or their replicas, had by the ninth century become the tables "coenae ipsius." In a still later account, that of Sæwulf in 1102, a year later than the date at which we know Jerusalem relics were offered in Brittany by just returned Crusaders, we have the statement that the marble table on which Christ ate His Last Supper was still shown to pilgrims.<sup>13</sup> We could hardly ask for a plainer indication of the history of a relic, or a more positive proof that it was known to the special group with which we are concerned. Inspired by the sight in some cases, by the story of it in others, pious Bretons at the beginning of the twelfth century were unquestionably in a position to transfer to their hero Arthur the table that was associated with the holiest of human fellowships. In so doing they would simply be paralleling the tellers of Carolingian story who gave the Twelve Peers to Charlemagne in memory of the twelve apostles. The combination of the Christian *mensa rotunda* with Celtic Arthur would likewise be no stranger than that effected in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, in which the Christian Emperor visits a round whirling Otherworld palace, where he lies, in precisely the manner of the legendary King Conchobar of

Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, 1898, also under Arculf, *Pal. Pilgrims' Texts Soc.*, III, 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Liber de Locis Sanctis*, *Corpus*, op. cit. 39, 323; *Pal. Pilg. Texts Soc.*, III, 87.

<sup>13</sup> *Pal. Pilg. Texts Soc.*, IV (1897), p. 20, under Sæwulf.

Ireland, in a carbuncle-lighted room, on a bed surrounded by the twelve couches of his peers, yet goes from all this to bring back to St. Denis the holy relics which he had already obtained at Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

The theory of the Celtic origin of the Round Table has been urged so often and is held so tenaciously by some scholars,<sup>15</sup> that it seems well to emphasize certain reasons, altogether apart from the evidence given above, which, to the present writer, at least, make it improbable that non-Christian Celtic custom or tradition had any thing to do with Wace's concept of the Round Table. Arthur's fellowship as a fighting, but not a fraternal body, the times of his great feasts, the Perilous Seat, and a number of other concepts may be admitted as probably of Celtic origin. Such concepts were attracted at various times into the legend of the Round Table precisely as stories of non-Arthurian heroes were grafted into the cycle. But to assume that the table itself, or the ideal fraternity of its fellowship rose from Celtic sources is, it would appear, altogether unlikely.

For one thing, the fact, and therefore, the idea of a communal table seems essentially foreign to the Celts. Sir John Rhys long ago pointed out (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 9) that there is no reference in any old Irish story to a communal table. So rarely are tables of any sort mentioned in old Irish that O'Curry, in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, did not even enter the word in that General Index in which appears almost everything that pertained to their life. Joyce in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland* (1903, II, 105, 110-111), uses the words *at table* indiscriminately for *at meals*. He illustrates the small individual willow table (5 inches high, 28 inches long, 16 inches broad) found in a Tyrone bog, but admits that the people generally had no tables at all at their meals. He refers to the specific statement of Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Description of Wales*, Ch. X, that even in his twelfth-century day tables were unknown in Welsh households. This, it may be noted, is probably the reason, rather than mere chance omission, that, in

<sup>14</sup> T. P. Cross and L. Hibbard Loomis, *Mod. Phil.* xxv (1928), 331 ff.

<sup>15</sup> For bibliography see *PMLA*, xli, 771-774. Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, xxvi, 242; "Since the account of Wace is the oldest and since it purports to be Celtic in origin, the theory that Arthur's Round Table is of Celtic origin still has the right of way."

the early twelfth century Welsh story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, the Round Table, supposing that the Bretons were already telling tales of it, was not listed among the other famous possessions of Arthur. If, like the ancient Irish, the Welsh were still unfamiliar with the use of tables, it is no wonder they had nothing to say about Arthur's table.

The supposed derivation of the Round Table from pagan Celtic sources commonly rests on the evidence of Posidonius and Layamon.<sup>16</sup> The first was a Greek, writing about 90 B. C. He told of the Celtic custom of eating in a circle at low wooden tables, of the hero's place in the middle, of the brawls over precedence at the feasts. We must note that Posidonius was here writing of Celts in Gaul, people who were considerably nearer to Roman influence than were the Celts of Ireland, Wales, or Brittany. We must also remember the fact, already noted, that in old Irish tales, however much medievalized, tables are conspicuous by their absence. However reliable as to the circle, the feasts, the brawls of the Gallic Celts, the evidence of the cultivated Greek traveller is somewhat less trustworthy, it would appear, in this manner of tables.

Layamon's account (cir. 1205) of the Founding of the Round Table is no longer believed to have been drawn from Welsh but presumably from Breton tradition.<sup>17</sup> Its essential similarity in barbarity of manners, in turbulence of spirit, to the Old Irish stories of Fights at Feasts, was happily pointed out some years ago by Professor A. C. L. Brown (*op. cit.*). The fact that Wace, though he does not tell the story, uses the name Romarec de Guenelande (or Venelande) which appears in Layamon as Rumaret of Winetlande, would seem to suggest that Wace may likewise have known the brawl story.<sup>18</sup> But, as the brawl story existed in Irish without the slightest mention of a table, there is no reason why it should not have done so among the Bretons. The last thing that the turbulent and tableless Irish or Welsh would have conceived of or transmitted to the Bretons was the story of a great dining-table, much less of one that put an end to fights and implied, in direct antithesis to everything that lent gusto to heroic strife for pre-

<sup>16</sup> A. C. L. Brown, "The Round Table before Wace," *Harvard Studies Phil. Lit.*, VII, 183 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Bruce, *Evolution of Arth. Romance*, I, 84.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, *op. cit.* p. 201.

cedence, the strange and foreign ideas of peace and fraternity. For these reasons, then, it would seem unwise to continue to insist on the Celtic provenance of the Round Table whether as a table or an institution.

In his recent book on *Arthur of Britain* (1927), Sir Edmund Chambers offers, as an alternative to the theory just discussed, the possibility that "*li conteur* who were fashioning Arthur's court on the model of Charlemagne's were recalling the episode in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, where the pilgrims find the church of the Last Supper with twelve seats and in the midst a thirteenth, in which the emperor seats himself with the twelve peers about him." Apart from the fact that this account finds no corroboration in pilgrim literature, that it was apparently simply an invention of the author's, possibly inspired by a passage in the Constantinople part of his story,<sup>19</sup> it should at least be evident that here again there is no parallel for a table, round or otherwise, nor for the concept of equal fraternity. In short, the passage has no significance whatever for the Arthurian Round Table.

In conclusion, however, a tentative suggestion may be offered, which perhaps explains the linking of such divergent concepts as those associated with Christ and with Celtic Arthur. The association was not made, it would seem, because popular tradition had endowed Arthur with a table, magic, or round or anything else, but because he, like Christ, and like many heroes of classic and especially of pagan Celtic antiquity, may have been connected with a fellowship of twelve. The pre-Christian groups of Twelves are almost overwhelming in their number and diversity. In a recent article in *Mod. Phil.* xxv (1928), 342 ff., some of the evidence for the pagan Celtic Twelve was indicated. In Arthurian romance this same group fellowship appears, as the writer hopes shortly to point out elsewhere, in an extraordinary number of instances, which, short of actual parody, can have no relation to the Christian Twelve. Like the old Irish god, Crom Cruaich with his twelve subordinate deities, like King Conchobar with his twelve chief heroes of Ulster, like Lugaid Noes with his twelve underkings of Munster, like Finn and the twelve men "that used to be with Finn in his house,"<sup>20</sup> it

<sup>19</sup> *Mod. Phil.* xxv, 344.

<sup>20</sup> For the Finn reference see "Fianaigecht," ed. Meyer, *Roy. Ir. Acad. Todd Lecture Series*, xvi (1910), 79; for the others *Mod. Phil.*, xxv, 345 ff.

is possible that Celtic Arthur was connected with groups of twelve, the same Arthur who was supposed by Nennius to have fought twelve Herculean battles and in the Merlin romances to have slain twelve pagan kings. The Grail romances refer not infrequently to the twelve knights of the Round Table, a bit of evidence which one might discount, were it not for the pagan Celtic Twelve and their persistence in various Arthurian romances and likewise, it would seem, in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. Since in old Irish tales the ancient and possibly mythic number twelve was sometimes displaced by favorite triadic numbers such as thrice fifty, since in such obviously Christianized romances as Robert de Boron's *Merlin*, the author deliberately changed the number of seats at the Round Table, avowedly made in commemoration of the Apostolic table, to fifty, it can occasion no surprise that the number of Arthur's fellowship varied from twelve to fifty, to thrice fifty, and even, in Layamon's account, became sixteen hundred. The supposition that Arthur, like these other heroes of Celtic legend that have just been enumerated, was once associated with an entirely non-Christian group of twelve, cannot, of course, be proved, but, in view of such evidence as there is, it cannot be too lightly dismissed. In the Huth *Merlin* (I, 263) and in Malory (II, c. II), who used the same source, twelve rebel kings are slain by Arthur; in the Vulgate *Merlin* (ed. Sommer, II, 387, 408) the twelve became his friends and subjects and share in the feast with him, as did King Conchobar's twelve Ultonian heroes. Since it appears that even the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, in the Constantinople episode,<sup>21</sup> shows the influence of this particular Irish group and of other heroes as truculent, it is the more likely that Arthurian traditions, flowing so much more directly from Celtic sources, preserved likewise some reminiscence of the Celtic Twelve, the gods and heroes of Celtic heathendom.

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<sup>21</sup> "That Conchobar's twelve, like Charlemagne's, lie in a carbuncle-lighted room, that their beds encircle one more magnificent than all, is a correspondence no one can attribute to chance." *Mod. Phil.*, xxv, 349. The whirling round palace, the Otherworld landscape, the gabs and feats of the Twelve Peers, were all, probably, in the Constantinople episode, of Canto iii and note to stanza 10.

## OHG ADEILO AND GILOUBO

The OHG adjectives *adeilo* 'imparticeps, experts,' an exocentric compound with the base *deil* 'pars,' and *giloubo* 'having faith, believing,' a decomposition of *ungiloubo* (itself an exocentric compound with base *giloubo* 'fides'), are used by Otfrid with weak inflection only and occur once each in a crystallized -o form. Thus *adeilo* occurs as nom. plural in I, 1.115:

*nu uuill ih scriban unser heil euangeliono deil*  
*so uuir nu hiar bigunnnun, in frenkisga zungun, .*  
*thaz sie ni uuesan eino thes selben adeilo*

and *giloubo* is found as acc. sing. in IV, 13.28:

*ni si thir in githanke, thaz ih thir io giuuenke,*  
*druhtin min liobo, thes duan ih thih giloubo.*

In the first passage Erdmann, ed. *Otfrid* (*Germ. Handbibl.* v, Halle 1882) p. 343, takes *eino* and *adeilo* to be adverbs. His argument is weakened, however, by his uncertain interpretation of *einon* and *adeilon* in the similar passage II, 9.4:

*Thoh uuill ih es mit uuillen hiar ethesuaz irzellen,*  
*thaz uuir ni uuerden einon thero goumano adeilon* (F. ateilo).

On p. 343 he regards the two forms as weak adjectives, while on p. 396 *adeilon* is treated as an adverbial dative. Kelle, *Formen- und Lautlehre der Sprache Otfrids*, II (ed. 1869), p. 373, note 2, also regards the two forms in I, 1.115 as adverbs and calls attention to the striking use of *adeilo*. He points out that in II, 9.4 Otfrid uses the plural forms *einon* and *adeilon* and is of the opinion that Otfrid in the former passage used *eino*, an adverbial form, and then placed *adeilo* to rime with it. But Otfrid nowhere uses an adverb with a genitive supplement as predicative complement of *uuesan*. It is strange, that this peculiar usage should be restricted to this unusual word. On *eino* cf. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* I (1923), 412.

Neither can this form be regarded as a nom. plural with the loss of final -n. Isolated examples of loss of final -n occur in F, a Ms. of the early tenth century, which is not reliable, as it contains several mistakes due to carelessness, as well as numerous intentional alterations; cf. Kelle, p. 514. However, loss of final -n

is assumed in about 20 passages in Otfrid, *cf.* Ingenbleek, *Über den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrids* (QF 37, Strassburg 1880), pp. 8.9, and Erdmann *ad* I, 3.37. But all of these cases fall into special categories which can be otherwise accounted for, *cf.* Bloomfield, *JEGP*, Oct., 1929.

In the second passage Erdmann, p. 447, again is uncertain as to the character of the unusual form *giloubo*. He finds it impossible to regard *giloubo* as the required accusative, and contents himself with passing it off as an analogical transference from expressions as *thu bist giloubo*, *sist giloubo*. Piper's view of this peculiar form (*Otfrid's Evangelienbuch* 1<sup>2</sup>, 1882, *ad loc.*) is untenable. He makes it appear that the phenomenon of an acc. or plural form of a weak-only adjective without final -n is quite common in Otfrid, by adducing as parallels *gero*, *kundo*, *scolo*, *uuzo*, and *anauuart*, *giuuar*, *uuis*. However, there is not a single example of any of these words occurring as acc. or plural without final -n; *anauuart* presents no parallel, as it is uninflected in every case; *uuis* appears frequently in the formal expression *uuis duan* 'kundig machen,' but nowhere is it used predicatively with weak inflection. In fact, there are no parallels to these two unusual forms *adeilo* and *giloubo* in Otfrid.

These forms can be satisfactorily explained without regarding the words as anything else than what they are clearly shown to be in their other occurrences, namely substantivized adjectives. In addition to the two examples (I, 1.115 and II, 9.4) cited above, *adeilo* also occurs at II, 7.26:

*imo ilt er sar gisagen thaz, uuant er mo liobosto uuas,  
thaz er ni uurti heilo thero frumono adeilo*

and at V, 23.123:

*adeilo thu es ni bist, uuio in buachon siu gilobot ist*

while *giloubo*, besides the instance cited above (IV, 13.28), is found at I, 18.7:

*ni bist es io giloubo, selbo thu iz ni scouo*

III, 23.8, 24: *thes sist thu mir giloubo*

V, 22.11:

*uuio sconi thar in himile ist, thu es io giloubo ni bist*

and in V, 23.227:

*thu uuirdest mir giloubo, selbo thu iz biscouo.*

Otfrid uses *adeilo* and *giloubo* only in the predicate with weak inflection, without the article. They take the genitive case of a noun or pronoun as supplement, except only at v, 23.227: *thu uirdist mir giloubo*. This is true also of the two forms under discussion. Therefore the various views adduced above regarding the character of these forms fall short of a satisfactory explanation. Much more reasonable is the statement of Braune, *Althochd. Gram.*<sup>3-4</sup> § 255, anm. 2: "Bei O kommen einige halb substantivierte adjectiva nur schwach im praedicativen gebrauche vor, so *gero, wizzo, giloubo, adeilo*. Nach analogie der st. adj. (vgl. § 247 u. a. 1) behandeln sie die singularformen als unflektierte und übertragen sie in den pl. und in den acc." Otfrid frequently uses the uninflected form of the strong adjectives as predicate both in the sing. and in the plural, in all genders, e. g. i, 17.61: *thes guates uuarun sie bald*, iv, 34.12: *thez uuir nu birun blidi*, i, 1.12: *sie duent iz filu suazi*, iii, 25.18: *duent unsih elilenti* 'machen uns heimatlos.' For other examples cf. Kelle, *op. cit.*, p. 296 ff., and Gross, *Gebrauch des schwachen und starken Adjectivs bei Otfrid* (Diss. Heidelberg 1913), p. 24. Now he uses the -o form of the weak adjective in the same way, as an uninflected form. In other words, Otfrid could say either *sie uuarun thes adeilon* or *sie uuarun thes adeilo*, either *ih duan thih thes giloubon* or *ih duan thih thes giloubo*. When F. writes *ateilo* in ii, 9.4, leaving *einon* unaltered and destroying the rime, it seems that for Sigihart (early tenth century Bavarian) the uninflected form had become normal in the plural,—unless here again (cf. above) the absence of final -n is merely a scribal error. Note the substantival -on (Braune, *l. c.*, § 255, n. 1).

The use of *adeilo* and *giloubo* is not restricted to Otfrid, however. The following occurrences of *adeilo* are found in the Glosses:

- Strong: NSM *ateiler*: 'expers' (St.-S. ii, 729.15) 11th Cent.  
 NPM *ateile*: 'expertes' (St.-S. ii, 479.48) 11th Cent.  
*adeile*: 'expertes' (St.-S. ii, 23.63) 9th-10th Cent.  
 Weak: NSM *ateilo uuas*: 'expers erat' (St.-S. ii, 734.19) 9th Cent.  
*ateilin*: 'expers' (St.-S. ii, 7.38) 10th Cent.

Its equivalent in OE is *ordæle*, of which the following examples are listed in Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*:



Strong: NSM *ordæle*: 'expers,' *Anecd. Oxon.* (ed. Napier, 1900), 3286. 11th Cent.

*ordæle*: 'expers,' Wright *Vocab.* (1857) ii. 31, 48; 90, 67. 11th Cent.

Weak: NSM *ordæla*: 'expers,' *Anglo-Saxon and OE Vocab.* by Thos. Wright, 2nd ed. by R. P. Wülcker, London (1884), 232, 23.

Its converse is OHG *giteilo*, weak only, occurring three times in Notker (ed. Piper, 1883):

II, 44.8: *oleo letitie pre consortibus tuis . . . fore dinen geteilon.*

II, 88.21: *Ih salbota in oleo exsultationis . . . pre participibus suis . . . mit olee frouelungo ferror danne andre sine geteilen.*

II, 118.63: *Particeps ego sum omnium timentium te . . . nu sprichet christus ad patrem sament sinemo corpore . . . keteilo bin ih allero die dih furhtent.*

and once in the Glosses:

*epangiteilun*: 'consortem' (St.-S. II, 270.42)

No other examples of *giloubo* are to be found, but its converse *ungiloubo* (cf. above) occurs four times in Isidor (Hench, *QF* 72):

7.2: *sagheen nu dhea unchilaubun*; *Monsee Fragments* (ed. Hench, Strassburg 1890), 34.23: *sagen nu dea ungalaubun.*

13.10: *dhes sindun unchilaubun iudeo ludi*; *Mons.* 35.29: *des sintun . ungalaubun . iudeo luti.*

28.14: *dher unchilaubo fraghet* 'incredulus'.

42.7: *dhero unchilaubono muotwuillun* 'infidelium'

An OE equivalent *\*gelæf* does not occur, while *ungelæf* is found several times. Bosworth-Toller cite the following examples:

*ne magon ðær eard niman ungeleafe menn* 'qui non credunt inhabitare in eo,' *Libri psalm. versio antiqua Latina*, ed. B. Thorpe, Oxon. (1835) 67, 19.

*þa ongan he beon eallunga ungeleaf þæt he hit wære* 'ipsum hunc esse coepit omnino non credere, Übers. der Dialoge Greg. d. Gr., ed. Hecht, Leipzig (1900), 46, 12.

The non-occurrence of *\*gelæf* in OE as opposed to the common

use of *ungelēaf* seems to indicate that the OHG *giloubo* is a later development; that *ungiloubo* was the original compound formed from the noun *gilouba*, and *giloubo* decomposed from this form. The compound *ungiloubo* is found in 8th century documents, while *giloubo* does not appear until the latter half of 9th century.

To be sure, there is in OE literature also a form *unlēf*:

*For þu art unlef mine worde. þu schalt beo dumb forte þat child beo boren, 'non credidisti verbis meis.' OE Homil., ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S. v. 29 (1893), ii. 125, 24.*

*þalle ower leasunges beoð unlefliche. Leg. of St. Kather. of Alex., ed. James Morton, London (1841), l. 345.*

This OE *unlēf* might conceivably represent an exocentric compound *\*un-lauba-*, formed from *un-* plus a noun *\*lauba-*, and *\*ga-lauba-* similarly an exocentric compound of this *\*lauba-*, but as OE *unlēf* occurs only in the 12th and 13th centuries, it bears little weight.

In spite of the strong forms of *adeilo* in the late Glosses, the weak-only use of *adeilo* and *giloubo* may well be ancient; the exclusively weak inflection of some adjectives is a phenomenon of the Germanic languages; cf. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*,<sup>5-6</sup> Heidelberg (1920), p. 130.183 f., Wessén, *Zur Geschichte der Germanischen N-Deklination*, Uppsala (1914), p. 2 ff., Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* (1923), I, 220 f., PBB 43, 153 ff., Jellinek, *Anz. f.d.A.* 32, p. 7, ZfdA. 50, p. 7 f., Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*<sup>2</sup> III, 2, p. 754 ff., Sturtevant, A. M., *On the weak inflection of the Pred. Adj.*, JEGP. 21, 452 f.

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#### A NOTE ON THE PUBLICATION OF KLEIST'S *KÄTHCHEN VON HEILBRONN*

On January 12, 1810, Heinrich von Kleist sent a manuscript of *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* to the publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta. Some eighteen months previously Cotta had agreed to print the drama, but with the stipulation that he was not to deter-

mine the amount of the author's honorarium until a year after the publication of the play.<sup>1</sup> When subsequently informed by Cotta that the printing could not take place during the year 1810, Kleist wrote on April first of the same year, requesting that his manuscript be returned.<sup>2</sup> In a letter of August 10, 1810, the dramatist then asked Georg Andreas Reimer of Berlin whether he cared to undertake the printing of the drama. In part this letter reads as follows:

Wollen Sie mein Drama, das Käthchen von Heilbronn, zum Druck übernehmen? Es ist den 17<sup>t</sup> 18<sup>t</sup> und 19<sup>t</sup> März, auf dem Theater an der Wien, während der Vermählungsfeierlichkeiten, zum Erstenmal gegeben, und auch seitdem häufig, wie mir Freunde sagen, wiederholt worden. . . . Auch der *Moniteur* und mehrere andere Blätter, haben darüber Bericht erstattet.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, this reference to the *Moniteur* was made with the aim of impressing Reimer. As it happens, however, the statement appearing in the Paris journal is anything but complimentary. On Wednesday, May 2, 1810, the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel* had printed the following item as emanating from Vienna on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April:

On s'occupe maintenant du projet d'établir dans le faubourg de Josephstadt un nouveau théâtre qui doit être très-magnifique. Le baron de Braun est à la tête de cette entreprise, qui fera époque dans les annales des théâtres de Vienne. Le fameux Schifaneder, qui est le favori du public de Vienne, a pris des engagements comme auteur dramatique du nouveau théâtre. Les autres entrepreneurs emploient au surplus tous les moyens pour attirer un nombreux public. Depuis deux mois on y a représenté beaucoup de nouvelles pièces, dont quelques-unes cependant, telles que *Catherine de Heilbronn* par Kleist; *Rochus-Pombernikel*, la *Famille Pumbernikel*, etc., sont au-dessous de toute critique, quoiqu'elles attirent chaque fois un nombre immense de spectateurs.

On a donné avec succès, pour la première fois, la *Fiancée de Messine*, tragédie de Schiller. *Guillaume Tell* est aussi annoncé.

(*Courrier de l'Europe.*)

The *Moniteur* had reprinted this news item from another Paris daily newspaper whose complete title was *Courrier de l'Europe et des Spectacles, et Mémorial Européen réunis*. The account in the

<sup>1</sup> H. v. Kleists Werke, im Verein mit Georg Minde-Pouet und Reinhold Steig herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt, Leipzig & Wien, Bibliographisches Institut, 1904-05, p. 393 f.

<sup>2</sup> P. 397 f.

<sup>3</sup> P. 399 f.

latter journal was published on Monday, April 30, 1810, and differs from that reproduced in the *Moniteur* only in a minor detail that has no bearing on Kleist's drama.

Reimer published *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* in 1810. Kleist, who was in financial straits, had declared his readiness to accept eighty or even sixty Thaler if only Reimer would print the drama by Michaelmas.<sup>4</sup> On the following day he wrote asking Reimer, in view of the hard times, to give anything he chose, provided only that it be given at once.<sup>5</sup> He finally received seventy-five Reichsthaler.<sup>6</sup>

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## TWO SPENSER NOTES

### 1. *Florimell, Proteus, and Helen.*

In support of Gough's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that Spenser's figures of the true and false Florimell may have owed something to the Stesichorean version of the story of Helen it might be pointed out that Euripides' play gives also a hint for the rather puzzling part played by Proteus in Spenser's poem. Florimell, as Professor Padelford shows,<sup>2</sup> is Spenser's 'special embodiment . . . of Beauty,' as Amoret is of grace and charm and Belpheobe of chastity. The false Florimell who is created by the witch to solace her loutish son and who thereafter plays so large a part in the story of the third and fourth Books is, of course, false beauty, the beauty of outward show without the inward beauty of the spirit. Helen likewise is the embodiment of the idea of female beauty in Greek legend. According to Euripides, the Helen that made so much trouble for Greece and Troy (compare the quarrels that arise over the false Florimell, *F. Q.*, iv, ii and v) was but a 'phantom, out of cloudland wrought' by Hera to deceive Paris, and vanishes

<sup>4</sup> P. 400 f.

<sup>5</sup> P. 401.

<sup>6</sup> P. 483.

<sup>1</sup> *The Faerie Queene, Book V* (Clarendon Press), introductory note to Canto iii and note to stanza 10.

<sup>2</sup> *JEGPh.*, xvi, 72.

into thin air (just as the false Florimell does, v, iii, 24) when the true Hellen is restored. Spenser has sharpened his allegory by making his false Florimell out of snow. As Gough points out, Spenser might have got the suggestion either from Plato (*Republic*, ix, 10) or from Euripides. If, as seems to me probable, Spenser's treatment of Proteus is prompted by the part played by Proteus and his house in the *Helen*, we have additional evidence of the influence of Euripides upon Spenser.

The rôle of Proteus in Book III of *The Faerie Queene* is somewhat disconcerting.<sup>3</sup> In Canto iv he is the somewhat benevolent elderly adviser of Marinell's mother, and in Canto vii (stanzas 29-36) he rescues Florimell from the assault of the old fisherman. Then suddenly he becomes himself the persecutor of Florimell's chastity, and when she repulses his advances shuts her up in his dungeon (stanzas 38-41), where she remains until (iv, xii) Marinell, during the marriage feast of the Thames and the Medway in Proteus' hall, overhears her lamentations and her avowal of undying love and is thereby converted from his insensibility, and so she is joined at last to her first and only love.

It has already been pointed out<sup>4</sup> that Ariosto, immediately after that story of Angelica and the *mago* which was supposed by Upton to have afforded Spenser the hint for the scene of Florimell and the fisherman (*O. F.* viii, 44 ff.; *F. Q.* iii, viii, 20 ff.), begins the story of the Irish orc with an account of Proteus' amour with the princess of Ebuda. Altho Proteus has nothing directly to do with Angelica, it is perhaps conceivable that Spenser was prompted by the mere juxtaposition of the two stories in Ariosto to make

<sup>3</sup> It may of course be said that Spenser is merely following out his allegory consistently: Florimell, as the type of sheer helpless female loveliness, must arouse desire in all who see her, from witch's oaf to sea-god—except Marinell, whose allegorical function (see W. F. DeMoss's discussion of this matter, *Mod. Phil.*, xvi, 252 ff.) is to represent insensibility, one of the two extremes between which chastity is the mean.

<sup>4</sup> By Koeppl, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvii, 394 ff. Koeppl is here arguing that the old fisherman's assault upon Florimell was suggested not by Ariosto's story of Angelica and the hermit, as Upton thought, but by the story of Britomartis as told in the *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis; tho he considers it likely that Ariosto is responsible for the age of the fisherman in Spenser, of which there is no indication in Antoninus.

Proteus the last in the series of Florimell's persecutors. But the part played by Proteus and his house in Euripides is a good deal closer to Spenser's story.

Zeus, Helen tells, when he learned that Paris was coming to claim the reward promised him by Aphrodite, had Hermes carry her away to Egypt, Proteus' realm,

Of all men holding him [Proteus] most continent,  
That I might keep me pure for Menelaus. (Way's trans.)

After the death of Proteus, however, his son and successor woos Helen, and when he finds her faithful to her husband's memory brings a tyrant's pressure to bear upon her, as Proteus does upon Florimell. The rescue of Helen by Menelaus constitutes the plot of the play. Thus Proteus and his son play successively the parts played in Spenser by Proteus alone.

Like the bee in Swift's apologue, Spenser gathered his matter wherever he found it; his honey is compounded of many simples. Professor Mackail has declared<sup>5</sup> that "even for traces of any influence on him [Spenser] from Homer, from the Greek lyrists, or from the Attic tragedians we may search through him in vain." In view of the Homeric influences in Book II pointed out by Miss Winstanley, and perhaps of the item suggested here, this seems to be too sweeping a statement.

## 2. *Britomart's Nurse.*

W. F. DeMoss, in his very interesting study of "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues,"<sup>6</sup> says that Spenser draws 'the virtues and vices which he discusses in connection with Chastity' from Aristotle, who in his analysis of Temperance includes 'a curious discussion of brutality, or unnatural vice,' and adds: 'This fact throws light on an otherwise difficult passage in the *Faerie Queene*, namely III, ii, 40-41. 'In the midst of this fine compliment to the Queen [i. e., representing Britomart (Elizabeth) as madly in love with Artegall (Justice)] we have the following curious passage put in the mouth of Glauce, Britomart's old nurse, after Britomart has confessed her love'; and he quotes the stanzas. The implica-

<sup>5</sup> *Springs of Helicon*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, xvi, 257.

tion clearly is that Spenser went out of his way to bring in this 'curious' and 'otherwise difficult passage' because he was dominated by Aristotle's treatment of the virtue of Temperance.

It might have been argued that he brought it in because he loved this figure of the simple, devoted, somewhat bawd-like old nurse, whose experience of life has taught her to expect naughtiness in the relations between the sexes.<sup>7</sup> It is an aspect of the *ewig-weibliche* that appears to have had a charm for the great poets, from Euripides to Keats. Phaedra's nurse, and Juliet's, and Madeline's, are of the same family; and in *Isabella* Keats has added another of the tribe that he did not find in Boccaccio.

But in Spenser's case there is no need of supposing either the influence of Aristotle or a special interest in this type of woman-kind. The matter which DeMoss finds 'curious' is there because it was in the passage which, as was long ago pointed out by Warton,<sup>8</sup> Spenser was following in this canto, the pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*. Just as he took his description of the Bower of Bliss (II, xii) bodily from the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (xv-xvi) with some improvements in the way of arrangement, so he has 'copied the greatest part of the second Canto of this book from the Ceiris of Virgil,' as Warton puts it.<sup>9</sup> The translation is frequently

<sup>7</sup> For further evidence of this character in Glauce see IV, vi, 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Observations on the Fairy Queen* (edition of 1807), I, 117.

<sup>9</sup> It was probably also in the *Ciris*, as Warton thought, that Spenser found the name Britomartis—altho he may well enough have read also Antoninus Liberalis's account of her (see note 4, above). The word is Cretan and is supposed to mean 'sweet maiden'; but it must have seemed to Spenser a providential name for his martial maid of Britain. In the *Ciris*—it may be worth while to explain, since the poem is not found in modern editions of Vergil—Britomartis is the daughter, not the foster-child, of the nurse Charme; the foster-child, and the heroine of the poem, is Scylla. Charme tells the love-maddened Scylla about her own child, Britomartis, who, pursued by the unwelcome love of Minos, cast herself down from the watch-tower on Mount Dictæ and vanished, or, according to another story (both, curiously enough, are given by Charme herself), became the goddess Dictynna, a Cretan equivalent of Diana. According to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, 189-200, Britomartis was one of the attendant nymphs of Artemis, and when she cast herself into the sea was caught and saved by fishermen in their nets; whence the name Dictynna (from *δικτυον*, a net). Pausanias (II, 30) gives the

close,<sup>10</sup> and the figure of the nurse is very faithfully reproduced.

The part corresponding to Spenser's stanzas 40-41 is ll. 237-40:

Hei mihi, ne furor ille tuos invaserit artus,  
Ille, Arabae Myrrhae quondam qui cepit ocellos,  
Ut scelere infando, quod nec sinit Adrastea,  
Laedere utrumque uno studeas errore parentem!

As to Spenser's additions of Pasiphae and Byblis, the former is a mythological commonplace, and the latter may very probably have been suggested by Ovid, *Met.* ix, 454 ff. In his fondness for piling up mythological allusions Spenser is a true child of the Renaissance. It is pertinent, perhaps, to note that Ovid has just such a nurse and nursling scene as that in the *Ciris* in his story of Myrrha, *Met.* x, 298 ff. But there is no question that the *Ciris* is Spenser's source, as anyone may satisfy himself by comparing the two.

The spell to which Glauce resorts to free her foster-child from her strange passion is also from the *Ciris*, but with additions. One would like to believe that Spenser is here using English folklore. Charme mixes sulphur, narcissus, cassia, and 'herbas olentes' in an earthen dish, "binds thrice about it ninefold threads of triple hue," and then bids the girl spit thrice in her bosom:

... 'Ter in gremium mecum,' inquit, 'despue, virgo,  
Despue ter, virgo; numero deus impare gaudet.'

Glauce uses simples more familiar to English folk—savin, rue, camphor, calamint, dill, "colt wood"—and adds milk and blood; the magic braid around the pot is made of "thrise three heares from of her head"; and the charm of spitting is thrice called for:

Come, daughter, come, come; spit upon my face,  
Spitt thrise upon me, thrise upon me spitt;  
Th' uneven number for this busines is most fitt.

In the next stanza we have a part of the charm which is not in the *Ciris*:

same etymology. In the *Ciris* we may assume perhaps that the poet associated the name with the nets of hunters.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with Spenser's 47th stanza *Ciris*, 40-44:

His ubi sollicitos animi relevaverat aestus  
Vocibus, et blanda pectus spe vicerat aegrum,  
Paullatim tremebunda genis obducere vestem  
Virginis, et placidam tenebris captare quietem,  
Inverso bibulum restinguens lumen olivo.



That sayd, her rownd about she from her turnd,  
 She turned her contrary to the sunne,  
 Thrise she her turnd contrary, and returnd  
 All contrary, for she the right did shunne,  
 And ever what she did was streight undonne.

But all this, with possibly one exception, is of classical provenience; cf. Theocritus, *Idyll.* II and Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII, which are, I suppose, the best known accounts. And even the withershins motion ('contrary to the sunne'), which is not found in Vergil or Theocritus, seems to be included in Horace's *Ad Canidiam*:

Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.

So that even in his folk-lore he is drawing not upon his own observation of humble life but upon his knowledge of classical literature.

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## THE ELIZABETHAN "TO BOARD"

The figurative use of "to board" = "to accost" is familiar enough. Sir Toby gives a string of synonyms for it in *T. N.*, I, iii, 60, all who expound Shakespeare to the young insist on it, and indeed in most of its Elizabethan occurrences it plainly denotes nothing more. Yet, despite the derivation from Fr. *aborder*, it is hard to believe that in the days of Drake and Raleigh the connotation of the word, even in this sense, could have entirely escaped influence from its common meaning, "to board" a ship. The *N. E. D.* fails to notice what may be described as a literal employment of the metaphor in *The First Part of Ieronimo*, II, iii, 20:

in this disguise I may  
 Both wed, bed, and boord her?

Here the meaning seems unmistakable. Surely this meaning must have been productive of overtones in such cases as in Sh.'s *A. W.*, V, iii, 121.

It may be objected that in the passage quoted *boord* (a common spelling in Sh. as well) possibly means "accost" and is with de-

sign anti-climactic, and intended to be delivered by the actor with a hem and a leer. If so (which seems unlikely), the obvious connotation of the word becomes only more certain.

In his note on *T. N.*, I, iii, 60, Furness (p. 40) is a little severe on "those who cannot extract the simple meaning [i. e., accost] from Sir Toby's own words ['Accost is front her, boord her, woe her, assaile her.']" But Sir Andrew's reply indicates that my contention is right: "By my troth I would not vndertake her in this company. Is that the meaning of Accost?" On this speech Halliwell (vol. VII, p. 276) observes, "but the word is often used with a double entendre, and it is probable from Sir Andrew's answer that Sir Toby may have here alluded as well to the more wanton meaning."

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#### MAURICE BARRÈS AND THE "YOUNG" REVIEWS

Maurice Barrès, at the age of 19, left Nancy, where he was studying law, to continue, nominally at least, this same work in Paris. But his real interest was in literature, and he was fired with a passionate desire to make his mark in the world of letters. His ambition received prompt recognition, and the very year of his début in Paris, 1881, he had two articles accepted in *La Jeune France*, a "young" review, then in its fourth year, but with a brilliant list of contributing editors which included: Alphonse Daudet, Anatole France, Leconte de Lisle, Paul Bourget, Baudelaire and Faguet. About one-third of each issue of this review was devoted to publishing the work of young and unknown writers who showed promise.

Barrès's first article, which appeared in May, 1881, is a favorable analysis of the plays of Auguste Vacquerie and shows, along with certain crudities of style, a naïvely youthful enthusiasm which we will not often find in the writer, but also an almost fanatical devotion to the highest literary ideals, which will be, of course, a constant trait in all his later work. The second article is upon the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the death of Charles Hugo, elder son of the poet. Barrès writes with a keen sympathy, and

as yet little trace of the dry irony or the austere disdain which are to characterize his early and middle twenties, the period of "le culte du moi." These articles drew to Barrès the attention of Leconte de Lisle, and the famous poet brought the young writer to the favorable notice of a number of illustrious literary men, among them Bourget and Anatole France.

A year later, in the same periodical Barrès has a story which is worth brief mention because it is so unlike anything else from his pen. The story, called "Le Chemin de l'Institut," is, in brief: Jean Boursaulx reads his novel "Mes débuts" to his friend Karl Ferraz who admires it immensely and secures permission to take it to his room. Boursaulx is stricken with paralysis. Ferraz publishes the novel as his own and becomes famous. Boursaulx learns this, but dies forgiving. Many years later Ferraz, covered with literary honors, is buried in the shadow of the Institute. The romantic pathos of the tale strongly suggests Alphonse Daudet, and the savage irony of the ending reminds us more of the Anatole France of *Penguin Island* than of anything the latter had published up to this time.

In 1883 *La Jeune France* printed a 20-page article by Barrès on *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* which shows a fine understanding and a deep admiration for its author. Jérôme Tharaud tells us that France was the first literary man whom Barrès visited when he came to Paris, and that the younger man admired France intensely at this time. A remarkable article on Banville shows Barrès as already in possession of a rich and colorful vocabulary, which needs only moderating to become a fine instrument of expression.

Next comes the famous *Taches d'Encre*, a monthly gazette founded, as Barrès frankly tells his readers, to make him better known. The paper had only four numbers, from the 5th of November, 1884 to the 5th of February, 1885. The painter Jacques-Emile Blanche tells an amusing and revealing story of Barrès and of the latter's hunger for fame. It seems that a woman had assassinated a certain Morin, in the Palais de Justice itself, and naturally this sensational crime was the center of attention. Barrès hired sandwich men to parade the boulevards bearing the sign

"Morin

ne lira plus

Les Taches d'Encre."

The first 26 pages of the first number are taken up with a serious and capable discussion of Baudelaire and the origins of Satanism. In the second article Barrès denounces a certain Victor Tissot who has attained considerable notoriety by writing insulting and even scurrilous books about Germany. In this connection Barrès expressed his own distaste for the war songs of Déroulède and the latter's *Ligue des Patriotes*, but observes that at least no one doubts Déroulède's sincerity. Three nations, continues Barrès, guide civilization in the 19th century, France, England, and Germany, and it would be an irreparable loss if one of them were to disappear. Barrès holds up to the scorn of the younger generation such vulgar "agents provocateurs" as Tissot. He continues: "The special task which we young men have before us is to retake the captured land and to reconstitute the French ideal, in which is included the Protestant genius of Strasbourg as well as the brilliant facility of the Midi. Let us teach the people of France that they are a great nation, and that by the *élan* of its individual efforts, this people will maintain itself, for the service of the human mind, at the head of the peoples of Europe. Then, when the drum beats, we will show of what is capable a nation which esteems itself highly enough to esteem its adversary." These words of the young Barrès already give the measure of Barrès the patriot. From his earliest manhood the interior life and the need of and aptitude for action are seen to exist side by side in him. The young intellectual is also a man who wishes to serve his country, but it is the interior life of the artist which raises the public man to the dignity of being able to respect a worthy enemy.

Among the interesting indications which the student of Barrès may select from the *Gazette du Mois* of the review is the prediction that in about twenty years he (Barrès) will hold out his arms "à quelque Catholicisme un peu modifié." Under the head of *Moralités* he says "C'est le fait d'un parvenu d'insulter aux maîtres par qui se fait l'éducation des races."<sup>1</sup>

In the last number of *Les Taches d'Encre* we find the first indication of the implacable hatred and scorn which Barrès is always

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that the young intellectuals who, in the name of a Barrésian nationalism, showered opprobrium upon the tomb of Anatole France, might well meditate upon this saying of their master.

to show towards the professional politician. The future deputy maintains that the governing classes nourish a jealous hatred towards the intellectual and attack him, when possible, on grounds of conventional morality.

In spite of the rare talent which they show, *Les Taches d'Encre* were a financial failure, and Barrès was forced to discontinue their publication after the fourth number.

An interesting venture was *Les Chroniques*, a monthly review founded by Barrès and Charles Le Goffic. It ran from December 1, 1886 to an October-November number in 1887. Besides the founders, contributors of distinction were few, but include Lemaître, Bourget and Verlaine (all three with sonnets) and André Bellesort. Each number opens with a *Chronique de Paris* by Barrès. In an article on a certain playwright named Doucet, who occupied Vigny's chair in the Academy, Barrès writes: "Sa bouche semble fatiguée de porter son sourire." In this article, terrible in its purposely faint praise, Barrès ridicules Doucet, who seems to have been merely a sort of administrative politician, for presuming to occupy the place of a man of genius. Still, at at this time, in this publication at least, Barrès shows no signs of an interest in political questions. In a powerful analysis of Leconte de Lisle, Barrès comments somberly and bitterly on the futility of the intelligence and of life itself in a manner to rival the attitude of the Parnassian leader himself. He concludes: "L'ennui baille sur ce monde décoloré par les savants." When Le Goffic passed his "agrégation" in the fall of 1887, and entered "l'Université," the review came to an abrupt end.

Among noteworthy contributions of Barrès to *La Revue Illustrée* (1885) is an article on Saint-Saëns which shows that its young author has a sound grasp of the aesthetic elements and values in music. Barrès shows himself equally at home in dramatic criticism in an excellent discussion of Bernhardt's rendering of *Marion Delorme*. Discussing literary taste in general and foreign influences in particular, Barrès characterizes "Edgard Poë" as "le plus vide et le moins ingénieux des feuilletonistes."

In 1888 Barrès began contributing to *La Revue indépendante*, a small monthly, but one which commanded an illustrious list of collaborators including Moréas, Verlaine, Paul Adam, George Moore, Hérédia, Richepin, Verhaeren, Mallarmé and Hervieu. In

his first article Barrès discusses General Boulanger. The article should be particularly interesting to students of the career of Barrès, as it supplies an explanation of the puzzling question as to how this mediocre soldier, this theatrical poseur, could have aroused and held the allegiance of such men as Barrès and the group of superior intelligences who followed him. The author of *L'Appel au Soldat* describes his idol as being the man "elected by the popular instinct." Barrès says that, stifled as he himself is by the barbarians, he feels the need of a savior. He writes, he says, only for a small public, but "un public divin d'ailleurs; les princes de la jeunesse." Boulanger, it seems, had shown an especial interest in this élite, because he knows that from the thousands of these young intellectuals will emerge the hundred or so who will dominate their epoch.

In an article in this same review in September, 1888, Barrès says that he was drawn to a certain Simon, because they had in common: "des préjugés, un vocabulaire, et des dédains." They are congenial because they analyse themselves and each other "avec minutie," and hold their intelligence in high esteem, but place no value at all upon the element of character. In this article we find an early appearance of the famous Barrésian formula "Il faut sentir le plus possible, en analysant le plus possible."

In 1892 Barrès has an article in *La Revue Blanche* devoted to a discussion of one of his favorite themes, the *moi* and whether or not the exterior world exists. From now on, says the author of *Un Homme Libre* he will renounce trying to convert his readers entirely to his way of thinking, but will attempt, using their preconceived notions, to convert them to the realization of the fact that there is only one value worth developing, and that is "l'exaltation du moi et sa culture." Readers of Tharaud's *Mes Années Chez Barrès* will remember that it was in *La Revue Blanche*, in 1887, that an important article appeared, in which a representative of a certain group of young intellectuals, followers of Barrès, renounced allegiance to him because of his attitude on the Dreyfus Affair.

What is probably the last important contribution of Barrès to a "young" review appears in *L'Aube* for June, 1896. In this issue he has an article on Baudelaire which, says Barrès, he had intended to include in *Un Homme Libre*. Among the illuminating

ideas which appear in it is this: that the poet, the priest, and the soldier are alone among mortals worthy of being called great. In fact, the poet is really a soldier, in that he sacrifices himself in order to beautify his conception of the universe.

In an article by Barrès in *Cosmopolis* for October, 1898, we find this sentence particularly interesting to those who wish to follow the evolution of the thought of its author: "Si j'ai passé de la rêverie sur le *moi* au goût de la psychologie sociale . . . c'est surtout par la nécessité de me soustraire au vague mortel . . . de la contemplation nihiliste."

Most of the remaining articles of Barrès in young reviews have been incorporated directly into his books, and thus need not be considered as periodical literature.

Paul Bourget, as well as most of the other critics and biographers of Barrès whom I have read believe that the formulas which most completely summarize the Barrès of the "young" reviews are the highly complicated filament of principles which went to make up the famous "culte du moi." Abbé Brémond has found definite traces of the ideas contained in *Les Taches d'Encre* in almost all of the later works of Barrès.

It seems to me that if some of the writers who have so laboriously commented upon and explained the evolution and apparent contradictions in the later work of Barrès had given somewhat more study to the early articles of their subject, they would have seen that he is already expressed, completely, though in the germ, as it were, in the remarkable articles of his literary *débuts*.

The *Taches d'Encre* reveal one of the most characteristic aspects of Barrès and one not usually emphasized, namely, his gift for a haughty yet whimsical irony, his power of scornful disdain, his ability to inject a note of urbanity even into his most deadly sarcasm—these qualities which were later to be of incalculable value to him in his polemical work as a writer and public man. Barrès arms himself with this irony from the very beginning of his career. Not because he cares to inflict suffering, but in order the better to defend his ideal, his convictions, in brief, his personality, which he summed up and unified into his *Culte du Moi*, against disdain, incomprehension and stupidity—the weapons of the *Barbares*.

## A NOTE ON FLAUBERT

In Flaubert's *Éducation sentimentale* there is a delightful scene representing Rosanette in the Pâtisserie Anglaise, eating cream tarts which leave white "moustaches" on her mouth:

Rosanette avala deux tartes à la crème. Le sucre en poudre faisait des moustaches au coin de sa bouche. De temps à autre, pour l'essuyer, elle tirait son mouchoir de son manchon, et sa figure ressemblait, sous sa capote de soie verte, à une rose épanouie entre ses feuilles.<sup>1</sup>

This rather ludicrous representation of a beautiful woman was not a creation of the author's fancy, but was suggested to Flaubert by a personal reminiscence. In 1863, while he was working on the *Éducation sentimentale*, he wrote to Mlle Amélie Bosquet:

Jeudi prochain j'irai à la bibliothèque. . . . Vous souvient-il que c'est là l'endroit de notre première entrevue?

On vous a apporté des mirlitons, le sucre en poudre faisait une moustache blanche à votre joli bec, vous étiez charmante à donner envie de vous croquer comme les gâteaux.<sup>2</sup>

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 REVIEWS
 

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*Geoffrey Chaucers Kleinere Dichtungen nebst Einleitung, Lesarten, Anmerkungen und einem Worterverzeichnis neu herausgegeben.* By JOHN KOCH. Englische Textbibliothek 18. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928, pp. viii + 260.

*Studien zu Chaucer und Langland.* By FRITZ KROG. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 65. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928, pp. xii + 174.

*Die Funktionen des Erzählers in Chaucers Epischer Dichtung.* By H. LÜDEKE. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft lxxii. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928, pp. x + 157.

In the first of these three monographs, Dr. Koch has given us new texts of Chaucer's *Minor Poems* based on a fresh classification of the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Éducation sentimentale*, Paris, Conard, 1923, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance*, Paris Conard, 1910, III, 382.



MSS. for every poem and containing a fair number of readings not adopted by previous editors; these are to be discussed later in *Anglia*. Dr. Koch has normalized the texts conservatively, in a few points of spelling and phonology clearly indicated in the introduction, and with respect to *-e*, organic and inorganic; and the conventions adopted in printing make the relation of text to basic MSS. clearer than in other editions. The footnotes, however, are more crowded and harder to consult than Skeat's, and the few concise notes are not easy to find among the variant readings. For each poem there is a separate brief introduction dealing with title, sources, verse-form, and MS. filiation. The *Romaunt*, *Proverbs*, *Balade of Compleynt*, and *Womanly Noblesse* are excluded as unauthentic.

The order in which the poems are printed, and the slight sketch of Chaucer's poetic development, are both based on a longish discussion of chronology. A good deal of this revolves about the rather speculative autobiographical and political interpretations of both life-records and poems that are already associated with Dr. Koch's name. *Mars* still belongs to 1379 (with 1385 in a footnote), and Mr. Root's astronomical dating of *Troilus* is not mentioned. In so far as Dr. Koch's picture of Chaucer is based on speculative grounds, it will probably be acceptable rather to "those convinced before" than to "the not-as-yet-convinced."

Dr. Krog's study of Chaucer's personality and spiritual development is far more elaborate. He represents Chaucer, in strong contrast to Langland, as passive, aesthetic, receptive, in his inborn nature; and fated, by living in a time of transition between medieval Christian authority and renaissance intellectual freedom, to be the life-long victim of imperfectly resolved inner conflict. He traces Chaucer's development, picturing him as uprooted from his native middle-class, beginning a poetry of "pathetic ideality" under the influence of an unreal and moribund chivalric culture, soon disillusioned in his philosophy of wordly happiness, without firm religious faith, a prey to sadness, doubt, and despair, and adopting Fortune as symbol of the world-weary pessimism which has led him to ethical frivolity. In the *Monk's Tale*, and in *Troilus*, Dr. Krog sees him making Fortune a principle of his philosophy of history and of life, his determinism finally leaving no room for free-will. The epilogue of *Troilus*, following its remarkable wordly realism, indicates a personal crisis. Chaucer's need of emotional warmth, a need induced by that earlier uprooting, leads him in despite of his cool rationality to seek refuge in a personal piety not to be confused with deep religious faith. In a kind of compromise he now links Fortune with God's foreknowledge. In the *Parlement of Foules* and the *House of Fame*, humor gives him healing and forgetfulness; sad Fortune yields place to jesting Fame. Not the inward promptings of genius, however, but the blows of

fortune in the late '80s, rouse him to awareness of his relation to society at large, and turn him to picturing English life. Compared to Langland, he is weak and passive in social criticism; resignation, not accusation, inspires his late philosophic poems. But in the *Prologue* his human and artistic powers are in most perfect harmony, freed from medieval formulas and ideas (though Dr. Krog thinks estates-satire was Chaucer's model), and achieving perfect realism. Yet the lifelong inner dissonance persists: in the tales of his latest period, the *Wife's*, the *Pardoner's*, the *Canon's Yeoman's*, Chaucer evades realism and the urgency of social problems and escapes to joyously comic caricature; pious pathos steeps *Melibeus* and the *Parson's Tale*; Stoic pessimism is blended with Christian in *Truth*.

Everyone will accept some parts at least of this picture; Chaucer's and Langland's attitudes toward social problems, for example, were obviously as unlike as Lamb's and Shaftesbury's toward chimney-sweeps. But Dr. Krog, though making much parade of scientific method and of psychological terminology, has laid himself open to criticism on many grounds. He is insufficiently aware of our ignorance about Chaucer's *personal* life (compare, for example, what we know about Lamb), and is uncritical in basing his study upon guesses, speculations, and hypotheses accepted as facts. How does he *know* that Chaucer was born in 1340, entered court life only at seventeen, saw only bourgeois life before? How does he *know* that Chaucer's employments after 1386 were unremunerative? He is uncritical in his assumptions as to agreement between Chaucer's real feelings and the trite courtly conventions he uses, and in his acceptance of highly speculative datings of Chaucer's works. (Someone really should "de-bunk" Chaucerian pseudo-chronology). How does he *know* that the *Monk's Tale* came immediately after *The Book of the Duchess*, and in its present form, or that the commonplaces on Fortune represent Chaucer's own convictions? His treatment of Chaucer's youth is sentimental. That *The Book of the Duchess*, an elegy, should be "instinct with sadness" is no proof, any more than are the trite woes of the *Compleynys*, that Chaucer was sad; *sad* is not the same, by the way, in Chaucer's English as in Mr. Kittredge's. Dr. Krog is uncritical, too, in assuming that the literary tellers of Chaucer's tales speak for him personally: that it is Chaucer who gives up the problem of fate and free will in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and is cynical about women's "excellent franchise" in the *Merchant's Tale*. Surely it is wrong to interpret *CT. A 1261 ff.* as expressing the meaninglessness of life rather than mere human fallibility; and few will agree that the drunkard's *hous* symbolizes the Virgin, or that Mr. Lowes accepts Mr. Tupper's "sins" theory. More important than these errors of detail is Dr. Krog's disposition to accentuate sadness in Chaucer by giving too much weight to remarks uncritically isolated, too little to the total

effect of the most original works, to the impression of irrepressible vitality, all-pervading humor, and tolerant sanity conveyed, to the sensitive reader, not merely by content but by tone and cadence.

The function of Chaucer's "literary" narrator has been carefully and exhaustively studied by Dr. Lüdeke, who has discovered, by actual count, that Chaucer gave far more space, on the average, to this person, than did other medieval story-tellers. His interruptions of the purely narrative content are classified by Dr. Lüdeke as formal, structural, and self-characterizing. The last, of course, are the most interesting. They lead us, step by step, to the dramatized figure of the narrator, who is, indeed, the reciter, exercising permanently within the poem itself that art of delicate nuances which Chaucer must have practised at court so expertly. In no other medieval narratives, Dr. Lüdeke has discovered, is the sympathetic unity of story, reciter, and audience so subtly and completely embodied.

In *CT*, the narrator's function is shown to be only slightly more extended than in other narratives. But is Dr. Lüdeke correct in asserting: "Solange der Erzähler bloss erzählt, ist seine Gestalt nicht spürbar"? This is surely to neglect important evidence. The prioress's tale cannot be grouped with the second nun's as equally conditioned, in style, merely by the material. It is the prioress who "talks small" through the whole narrative. The sermon addressed to Mr. Kittredge on not arbitrarily reading between the lines is an attack on a straw man, as would be clear if his views (particularly in *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 172) were correctly presented.

For its objectivity in most points, the enormous amount of material used, the thorough and often illuminating classifications and definitions, the interesting comparisons with other authors, this study is well worth attention.

MURIEL B. CARR.

*University of Minnesota.*

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*Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited by JOHN M. MANLY. New York, Holt, 1928. Pp. x + 721.

Professor Manly's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* is an additional demonstration—if any further demonstration were needed—that only an original and independent scholar ought ever to try his hand at a textbook. For no mere compiler, no matter how well informed, could possibly have given us anything half so rich and solid as the present work. It is still in fact, what it was in intention, a textbook, but a textbook to which scholars may and will turn for suggestion, for interpretation, and for matters of fact.

Mr. Manly has printed the prologue, thirteen of the tales, and the links, complete, save for expurgations, and has characterized, or at least indicated, the omissions, so that, although this is not a complete edition, the *Canterbury Tales* can still be read as a continuous, if broken, story, and not merely as a haphazard assembly of disparate tales. He has, rightly I think, abandoned the arrangement of the fragments adopted by the Chaucer Society and followed by all modern editors except Koch, and has returned to the only really defensible order, that of the Ellesmere group. Incidentally he gives, on the basis of the work of one of his students, Mr. Robert Campbell, an analysis of the order of the fragments in the manuscripts which for first time reduces that primeval chaos to order. It is a very neat piece of work.

The text itself, so far as I have been able to tell from a collation which is admittedly imperfect, is thoroughly sound. Mr. Manly follows the Ellesmere MS. even more meticulously than does Koch, only departing from it when deviation is imperative, and then emending on the basis of cognate MSS. only. The result is less limpid and "correct" than Skeat, but it is undoubtedly far nearer Chaucer. Since the text is so excellent it is a thousand pities that Mr. Manly has thought it necessary to expurgate it and even—in at least one instance (1 504)—deliberately to alter it. But whatever we may think of that, here is the best life of Chaucer that we have yet had; a beautiful account of Chaucer's England; a solid and luminous study of the manifold problems which the *Canterbury Tales* present; an excellent account of Chaucer's syntax, and one, less satisfactory, of Chaucerian pronunciation; a brief but suggestive review of the versification; and an introduction to astrology which, if too condensed for the average teacher will be welcomed by those who are curious in such matters. Finally, there is an excellent glossary. But the great excellence of the book is the magnificent notes, worthy to stand beside the memorable work of Skeat and quite indispensable as a companion to it. They are, in fact, a veritable encyclopedia of medieval lore which even a first-rate scholar may read to his own great profit. I regret that I cannot discuss them as they deserve. I must content myself with a few scattered notes.

Mr. Manly's suggestion for the pronunciation of the *ai*, *ei* diphthong is ambiguous (p. 91), but it implies the old heresy that *ai* and *ei* fell together in ME. as [ei] and not as [ai]. This is certainly wrong (See Malone, "Studies in English Phonology" II, *Mod. Phil.* XXIII, 483-90 and the literature there cited), and it is to be regretted that Mr. Manly should give currency to the error. It is more than doubtful if Clifford, Clanvowe, and Stury were really Lollards (p. 91. See Waugh, "The Lollard Knights," *Scottish Historical Review*, XI, 55-92); and "Trotula" (p. 582) has been finally disposed of by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Singer in a single paragraph (*History*, x, 244). On the other hand, it may be mere

pedantry to insist on deleting the à in Thomas Becket's name, as does Hutton in his recent *Life*. In his reference to the *Libel of English Policy* (p. 514), Mr. Manly might have cited two recent and inexpensive editions (by Allen R. Benham, Seattle, 1926; and Sir George Warner, Oxford, 1926) rather than the almost inaccessible Wright. And I miss a reference to that perfect commentary on the Shipman (Prologue, 388 ff.) which is afforded by the late Mr. C. L. Kingsford's chapter on the "West Country Piracy" in his *Prejudice and Promise in the Fifteenth Century*. Surely it is incorrect to say (p. 516) that medieval scholars knew Aristotle only in Latin translations from the Arabic. Professor Haskins has shown that from the twelfth century at least translations from Arabic and direct from Greek circulated side by side (See his *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* 2 ed., pp. 141-241, particularly Chapter VIII). And in view of Professor Le Comte's article "Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale and the Roman de Renard" (*Modern Philology*, xiv, 737-49) I should prefer to abandon Miss Peterson's ingenious reconstruction of Chaucer's source. Mr. Manly is chary of parallel passages; but he quotes one from Gower (p. 529) to Prologue, 497: "Crist wrought first and afterward he taught." And I am sure he will accept another, quoted by Owst (*Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 22) from an actual sermon: "For so dud Crist himselfe; for first he lyvyd holily inward, and afterward he taughte it forth."

The goodly company of Chaucerians in every country will welcome this distinguished work, in almost every way the best thing of its kind since Skeat; but for that reason they will hope, as I do, that the critical edition of which Mr. Manly holds out promise may not be long delayed.

MARTIN B. RUUD.

*The University of Minnesota.*

*Founders of the Middle Ages.* By EDWARD KENNARD RAND.  
Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. 365.

It is eminently fitting that Professor E. K. Rand should be the author of these lectures, delivered before the Lowell Institute in 1928. This is true not only because of his comprehensive knowledge of classical culture in the middle ages, a knowledge which has ripened into wisdom; and because of his distinguished services as an interpreter to classicists, mediaevalists, and modernists alike of the essential continuity of classical culture. It is true, also, because, as the reviewer remembers with gratitude, Mr. Rand was the first chairman of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in the

Modern Language Association; and he was the first president and the moving spirit in the Mediaeval Academy of America.

In the words of the author, "the aim of the book . . . is to make clear the importance of certain great movements in thought and culture during the early Christian centuries . . . and to point out the significance of these men and these movements as precursors of certain aspects of mediaeval civilization." His main concern is limited to the early Christian-Pagan literature of the West and to the essentially related philosophy. His first two lectures show how the early leaders in Christian thought, despite open rejection of pagan culture, came to a recognition of the indispensable place of pagan literature and philosophy in the development of Christian culture. In 'St. Ambrose the Mystic,' 'St. Jerome the Humanist,' 'Boethius the first of the Scholastics,' 'The New Poetry,' 'The New Education,' and 'St. Augustine and Dante,' he establishes this fact. But more important, he finds in this body of material the rock whence were hewn the humanistic leaders of the middle ages. His peers may tilt with him concerning mooted points about Boethius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and others. But these peers, as well as the large body of interested readers among students of the modern languages, will find here a necessary task done with distinction.

Because of the permanent value of this volume as a contribution to humanistic studies, the reviewer wishes that the author had omitted frequent *obiter dicta* concerning deplorable, practical tendencies in current education. In totality these comments tend to make him a special pleader and to detract somewhat from the final impression of serene humanism with which he may well rest his case. To recur to a phrase of which he is fond, it is a book which merits being read *sub specie aeternitatis*.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN.

Boston University.

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*A Concordance of Boethius.* The Five Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. Compiled by LANE COOPER. The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Publication No. 1, 1928. Pp. xii + 467.

Aristotle says that one good turn deserves another. That eminent Aristotelian, Professor Lane Cooper, is evidently a worthy disciple of his master. Having put the classical world in his debt by making *A Concordance of the Works of Horace*, he now follows with *A Concordance of Boethius,—The Five Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy*. Making due allowance for the author concerned, no doubt this volume will be as well received as was its predecessor.

This volume on Boethius is a handsome one, clearly printed on beautiful paper. It is sponsored by the *Heckscher Foundation for the Advancement of Research* and is published by the *Medieval Academy of America* as its initial volume. That Boethius should be so often honored in recent years,—namely, with the Fortescue-Smith Edition, 1925, with a place in the Loeb Series, 1926, with a chapter in Rand's *Founders of the Middle Ages*, 1928, with H. R. Patch's *Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists* (*Speculum*, January, 1929), and now finally with this handsome concordance—is very significant of the reviving interest in Medieval studies.

In the preparation of this volume on Boethius, Professor Cooper follows the principles laid down in his earlier work on Horace. As a basic text, he uses that of Rand in the Loeb Classical Library. He also includes variants and conjectures noted by editors and reviewers from Peiper to Rand.

One is loath to say anything that might savor of criticism of Professor Cooper's work, but one suggestion might be in point. A colleague of mine, Professor A. K. Dolch, has been making "A Latin-Old High German Glossary to Notker's *Translation of Book I of the Consolation of Philosophy*." In this work he has made much use of the Boethian Concordance. He finds its accuracy remarkable but misses something in the categories of words that are listed without quoting. Thus in the various forms of *qui*, for example, no consistent distinction is made in the adjective and substantive, the relative and interrogative uses. This confusion is enhanced by the fact that in the treatment of words of this type there are no captions and where there is some scheme of classification, it is not always clear just what this scheme is. Again, the compiler's plan of listing all forms of a word, as *sum*, *eram*, *fui*, in strictly alphabetical order makes it very difficult for the investigator to be sure that he has completely run down the syntax and usage of that word. Dr. Dolch feels that one of the chief functions of a concordance is to enable the investigator to use the judgment of the compiler in checking up on his own conclusions.

ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY.

*University of California at Los Angeles.*

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*A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana.* By ISAAC WATSON DYER. The Southworth Press, Portland, Maine, 1928. Portrait. \$12.50.

Here at last is a bibliography to all that "Carlyle literature"—biography, criticism, exposition, reminiscence, correspondence, technical writing, and controversial material—behind which the

admirers and detractors of Carlyle have contrived to conceal him. Both the general reader and the specialist will welcome this guide, the result of forty years of labor and an admirable product of the Southworth Press. Its arrangement is clear, and it is rich in cross references. Carlyle's writings, translations, and letters are arranged in four lists: alphabetically by titles, chronologically, according to titles of periodicals, and according to periodicals containing any of Carlyle's letters. The *ana* are treated similarly, with the addition, however, of an interesting list of the principal portraits, busts, statues, and photographs of Carlyle, a commentary on them in a separate section, and an index-guide to the *ana*. Four Appendixes contain information on Carlyle's little-known invention of a horse-shoe, the known sources of *The French Revolution*, an article on *Sartor Resartus*, and addenda to the magazine list in the *ana*. A distinguishing feature of Mr. Dyer's work is the critical and informative comment on the titles, varying in length from a line or single sentence to ten pages of small type, supplying facts not only bibliographical but also critical, biographical, and controversial. The reader who elects merely to browse in this work may absorb a surprising amount of information not encountered in the usual formal biography.

The percentage of error, always looming horrendously over the bibliographer's shoulder, is here a matter of some typographical mistakes and, several serious errors of omission. *H. Schurz Wilson* should, for instance, be *H. Schutz-Wilson* (p. 484). One misses the citation of L. Derôme, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, September 15, 1864; and likewise Miriam Mulford Thrall, *A Phase of Carlyle's Relation to Fraser's Magazine in the PMLA.*, xxxix (1924). Several important letters to the *Times* and the *Times* editorial of May 9, 1881, likewise fail to appear. Many readers may object to the very proper exclusion of any editions "not deemed of value to the collector, or not having some special points of excellence for the general reader" (p. 57n). More formidable is perhaps Mr. Dyer's inclusion in his commentary of a great deal of material on the Froude-Carlyle controversy which may stir the ire of many of the Froude party; moreover, the impersonal quality appropriate to a bibliography is no doubt damaged thereby. Yet the great body of Froude-Carlyle literature is truly listed, so that we may draw our own conclusions from a richer knowledge than heretofore.

In spite of what may be objected to in the work, the fact remains that it is one of the most significant and important contributions to Carlyle scholarship in recent years. Through it we obtain a perspective of the field, which has hitherto been difficult to achieve; we see the great bulk of virtually worthless commentary, biography, and criticism which Carlyle's powerful personality has led a host of inept writers to produce. The true Carlyle scholar can now



have before him the titles of the half dozen or more excellent monographs, the four or five reliable biographies and biographical accounts, and the relatively few valuable criticisms of Carlyle's work and significance. He may now see what vast unexplored territories lie before him. And he may be stimulated to do a little uprooting and clearing away; he may, for instance, reappraise Mr. D. A. Wilson's most injudiciously reviewed biography or C. E. Vaughan's loose and unreliable *Carlyle and His German Masters*. In short, the field is staked out and alluring. Mr. Dyer's book points out both the thrilling labor and the rich harvest.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD.

*Michigan State Normal College.*

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*A Union Catalog of Photo Facsimiles in North American Libraries.*

Material so far received by the Library of Congress. Compiled by the Curator of Union Catalogs of the Library of Congress (Mr. ERNEST KLETSCH). Unedited. Yardley, Pa., F. S. Cook & Son, 1929. \$1.00 and postage.

"This list of about 1,000 titles is multigraphed as a general guide to other co-operators." It does not pretend to be and cannot be complete until all American Libraries possessing photostat copies of MSS. and rare printed books send in the information which will make this desired completeness possible. The *Catalog* gives the title of such copies as are to be found in the Library of Congress, the universities of Toronto, California, Chicago, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Cornell, Columbia, Princeton and Wisconsin, Harvard and Wellesley colleges, the Newberry and New York Public Libraries and the Massachusetts Historical Society. No doubt there are many more in other libraries scattered over the country. It is to be hoped that readers of *MLN.* will co-operate with Mr. Kletsch by seeing to it that he receives information concerning the photostat copies possessed by the institutions with which they are connected.

The importance of this enterprise, which is developing so auspiciously, cannot fail to impress all American scholars in the field of modern languages. It is bringing to our doors original source material for research, which we have hitherto been forced to procure for ourselves from abroad. The Modern Language Association of America is in fact very intimately connected with this project. Its collection of Rotograph Reproductions of Manuscript and Rare Printed Books is characterized in the preface to the *Catalog* as "the most important recent contribution and the best

demonstration of the effectiveness of the method" (of using photostat copies for research purposes).

The appendix of the Catalog presents an alphabetical list of the institutions and libraries cited as holders of the originals from which the copies are made with a table showing their geographical distribution. Our indebtedness to the officials of the Library of Congress is clear and we should give them our heartiest co-operation in performing this very vital service for American scholarship.

COLBERT SEARLES.

University of Minnesota.

*A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle.* By LANE COOPER and ALFRED GUDEMAN. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Cornell Studies in English XI), 1928. Pp. x + 193. \$2.00.

In the six sections of this very useful work are listed editions of the Greek text of the *Poetics* from 1508 to 1927; translations into Latin and the various modern languages published during the same period; the commentaries contained in these editions and translations; independent commentaries and allusions from 1483 to 1859; and the chief scholarly studies and interpretations which have appeared since 1860. The field thus covered is an enormous one, and it is only natural that Professors Cooper and Gudeman should have left a certain number of gaps in the record. It is not at all difficult, for example, to add to their catalogue of allusions to the *Poetics* in the criticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, to speak only of fairly well known English works in which Aristotle's poetical theories are discussed, I find no mention of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, of Hurd's notes and essays in his *Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones et Augustum*, of Joseph Warton's *Works of Virgil*, of John Brown's *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power . . . of Poetry and Music*, or of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*. And the list could easily be extended. From the last section, too, there are missing a number of important recent studies which touch upon one aspect or another of the influence of the *Poetics* in modern times. René Bray's *La formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris, 1927) doubtless appeared too late to be included (Professor Cooper's Preface is dated December 20, 1927), but surely a place might have been made for W. Folkierski's *Entre le classicisme et le romantisme* (Cracow and Paris, 1925), for Hubert Gillot's *La querelle des anciens & des modernes en France* (Paris, 1914), and for the articles of Colbert

Searles on "Italian Influence as seen in the Sentiments of the French Academy on the *Cid*" (*Romantic Review*, III [1912], 362-90) and on "Corneille and the Italian Doctrinaires" (*Modern Philology*, XIII [1915], 169-79). Too much should not be made, however of these lacunae; if some things here and there are overlooked, much after all is given; and we may be grateful to the compilers for having provided an instrument of work which will certainly be used with profit by all students of the history of European literary doctrines since the Renaissance.

R. S. CRANE.

*University of Chicago.*

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*Collected Essays, Papers, &c.* of ROBERT BRIDGES. II. Humdrum and Harum-Scarum, A Lecture on Free Verse. III. Poetic Diction. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 31-70. \$1.00.

*The Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1612.* By WILLARD THORP. Princeton University Press (Princeton Studies in English, No. 3), 1928. ix + 142 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Bridges always writes with solicitude for the logical presentation and the exact expression of his meaning, so that his essays make pleasant reading and whether you agree with him or not you always know just what he thinks. On the subject of free verse one does not expect to find him a champion, nor is he. With all his display of a fair mind his prejudices (I use the term without any suggestion of reproach) are clearly for the traditional modes. Therefore one feels that his examination of free verse, full as it is of wise and valuable things, is unsatisfying. Probably its greatest inadequacy is that no example of free verse is quoted or analyzed. The essay discloses its real value when it is taken as a brief defence of conventional prosody, in the extension of whose refinements, Mr. Bridges believes, lies the true way for developing English poetry.

The essay on poetic diction is very slight. Mr. Bridges asks if any reasonable objection can be made to the diction and machinery of such cultural hybrids as *Lycidas* and *Adonais*, and decides in the negative. He objects to the confinement of diction within the common terms of actual speech because diction is closely bound to properties (or machinery) which it has the power to harmonize, and if diction is restricted to actualities then properties must also be, or conversely "the higher the poet's command of diction, the wider may be the field of his Properties." In other words, diction must be elastic to fit every imaginative wish of the poet. A further objection to the autocracy of common speech is that it rules out ob-

solescent words against whose beauty and usefulness there can be no protest. Mr. Bridges believes that the preservation of dying terms of native origin would not only serve to bind our modern poetry to the older literature but would enrich the supply of Anglo-Saxon and Latin synonyms, to the refinement of our language.

By "the triumph of realism" Mr. Thorp means the defeat of the moralizing principle by the principle of fidelity to nature. The purpose of his study is to show how the Elizabethan dramatists came more and more to see life whole. Until, roughly, 1585 the drama was the handmaid to theology and ethics; the didactic motive dominated and life was moulded to the moral pattern. Coincidentally with the Marprelate quarrels the stage shook itself loose from the grip of homily, and under the leadership of the new group of wits pursued freer courses, permitting itself, under Lyly, to cultivate a purely esthetic manner and, under Marlowe, to be occupied with the dangerous enchantments of *virtu*. Although the didactic strain persists in men like Dekker and Heywood, the great spirits of the early 17th century are in spaces of their own beyond it: Chapman working on moral principles of his own which were frequently at variance with accepted ideas, Jonson censuring his fellow dramatists who "run away from nature," and Webster, Beaumont, and Fletcher picturing in real colors the tangled web of passion. Although none of them is actually a moral rebel (for Mr. Thorp stops, with 1612, short of Ford) and they all make at least a conventional reverence before the ikon of *Sittlichkeit*, they treat life without distorting it to prove a moral thesis.

After a general survey of this movement, Mr. Thorp closes with particular consideration of the treatment of woman and of the abandonment of poetic justice in favor of a more complex and real conception. It cannot be said that anything very new or provocative comes out in the course of his study. Necessarily the constant passage from play to play grows a little wearisome. But he has dealt with an important aspect of the change of esthetic temper carefully and clearly, and if here and there one might question the interpretation of a passage such disagreement would have slight effect on the acceptance of an exposition which is in all important respects sound enough.

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND.

University of Illinois.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau et Tolstoi. Par MILAN I. MARKOVITCH.  
Bibl. de la R. L. C. Paris, Champion, 1928. 419 pp.

Ce très gros volume n'est en somme qu'une longue série de parallèles, d'abord des vies des deux écrivains, et puis de leurs idées;—série se prolongeant à vrai dire un peu *ad nauseam*, et avec des rapprochements quelquefois boiteux, et quelquefois banals

profondément: par banalité, nous entendons, rapprochement d'idées qui se rencontrent fréquemment ailleurs et n'ont par conséquent pas grande importance; on n'est pas Tolstoïen ou Rousseauiste pour professer p. ex. la croyance en l'existence de Dieu, même d'un Dieu d'amour; le scepticisme sur la valeur du miracle; la haine de la guerre, et l'amour de la paix; que l'homme et la femme ont été faits l'un pour l'autre (258); que tous les deux "croient également que ce sont les femmes qui font tout mouvoir ici-bas" (268) . . . Si c'est là tout, il n'y avait pas lieu de faire ce livre.

Lorsque, d'ailleurs, l'auteur en vient à des problèmes véritables, p. ex. de l'influence de R. sur T., le lecteur doit se contenter d'affirmations plausibles tenant lieu de réelles preuves; les preuves sont du reste difficiles à donner; mais c'est justement un des caractères déconcertants de l'ouvrage, qu'il se propose ici un but irréalisable. Que de fois n'est-on pas certain que T. aurait eu parfaitement les mêmes idées si Rousseau n'eût pas existé du tout! Tel est le cas des théories mentionnées tout à l'heure déjà; et dans tant d'autres cas: "N'est-ce pas ces discours [de R.] qui ont mûri l'indignation de T. contre les institutions tyranniques de la Russie?" (237); ou bien: "C'est le *Contrat social* qui a révélé à T. cette idée révolutionnaire que les lois étant faites par les hommes, elles peuvent être abolies par les hommes" (243). . . Allons donc! Et. que dire de ces personnages des romans de T. qui rappellent des personnages de R: Lévine = Wolmar, ou Emile; Sophie = Kitty; Saint-Preux = Nekludof, etc. Toutes ces remarques ne manquent aucunement d'intérêt, mais ce n'est pas de l'érudition.

Parmi les choses intéressantes que souligne l'auteur, est celle-ci: que la religion est tantôt affaire de raison chez R. et T. (82-3) et tantôt affaire de sentiment (145); or, il s'en étonne (149); mais n'y avait-il pas lieu de creuser un peu ce parallèle-là? Ou, quand on nous dit que R. était partisan d'un célibat prolongé et que T. considérait le célibat comme le plus haut point de perfection (III, ch. v), n'y avait-il pas lieu de chercher la cause de cette divergence? Ou bien encore quand, partant du mot de R.: "Il y a bien peut-être à la vie humaine un but, une fin un objet moral" (161) on nous dit que ce but est "le bien moral de l'humanité", ou de "perfectionner l'homme", c'est désespérément vague; il faudrait dire en quoi cela est intéressant pour R. et T.; sans cela il y a des milliers de gens qui seront intéressants aussi, ayant dit les mêmes choses. Les *Conclusions* n'ont rien d'original: que les deux hommes étaient profondément sincères; qu'il paraît difficile de concilier le *Contrat social* avec la haine de R. pour l'œuvre de la société; qu'il est possible que le théâtre n'est pas si mauvais; et puis, que l'auteur a désiré répondre aux articles de M. Kovaleski et A. Divilkovski "qui ne voient pas un lien étroit entre les doctrines du philosophe de Genève et celles de l'auteur de *Guerre*

et *Paix*”; et enfin que “vers la fin de sa vie T. a tiré des principes de R. des conséquences plus hardies que celui-ci ne l’avait fait.”

Il est un point où l’auteur a avec raison insisté, c’est le caractère pragmatique de la religion de R. et que la religion sentimentale est en marge du reste: “Tolstoi adopte la religion utilitaire du Vicaire Savoyard” (103); et il relève à propos le mot de R., “La vérité que j’aime n’est pas tant métaphysique que morale” (Lettre du 25 juin 1761).

Mais sur beaucoup d’autres points, l’auteur connaît évidemment mieux son T. que son R., et il parle d’un R. de tradition plutôt que d’un R. réel. Ainsi quand il affirme que R. dans les *Confessions* était animé du “désir sincère de dévoiler toute sa vie” (42). Le but de R. est la vérité psychologique d’abord, et puis un besoin de se défendre des accusations de ses ennemis; mais, besoin de confession—non! L’auteur accepte sans autre preuve que la tradition que la théorie rousseauiste est “la bonté originelle de l’homme” et que R. croit “à la possibilité du retour à la nature”—c’est contre tous les textes. Et qu’on compare les deux passages suivants, à quelques lignes l’un de l’autre: “Si R. et T. prêchent avec une telle conviction le retour à la nature, c’est surtout pour des raisons religieuses . . .”, et: “Ils rêvent de voir la force spirituelle remplacer la nature bestiale . . .” (228-9): Il faudrait pourtant s’entendre: est-ce *retour* ou *écart* de la nature qu’on veut dire? Page 166-7: “A la base de cette morale (de T.) se trouve le principe de non-agir qui imprègne les pages de l’*Emile*, ce traité de l’éducation négative. . .” Qui ne voit pas ici une grave confusion de toutes choses? Le non-agir de T. est aux antipodes du non-agir dont il est question dans *Emile*.

Ce qui reste de ce livre fort intéressant sinon toujours juste, c’est qu’il y a une grande différence entre ces deux hommes; elle consiste en ce que R. est en dernier ressort, comme philosophe, un rationaliste, et que T. est en dernier ressort un mystique (Comparez la *Profession de foi du Vicaire* et *Ma religion*). De là cette observation fort exacte que R. est mort dans la sérénité philosophique, tandis que T. est mort désespéré et désespéré dans sa petite station de chemin de fer d’Astapavo—une des plus grandes tragédies dans l’histoire de la pensée humaine.<sup>1</sup>

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ALBERT SCHINZ.

<sup>1</sup> La bibliographie de l’auteur est assez caractéristique de son livre; il cite de Beaulavon une étude secondaire, et non son importante édition du *Contrat social*; Chiquet, pour Chuquet, peut être une faute d’impression; de Faguet, il cite des articles et pas les nombreux livres sur R.; il cite Gide tout court, or il ne s’agit pas d’André mais de Charles et il vaut mieux distinguer; le nom de Hoeffding est mentionné, mais pas son livre si important sur la Philosophie de R.; de Lanson, on cite des études infiniment moins importantes que celle sur “l’unité de pensée de R.” dans *Annales J.-J. R.*, VIII (1912); etc.

*The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Modern French Literature, 1800-1925.* By W. L. SCHWARTZ. Paris, Champion, 1927.

Exotic literature is very popular among contemporary French writers and readers. Several critics, such as Emile Deschanel, Louis Cario, Charles Régismanset, S. Rocheblave, H. L. David, Louis Aubert, and René Maublanc have studied certain aspects of Far Eastern influence on French writers, but none of them has aimed to treat the subject thoroughly and in all its phases. The task of writing an elaborate and scholarly survey of it was left to Dr. W. L. Schwartz, whose nine years' residence in Japan as a college professor gave him exceptional preparation for the work.

The book is divided into four chapters, in which one can follow step by step the development of the theme. Théophile Gautier appears to have been the first French writer in the nineteenth century to discover its artistic possibilities. His daughter Judith was also greatly interested in the literature of China and Japan, but, as she never visited those countries, her treatment of them often lacks accuracy. The Goncourts contributed very much in spreading in France the fad of *Japonisme*. Baudelaire, Zola, Hérédia, Champfleury, and other writers showed great interest in Japan's art and literature. Possibly Impressionism and Naturalism owe something to Far Eastern influence. Pierre Loti was the first French literary observer of talent to visit China and Japan. His interpretation of the Far East is not always adequate, for he sees mostly the frivolous side of Japanese life. Paul Claudel was in the French consular service in China from 1895 to 1905. In his data on the Chinese language and customs he is often open to criticism. His unplayed drama, *Le Repos du Septième Jour*, intended to represent Chinese life, thought, and courtly manners, contains not a few inaccuracies. In general, when he treats Far Eastern subjects, he lacks true scholarship. In 1903 Jean Toulet spent a few months in Indo-China, and later visited Canton and possibly Japan. In his *Contrerimes* there is possibly some Far Eastern influence. Claude Farrère is one of the best interpreters of the Far East.

In Chapter IV Dr. Schwartz dwells upon the introduction of the Japanese *haikai* verse form into French poetry. With writers as well qualified on the Far Eastern subjects as Pettit, Segalen, Forthuny, Nadeau, Soulié de Morant, Raucat, and Madame Yamata, "it is possible to state," says Dr. Schwartz, "that French writers are supreme in the imaginative interpretation of the Far East in the first quarter of the twentieth century."

Dr. Schwartz's twenty page bibliography is scholarly and adequate. He deserves to be complimented for his systematic and thorough handling of a vast and difficult subject.

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C. P. CAMBIAIRE.

*La Sorbonne.* Par JEAN BONNEROT. Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1927. Pp. viii + 228, xvii planches. Fr. 15.

Jean Bonnerot, le lettré et érudit attaché à la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, à qui on doit un ouvrage considérable sur ce même sujet en collaboration avec M. Barrau-Dihigo le conservateur de ladite bibliothèque, nous donne un petit livre serré, vivant, sur la vie historique, le rôle et l'œuvre de la Sorbonne à travers les siècles. C'est à la fois un mémorial et une description. Les 55 premières pages sont consacrées à l'histoire des bâtiments de la Sorbonne de 1253 à 1927, le reste du livre à la Sorbonne d'aujourd'hui. C'est plaisir de suivre M. Bonnerot dans ces couloirs quand on est bien assuré de ne plus y venir pour passer des examens. Le touriste trouvera mainte chose autant que l'historien de l'art dans les pages de M. Bonnerot. Il ne sera pas mauvais de les avertir (car M. Bonnerot est à ce sujet d'une prudence et d'une discrétion un peu ironiques) que les splendeurs de la Nouvelle Sorbonne sont de valeur inégale. (Je parle, bien entendu, non des professeurs mais des décorations). A côté de Puvis et de Besnard, qui sont là pour la joie des yeux, on verra sévir Jean-Paul Laurens et Jean-Joseph Weerts. Mais dans l'ensemble la demeure a grande allure.

Quant à l'histoire, les faits les plus marquants sont la fondation par Robert de Sorbon en 1253; la reconstruction par Richelieu en 1627; la suppression de la Faculté de Théologie en 1885. Ainsi se fit une grande cassure avec le passé et ainsi fut inaugurée en esprit la Nouvelle Sorbonne. La Faculté de Théologie que Rabelais et, pour de bien autres raisons, Pascal ont brocardée de si joyeuse et cruelle façon "avait été, dit M. Bonnerot, la cause déterminante de la fondation de la Sorbonne et sa raison d'être dans le passé."

La cassure fut naturellement très complète. Et quand on pense à cette rupture avec le passé que représente la création en 1889 de la Nouvelle Sorbonne, on se dit qu'après tout cette institution au nom antique est plus récente que les grandes Universités américaines. On sait d'ailleurs que si on prend bien garde aux formes et aux rites académiques c'est sur ce continent américain que la vieille tradition universitaire s'est le mieux gardée.

En ce qui concerne l'esprit, certains critiques et pamphlétaires voudraient nous persuader que l'impérialisme dogmatique de l'Ancienne Sorbonne n'est pas mort. Il se peut. Mais le dogmatisme sorbonien n'est plus du tout un trait constant ou dominant de la maison. C'est une mauvaise plaisanterie que de le soutenir.



En fait, il n'y a pas "d'esprit de Sorbonne"—bien qu'il y ait encore de l'esprit en Sorbonne . . . L'enseignement de la Sorbonne offre cette diversité de tendances qui est encore la forme la plus sûre de la liberté d'esprit. On y est méthodique et prudent, "discret et scientifique" comme on le dit théologiquement des chanoines. Mais on s'y efforce d'être moderne. On dira peut-être que la façon même dont on s'y "efforce" trahit qu'on a quelque peine à l'être. Mais on dit tant de choses et le monde est devenu si méchant. . . .

Telles sont les réflexions que soulève la lecture de l'agréable et instructif ouvrage de M. Bonnerot, un bon guide pour l'historien, le touriste et l'homme d'Université. On ne saurait trop le recommander à tous les étudiants qui sont venus, viennent ou viendront demander à Dame Sorbonne quelque faveur doctorale.

*Swarthmore College.*

LOUIS CONS.

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*Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier*, Ein Vademecum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft, zusammengestellt und eingeleitet von LEO SPITZER. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer, 1928. 483 pp.

It is a pleasure to see that, after six years, a second edition of Leo Spitzer's work has appeared (Halle, Niemeyer, 1928), even though one regrets that it was denied to Schuchardt to behold it. The book consists essentially of a bibliography of the great linguist's writings, followed by excerpts from them. In the second edition the bibliography is only apparently shorter, containing 770 numbers as against 842 in the first edition; an error in numeration occurred in the first edition, which really contained only 742 numbers. Several articles on detailed subjects have been added, as well as material which appeared after the publication of the first edition, and an index of personal names. The book has thereby been enlarged from 375 to 483 pages. The index of names is incomplete; *s. v.* Schleicher, A., for example add 90, 92, 93, 95, 164, 319, *s. v.* Linné add 125, and add, for instance, Andersen, H. C., 127, Förstemann, E., 166, n. 1, Parodi, 242. The addition of running titles at the head of the pages facilitates the use of the book.

The appearance of the second edition is not merely interesting because of these improvements, but also in that the book is in some ways a model for what volumes in honor of a great scholar should be: a collection of his writings, making them more conveniently accessible and easier to use, rather than a series of disconnected studies, readily getting out of print, and adding to the confusion of our already excessively scattered materials. Even though one may regret occasionally the fact that Schuchardt's articles are not

reprinted exactly as he wrote them, nevertheless the nature of his writings makes such a course by no means uniformly practicable. Schuchardt's extraordinary productivity is evidenced by the fact that he published no less than 23 articles after he was eighty years old. It would be of service if to this as to all bibliographies of the kind a complete index had been appended. The valuable footnotes of the "Sachregister" serve in some sense as such, but only in so far as general ideas are concerned. Certain other changes would also increase the usefulness of the third edition, which one hopes to see some day. One of these would be the addition, in a note to the bibliography, of a few of the principal chronological data about Schuchardt's career; the present edition contains, it is true (pp. 416-437) a reprint of the fascinating sketch of Schuchardt's development, written by the master himself. It would also be of interest to have a list of the obituary articles published about him. Moreover, one would like to have an indication of the pages at which the various excerpts end, in addition to that of the page at which they begin, and, if practicable, indications in the reprint of the beginning of every page or column in the original publication. A table of contents, in addition to the indices, would increase the usefulness of the work. The book is in general carefully printed; in the bibliography, no. 702, for 792 read 694.

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

### BRIEF MENTION

*The Criticism of Literature.* By ELIZABETH RITCHIE. New York, Macmillan, 1928. Pp. 397. The last few years have witnessed a healthy revival of interest in the field of literary theory or criticism. This is significant and may ultimately lead to some revision of the academic study of literature. In the new literary criticism, founded largely on contemporary psychology and aesthetics, Mr. I. A. Richards must be regarded as the pioneer in the English-speaking world. It may seem unfortunate that Miss Ritchie has failed to carry further the splendid work of Mr. Richards and that of his German colleagues Roettken and Lehmann. It is true that Miss Ritchie recognizes the importance of contemporary psychology and aesthetics for the student of literature; in her volume we find an occasional reference to Miss Puffer, Santayana, Langfeld, or Titchener; she even makes a valiant attempt to apply the correspondence- and coherence- theories of truth to the problem of poetic truth; but on the whole her psychological and aesthetic background is inadequate. How one can write today a book on literary theory without working through Volkelt's three monumental volumes, is inconceivable. If literary theory is to become "scientific," it must necessarily take cognizance of the

leading authorities on the problems it attempts to treat. Miss Ritchie is primarily interested in discovering the values of literature; yet we find no suggestion of an acquaintance with the modern theory of value. The chapter on "Emotional Value" makes no mention of the standard works on emotion by Ribot and MacCurdy. The chapters on the imagination neglect Ribot's classic treatise entitled *L'imagination Créatrice*, Mueller-Freienfels' *Das Denken und die Phantasie* and Rignano's *Psychology of Reasoning*.

Though disappointing to the student of psychology and aesthetics, the book has its value for the undergraduate and the general public. The point of view is liberal and on the whole acceptable. The illustrations, though almost entirely restricted to English literature, are well chosen. The exercises in the "Appendix" are ingenious, though at times impractical. For many teachers of literary criticism Miss Ritchie's book will be a welcome class text. Next to Mr. Richards' book, it is probably the best volume on the subject at present available.

LOUIS P. DE VRIES.

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*L'influence des Saisons de Thomson sur la Poésie descriptive en France (1759-1810).* Par MARGARET M. CAMERON. Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 201. Bibl. de la R. L. C. Ce volume étudie le cas, certainement unique, d'une influence plutôt formidable d'un étranger sur la littérature française—*influence répétée* à une quarantaine d'années de distance. La traduction française des *Saisons* (1730) est de 1759, et la nouvelle vague thomsonienne est de 1796 à 1810. Et, chose curieuse, la première fois ce fut non Thomson lui-même, mais un disciple français, Saint-Lambert, qui accapara à peu près complètement les lauriers; Thomson prit sa revanche la seconde fois. Tout cela est présenté fort judicieusement. L'auteur a, par ailleurs, réuni sous une même couverture une quantité de renseignements fort utiles à ceux qu'intéresse la poésie en France dans la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle et du commencement du dix-neuvième (Le lecteur fera une riche moisson sur Saint-Lambert, Roucher, Fontanes, Chénier, surtout Delille). Un Index fort utile termine le volume.

A. SCHINZ.

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*The Year's Work in English Studies.* Volume VII, 1926. Edited for The English Association by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 321. \$2.50. The usefulness of this annual chronicle of English scholarship becomes more apparent with each succeeding volume. As a record of the year's production it is not as complete nor in many ways as easy to consult as the *Bibliography* issued by the Modern Humanities Research Association; it is, however, thanks to its careful sum-

maries of the more important recent studies, an equally indispensable aid to the scholar overwhelmed in the flood of current publications. The only complaint that one can make is that its summaries, valuable as they are, are too infrequently accompanied by the kind of searching scholarly criticism of method and results that we have a right to expect from the distinguished specialists to whom we owe the various chapters. There are many exceptions, notably in the sections contributed by Sir Edmund Chambers and by Professors Grierson and Nicoll; but the work as a whole would be greatly improved if a more balanced ratio could be established, even at the sacrifice of some of the shorter notices, between judgment and description. The present volume contains notices of 661 publications—316 books and 345 articles.

R. S. CRANE.

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*Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* Vol. VIII: 1927. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by D. EVERETT and E. SEATON. Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1928. Pp. viii + 201. 6s. 6d. It is a pleasure to record the appearance of the eighth issue of the M. H. R. A. bibliography. With the publication of the third number this *Annual Bibliography* established itself in the first place among current bibliographies in the English field. The new volume appears with several minor changes designed to facilitate reference. American English is now given a separate section, and a sub-heading "Philosophy and Science" has been added to "Old and Middle English: Subsidiary." Fifteenth Century Literature also is given a section to itself, but one wonders why it is put under Modern English. It is difficult to see what is gained by departing from the traditional date 1500 or 1550 as the division between Middle and Modern English. An excellent innovation is the arrangement of the Shakespeare items in convenient sub-groups: Editions, General Criticism, and Separate Works. The editors show a commendable willingness to include items omitted from earlier issues, one such item (1389) concerning a publication of 1923. It would be ungenerous to criticise the work on the score of its inclusiveness, but one wonders whether the editors do not go too far at times in admitting items of a journalistic and ephemeral nature, especially where no critical comment can be added to save the reader's time. The publishers have attempted to improve the volume by using stiffer paper for the cover, but without complete success. The new cover shows a stubborn tendency to curl, and it is to be hoped that further experiments will be made until an inexpensive but durable binding is found. Thin boards would add little to the cost and would be most acceptable.

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